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# GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

(PLATES 1-23)

THIS report includes many of the discoveries made in the Agora during 1946 and 1947, but it has also some of the remainders from previous seasons that need preliminary publication and that have not been assigned to others for special study. Routine work in the systematic exploration of the inventory has now progressed as far as no. 2300.

## DECREES (1-14)

1 (Plates 1-2). Stele of Hymettian marble, found in several fragments in Section Θ on June 10, 1947. The sides were finished with a toothed chisel and the back rough-picked. The stone has suffered re-use as a threshold block, with the face trimmed down to a depth of 0.02 m. except for a band *ca.* 0.11 m. wide along the left edge which preserves traces of the inscription.

Height, 1.20 m.; width, *ca.* 0.47 m.; thickness, 0.102 m.; height of letters, 0.006 m. (lines 1-20) and 0.007 m. (lines 21 ff.). The writing of the decree is stoichedon, with a square chequer pattern in which the unit measures 0.01 m.

Inv. No. I 5998.

279/8 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 44

- [Ε]πὶ <Α>ναξικρά[τους ἄρχοντας ἐπὶ τῆς .....<sup>10</sup>..... ἐνάτης]  
 [πρ]υταν[εί]ας [ἡ] .....<sup>8</sup>..... ἰδῆς Νίκωνος Εἰσαῖος ἐγράμ]  
 [μά]τε[υε]ν· Ἐλ[αφηβολιῶνος τετάρτη (c. g.) ἱσταμένον, πέμπτη]  
 [τῆς] πρυταν[είας· ἐκκλησίᾳ· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεισήφισεν ..]  
 5 [.....] Ἀγαθο[.....<sup>15</sup>..... καὶ συμπρόεδροι· ἔδοξεν]  
 [τῶι δ]ῆμῳι <sup>30</sup> [..... εἶπεν·]  
 [ὑπὲρ] ὧν ἀπα[γγέλλουσιν οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς Πανδιονίδος]  
 [ὑπὲρ] τῶν ἱερῶν ὧν ἔθνον τά τε πρὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τοῖς θε]  
 [οῖς] οἷς πάτ[ριον ἦν· ἔθυσαν δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς τε βουλῆς καὶ]  
 10 [τοῦ] δήμου [τὰ ἄλλα ἱερὰ κατὰ τὰ ψηφίσματα τοῦ δήμου τοῦ]  
 [Ἀ]θηναίων· ἐ[πεμελήθησαν δὲ καὶ τῶν τεταγμένων (?) τῇ βου]  
 [λῇ] καὶ τῶι [δῆμῳι καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως· ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ δε]  
 [δόχ]θαι τ[ῶ]ι [δῆμῳι· τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ δέχεσθαι ἂ ἀποφαίνουσι]  
 [οἱ π]ρ[υ]τ[ά]νε[ις γεγονότα ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς οἷς ἔθνον ἐφ' ὕγι]  
 15 [εία]ι καὶ [σωτηρίαι τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου· ἐπαινέσαι]  
 [δὲ τ]οὺς πρυ[τάνεις τῆς Πανδιονίδος καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐ]  
 [τοῦ]ς χρυσῶ[ι στεφάνῳι ἀρετῆς ἕνεκα καὶ φιλοτιμίας· τὸ]  
 [δὲ ψή]φισμα [τόδε ἀναγράψαι τὸν γραμματέα ἐν στήλει λι]  
 [θί]νει καὶ σ[τήσαι ἐν τῶι πρυτανικῶι· εἰς δὲ τὴν ποίησιν]

20	[τῆς] στήλης [μερίσαι τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει τὸ ἀνάλωμα]		
	<i>vacat</i>		
	[Μυ]ρρινο[ύσιοι]	[-----]	[-----]
	[Εὔμ]νηστος [---]		
	[...]ξενος Α[---]		
25	[Σ]θενοκλῆς Γ[---]		
	-----	Column II	Column III
	-----	is lost	is lost
	-----		
	Traces of letters only visible down to line 45	<i>In corona</i>	
	-----	[ῆ βουλῇ]	
45	-----	[οἱ φυλέται]	
	<i>In corona</i>	[τὸν ταμίαν]	
	ῆ [βουλῇ]	55 [Εὔμνηστον]	
	οἱ φ[υλέται]	[-----]	
	τὸν γ[ραμματέα]	[Μυρρινοῦ]	
	Χα[-----]	[σιον]	
50	Με[-----]		
	[-----]		

This prytany-decree is dated in the archonship of Anaxikrates, whose name was misspelled in line 1, but about the reading of which there can be no doubt. The choice of dating the text in 307/6 or in 279/8 is determined by the name of the secretary to be supplied in line 2. Here the name from 307/6, *Λυσίας Νοθίππων Διομειεύς* is too short, and the alternative from 279/8 must be employed.<sup>1</sup> The disposition of the citations is like that of Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, no. 1, with the name of the treasurer in lines 55-58 to be supplied from lines 22-23.

2 (Plate 3). Three groups of fragments of Hymettian marble, found in Section Θ on June 5 (*a* and *b*) and June 11 (*c*), 1947.

(*a*) Height, 0.11 m.; width, 0.115 m.; thickness, 0.025 m. This fragment is broken on all sides.

(*b*) Height, 0.11 m.; width, 0.092 m.; thickness, 0.032 m. This fragment preserves part of the right edge of the stele.

(*c*) Height, 0.06 m.; width, 0.125 m.; thickness, 0.145 m. This fragment preserves part of the left edge of the stele.

<sup>1</sup> See Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. xviii.

The height of letters is 0.006 m. The writing is generally stoichedon, with a chequer pattern in which the unit measures 0.0105 m. across and 0.012 m. down, with some variations.

Inv. No. I 5992.

269/8 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 51

- [----- τῆς πρυτανε]ίας· ἐκ[κλησία· τ]ῶμ  
 [προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν .....<sup>18</sup>.....] Σουνι[εὺς καὶ] συμπ  
 [ρόεδροι ὡς ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ ὡς Καλλίστρατος] Γλαύκωνο[ς Κρω]πίδῃ  
 [ς εἶπεν· ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπαγγέλλουσιν οἱ πρυτάνει]ς τῆς Ἀκαμ[αν]τίδος ὅ  
 5 [πὲρ τῶν θυσίων ὧν ἔθνον τά τε πρὸ τῶν ἐκκλη]σιῶν τοῖς [θεοῖς] οἷς π  
 [άτριον ἦν· ἔθυσαν δὲ καὶ τὰ .....<sup>12</sup>.....] ντακρ[.....<sup>11</sup>.....] ἅ  
 [----- κατὰ τὰ] πάτρια με[.....<sup>11</sup>.....]  
 [-----] ὑπὲρ τῇ[ς βουλῆς καὶ το]  
 [ὅ] δήμου -----]Τ[.....<sup>13</sup>.....]

lacuna

- 10 [----- εὐκ]  
 οσμίας κ[αὶ ----- τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμο]  
 ὡς ἔπαιν[έσαι τοὺς πρυτάνεις τῆς Ἀκαμαντίδος καὶ στεφανῶσαι]  
 αὐτοὺς χρῦ[σῳ στεφάνῳ κατὰ τὸν νόμον εὐσεβείας ἕνεκα τῆς πρ]  
 ὅς τοὺς θ[εοὺς καὶ φιλοτιμίας τῆς εἰς τε τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δήμο]  
 15 [ν] τ[ὸν Ἀ]θηναίων -----]

This is a decree from the early third century honoring the prytaneis of Akamantis, and it resembles most closely Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, no. 4. The precise date is given by the name of the orator, who is known to have been a member of the Council in the archonship of Menekles (269/8).<sup>2</sup>

3 (Plate 4). The upper part of a stele of Hymettian marble, found in the wall of a modern house in Section Θ on August 1, 1947.

Height, 0.30 m.; width (at pediment), 0.49 m.; width (top of stele proper), 0.438 m.; thickness (of inscribed surface), 0.10 m.; height of letters, 0.006 m.,

Inv. No. I 6064.

The inscription is stoichedon, except for irregularities at the ends of the lines, with a chequer pattern which measures 0.0095 m. across and 0.012 m. down.

244/3 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 44

θ ε ο ί  
 Ἐπὶ Κυδήνορος ἀρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρεχθείδος ἐνάτης πρυ  
 τανείας ἦν Πολυκτῆμων Εὐκτιμένον Εὐπυρίδης ἔγραμ

<sup>2</sup> For the date, cf. Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. xix.

- μάτευεν <sup>v</sup> Ἐλαφηβολιώνος ἐνάτη ἰσταμένον, ἐβδόμη καὶ  
 5 δεκάτη τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλη[η]σία κ[υ]ρία· τῶν προέδρων  
 ἐπειρήφιζεν Ἀντικλῆς Ἐξηκέστου Αἰξωνεὺς καὶ συμπρό  
 εδροι <sup>v v v</sup> ἔδοξεν τεῖ βουλευὶ καὶ τῶι δήμῳι <sup>v v v v v v v</sup>  
 Μόλοττος Αἰσχίνου Οἰναῖος εἶπεν <sup>v</sup> ἐπειδὴ οἱ σιτῶναι  
 οἱ χειροτονηθέντες εἰς τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν τὸν ἐπὶ Διομέδον  
 10 τος ἄρχοντος ἐποίησαντο τὴν πᾶσαν ἐπιμέλειαν ὅπως ἂν  
 [ὡς κά]λλιστος καὶ ε[ὕωνότ]ατος σῖτος ἀγορασθῇ τῶι δῇ  
 [μῶι ...] γ[.....<sup>22</sup>.....] νυ[.] τον παρεκαλέσα[ν]  
 [το .....<sup>31</sup>.....] ρι τὰς χρεῖ[ας]  
 [-----]

This inscription gives the full name of the secretary of Kydenor's year and so adds one more element of certainty to the archon-tables of the third century before Christ. It permits also the correction of several errors. In addition, one may note that the decree was passed on the same day with that published some years ago by Pritchett and Meritt in *The Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, pp. 23-27, and that it thus allows the imperfect preamble of that decree to be completely restored:

*Chronology*, pp. 23-27

244/3 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 38

- [Ἐπὶ Κυ]δήνορ[ος ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρεχθείδος ἐ <sup>v</sup>]  
 [νάτης] πρυταν[είας ἥι Πολυκτῆμων Εὐκτιμένον <sup>v</sup>]  
 [Εὐπυρί]δης ἐργ[αμμάτευεν· Ἐλαφηβολιώνος ἐνά <sup>v</sup>]  
 [την ἰσ]ταμένον, [ἐβδόμη καὶ δεκάτη τῆς πρυτα <sup>v</sup>]  
 5 [νείας]· ἐκκλησία [κυρία· τῶν προέδρων ἐπειρήφι <sup>v v</sup>]  
 [σζε]ν Ἀντικλῆς Ἐ[ξηκέστου Αἰξωνεὺς καὶ συμπρό]  
 [εδρ]οι <sup>v v</sup> ἔδοξεν τ[ῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῶι δήμῳι <sup>v v v v v</sup>]

(for the continuation, see *Chronology*, p. 25)

These documents show that the year of Kydenor was intercalary in the civil calendar, for only thus can the ninth day of Elaphebolion be equated with the seventeenth day of the ninth prytany. The name of the secretary is partially preserved also in the preamble of the decree published in *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 115, and this inscription must now be assigned to the same year.<sup>3</sup> A comparison of this text with the list of epheboi from Philoneos' year (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 766) was suggested by the fact that *Chronology*, pp. 23-27, names Philoneos as a predecessor of Kydenor, and the test was made to see whether *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 115, might not be the preamble of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 766. There can be little doubt that such is the case. Further search has

<sup>3</sup> It was assigned to 232/1 in Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. xxiii.

yielded an additional small fragment from the Agora (Inv. No. I 4162; see Plate 5)<sup>4</sup> which makes part of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 766, lines 5-9, belonging to the same area of the inscription as another small piece (Inv. No. I 1367) published last year.<sup>5</sup> Much of the text is stoichedon, though much of it (including I 4162) is not, and a similar lack of uniformity may be observed in the syllabic division of the lines. The restoration of the calendar equation in the preamble, under these circumstances, must remain conjectural. One could satisfy the requirements of an intercalary year by reading in line 3 [Μουνιχιῶνος δωδεκάτηι, ἐνά]τηι καὶ δ[εκάτηι τῆς πρυτανείας], crowding one letter at the beginning of the line and positing that the day was the 307th of the year. It would then have to be assumed that Antigonis or Demetrias (line 1) held the tenth prytany. One might expect that the decree, which honors the epheboi and their instructors, was passed in the third prytany and in the month of Boedromion, the normal time for ephebic honors in this period of Athenian history,<sup>6</sup> although such decrees are known from the fourth, ninth, and tenth prytanies<sup>7</sup> in the first half of the next century. A day between the 13th and 19th of Prytany III (line 3) ought therefore to be between the 77th and 83rd days of the year, and so between Boedromion 18 and 24. An equation which would satisfy the requirements is Boedromion 24 = Prytany III 19, but the spacing on the stone would make necessary the omission of μετ' εἰκάδας in the phrase ἐβδόμη μετ' εἰκάδας for the date of Boedromion 24. This assumption is not here made, and we prefer to postulate the lesser irregularity of a date in the tenth prytany and in the month of Mounichion.

Including the new fragments, the text of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 766 may now be read as follows:

244/3 B.C.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. *ca.* 50

[Ἐπὶ Κυδώνορος ἀρχοντος ἐ]πὶ τῆς [ ] dos δεκάτης πρυτα]

[νείας ἥι Πολυκτῆμων Εὐκτι] μένου Εὐ[πυρίδης ἐγραμμάτευεν·]

[Μουνιχιῶνος δωδεκάτη, ἐνά]τη καὶ δ[εκάτη τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκ]

[κλησία κυρία· τῶν προέδρων ἐ]πεψήφισε[ν ..... <sup>ca. 17</sup>.....]

5 [.....<sup>12</sup>..... καὶ συμπρόεδ]ροι *vacat*

[ *vacat* ἔδοξεν τῇ ] βουλῇ [ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ *vacat* ]

[.....<sup>22</sup>..... εἰπε] ν<sup>v</sup> ε[πειδὴ οἱ ἑφηβοι --]

*lacuna*

[----- · ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ]

δ[εδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ τοὺς προέδρους οἱ ἂν λάχωσιν προεδρεύει]

<sup>4</sup> Found on May 20, 1936, in Section HH, broken on all sides. Height, 0.078 m.; width, 0.092 m.; thickness, 0.045 m.

<sup>5</sup> *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pp. 158-159 (no. 53).

<sup>6</sup> Cf., e. g., *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 665, 700, 787.

<sup>7</sup> *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 199; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 900.

- 10 ν ἐ[ν τῷ δήμῳ χρηματίσαι περὶ τούτων, γνώμην δὲ ξυμβάλλεσθαι]  
 τῆς [βουλῆς εἰς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι δοκεῖ τῇ βουλῇ ἐπαινέσαι τοὺς]  
 ἐφήβ[ους τοὺς ἐφηβεύσαντας ἐπὶ Φιλόνω ἄρχοντος καὶ τὸν κοσ]  
 [μ]ητὴν αὐ[τῶν . . . <sup>10</sup> . . . . .] Φιλο[κ]λέ[ους Εὐωνυμέα καὶ στεφ]ανῶ[σαι]  
 αὐτοὺς χρυσ[ῶι στεφάνωι] κατὰ τὸν [νόμον εὐταξίας ἔνεκε]ν καὶ φ[ι]  
 15 λοτιμίας ἣν ἔχ[οντες δι]ατετελ[έκασιν πρὸς τὸν δῆμον <sup>v</sup> ἐπ]αινέ  
 σαι δὲ καὶ τὸν παιδ[οτρίβ]ην αὐτ[ῶν Ἑρμόδωρον Ἑορτίου Ἀχα]ρνεά <sup>v</sup>  
 καὶ τὸν ἀκοντιστὴν [Λυσι]κλῆν [Ἀντιπάτρου Συπαλήττιον κα]ὶ τὸν  
 ὀπλομάχην Χαρίσανδ[ρον — <sup>ca.</sup> <sup>9</sup> — — Ἀλιμούσιον <sup>v v</sup> καὶ τὸν] τοξό  
 τῆν Ἀριστόδημον <sup>v v</sup> κ[αὶ τὸν γραμματέα . . . . . <sup>14</sup> . . . . . <sup>v v</sup> κ]αὶ σ  
 20 τεφανῶ[σ]αι ἕκαστον α[ὐτῶν θαλλοῦ στεφάνωι· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τό]δε τ  
 ὁ ψήφισμα καὶ τὰ ὄνόμα[τα τῶν ἐφήβων τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανεί]  
 αν ἐν στήλει λιθίν[ει ἐν ἀγορᾷ, τὸ δὲ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα μερίσαι τὸν]  
 ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει.

in corona

in corona

[in corona]

- [ἡ βουλῇ]  
 25 ἡ βουλῇ [ὁ δῆμος] [-----]  
 ὁ δῆμος [τὸν κοσμητὴν] [-----]  
 τοὺς ἐφήβους [ . . . . <sup>10</sup> . . . . ] [-----]  
 [Φιλο]κλέους  
 [Εὐ]ωνυμέα
- 30 Ο ἰ ἐ φ η β ε ὑ σ α [ν τ ε ς ἐ] π ἰ Φ ι λ ὅ ν [ε ω ἄ ρ χ ο ν τ ο ς]  
 [Ἀντιγονίδος] Φιλωνίδη[ς -----]  
 Χαιριγένης Κτησικλ[-----] Ἀ[καμαντίδος]  
 Τιμοκ[ρ]άτης Τιμοκρά[τους -----] Μενεσθεὺ[ς — <sup>ca.</sup> <sup>8</sup> — — Κικ]υννεύ  
 Παράμυθος Δημοχάρο[υς -----] Εὐριπίδης [— <sup>ca.</sup> <sup>8</sup> — — Χολ]αργεύς  
 35 [[Δημητριάδος] Εὐνικος Α[— <sup>ca.</sup> <sup>9</sup> — Σ]φήττιος  
 [Εὐα]λκος Φωκίνου [-----] Ἰσαρχος Ξε[νοκλ]έους ἐκ Κεραμέ  
 [— <sup>ca.</sup> <sup>10</sup> — —]οστράτ[ου — —] Οἰ[νε]ίδος  
 [Ἑρεχθ]εῖδ[ος] [Ἑόρ]τιος [Ἑρ]μοδώρου Ἀχαρνεύς  
 [— <sup>ca.</sup> <sup>15</sup> — —]λωνος Παμβωτάδ[ης] Κεκροπίδος  
 40 [— <sup>ca.</sup> <sup>7</sup> — Φ]αλά[νθ]ου Ἀγρυλῆθεν [Φιλ]όστρατος Φιλοδήμον Ἀλαιοῦς  
 Αἰγ[εῖδ]ος Αἰ[ν]ησίδημος Ἀγαθοκλέους Συπαλήτ  
 Δημαίνετος Φ[ίλ]ωνος ἐκ Κολω Νο[ν]φράδης Καλλιάρχου Ἀθμονεύς  
 Πολύενκτος Ἀ[ντιφῶν]τος Φηγαίου Ἴπποθωντίδος  
 Πανδ[ιονίδ]ος Τεισίας Φωκιάδου Ἐλευσίνιο[ς]  
 45 [Δρα]κοντίδης Δ[— <sup>ca.</sup> <sup>6</sup> —]ος Παιανιεύ Πολύδωρος Ῥόδωνος Θυμαίτ[ά]δης  
 Λεω[ντίδ]ος Αἰαντίδος  
 [— — — —]κρά[τους Φρ]εάρριος Σωκράτης Θεμιστίου Φαληρεῦς

50	[ ἡ βουλῇ ] [ ὁ δῆμος ] [-----] [-----] [-----]	ἡ βουλῇ ὁ δῆμος [τὸν] ὁ[πλομάχη]ν [Χαρίσανδρ]ον [Ἀλιμούσι]ον	ἡ βουλῇ ὁ δῆμος τὸν παιδο τρίβην Ἐρμόδωρον Ἀχαρνέα
55	ἡ βουλῇ ὁ δῆμος τὸν ἀκοντισ τῇν Λυσικλῆν Συπαλή[τιον]	[ἡ βουλῇ] [ὁ δῆμος] [τὸν γραμμα]τέα [-----] [-----]	ἡ β[ουλῇ] ὁ [δῆμος] [τὸν τοξότην] [Ἀριστόδημον]

The restoration of the demotic [Ἀλιμούσι]ον in line 52 has already been noted in *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 159. Erasures should be recorded in lines 31 and 35 where the names of the phylai Ἀντιγονίδος and Δημητριάδος once stood, and in line 28 the patronymic of the kosmetes can now be restored as [Φιλο]κλέους (cf. line 13). A minor correction has been made in line 30.

These texts from the year of Kydenor are now dated in the year 244/3 because of the secretary from Eupyridai, who is known to belong to the phyle Leontis (VI) which claims that year in the progression of the secretary cycle.<sup>8</sup> Kydenor is thus displaced from 243/2, where he had been dated because of the mistaken belief that the demotic of the prytany-secretary of his year was [Εἰρεσί]δης. But a conflict appears in 244/3 because of the fact that another secretary from Leontis (VI), [.....<sup>12</sup>.....]δῆμον Ὑ[βάδης], belonging to the archonship of Philoneos, has already been assigned to that year. The initial upsilon of the demotic has been considered certain, for earlier suggestions—made when the stone was discovered—that the initial letter may have been chi were rejected when there had been time to study carefully the photographs and squeeze.<sup>9</sup> The stone itself has been examined again in Athens, and not only is the upsilon certified but after it a vertical stroke, as of beta, is discernible. All this seems to confirm the reading Ὑβ[άδης], leaving an *impasse* in the interpretation of the secretary-cycle, with Philoneos, the predecessor of Kydenor, and Kydenor himself both having prytany-secretaries from phyle VI.

This conflict produces an intolerable confusion in the sequence of archons and secretaries of the mid third century and some solution must be found which eliminates the name of this secretary from the text of Philoneos' year as published in *Chronology*, p. 22. The surface of the stone is badly worn and not all of the significant letters can be read with certainty. I thought for a time that the troublesome second line

<sup>8</sup> See Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. xxii.

<sup>9</sup> See W. B. Dinsmoor, *Archon List*, p. 72; Pritchett and Meritt, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

might be restored with some phrase like ἐκκλησία κατὰ] δήμον ψή[φισμα,<sup>10</sup> but a renewed examination of the stone by Stamires in Athens gives no authority for interpreting the upsilon, which had been taken as the initial letter of the demotic, as the initial psi of ψήφισμα. Stamires reports that the surface between the sloping strokes of upsilon is moderately well preserved and that there is no trace of the upper vertical stroke of psi. In view of the general deterioration of the surface of the stone, this might not in itself be an insuperable objection. But Stamires also reports part of the word ἐκκλησία in the next line saying that he considers the sigma of it certain beneath which he notes an omicron in line 4. These observations agree with a report independently received from Eugene Schweigert who has kindly given me his notes made when the stone was discovered in 1938. He read even more of the word ἐκκλησία than did Stamires, suggesting in fact that the restoration should be ἐκ[κλη]σί[α ἐν Δι]ονύσου — — —. The evidence indicates that this is the correct reading even though there may be a difference of opinion about which letters should be marked as uncertain. Moreover, if this phrase occurs in line 3, it will hardly be in order to interpret line 2 as giving the name of the orator (with no mention of any secretary) as one might have been tempted to do on the analogy of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 844.

If this were true, one would have had to assume in line 3 the opening clause of a decree stating that someone had done his duty well by Dionysos. It might have been the making of sacrifices by the archon as in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 668, and the letters read by Stamires and Schweigert as [Δι]ονύσου would have had to be [Δι]ονύσωι. Granted this as a possibility, the stele should have been set up also in the sanctuary of Dionysos and one would have to make a corresponding restoration in line 23, reading ἐν τῷι τεμένει τοῦ Δι[ονύσου] instead of ἐν τῷι τεμένει τοῦ Δι[ός]. Honorary decrees for those who had performed their proper duties toward Dionysos set up in the sanctuary of Dionysos are indexed in Kirchner's *Corpus* with reference to *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 668, 780, and 896, to which may be added *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 657. All these stelai were found southeast of the Acropolis, whereas our stone was discovered northwest of the Acropolis. So the place of discovery, as well as the readings in line 3, argues against the assumption that this reference to Dionysos may have been part of the clause of motivation. I think it cannot be said that the length of line toward the end of the inscription is an argument one way or the other. This length of line is very difficult to determine. It may be that the formula in lines 22-23 is too short, and surely the suggested reading of lines 23-24 δοῦναι δὲ τὸν ταμίαν ἐκ τοῦ νό[μου] τὸ γενόμενον ἀ[νάλωμα] is unusual. For ἐκ τοῦ νόμου I have no alternative to suggest in so short a line except the reading τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δήμου, but the appearance of this official as disbursing officer in a decree as late as the archonship of Philoneos would be equally extraordinary.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> A somewhat analogous prescript appears in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 554: [----- πρυτ]αν[είας· ἐκκλησία κατὰ ψήφισ]μα δήμον· τῶν πρ[οέδρων ἐπεψή]φιζεν Ἀντιμένη[ς Κηφισιεύς] καὶ συμπρόεδροι· ἐ[δοξεν τῷι] δήμωι.

<sup>11</sup> See W. K. Pritchett, *A.J.P.*, LVIII, 1937, p. 331.

However it may be restored, the preamble of this decree presents irregularities from the normal pattern. Taking into account the readings as reported and eliminating the secretary's name from the second line, one might suggest a tentative text as follows:<sup>12</sup>

246/5 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 43

[ἐ]πὶ Φιλόνεω ἄρχ[οντος] ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀκα[μαντίδος .....<sup>8</sup>.....]  
 [πρυτανείας· κατὰ ψήφισμα] δῆμον ὑπ[έρ τῶν .....<sup>9</sup>..... ὁ]  
 [...<sup>6</sup>... εἶπεν·] ἐκ[κλη]σί[α ἐν Δι]ονύσον· [τῶν προέδρων ἐπε]  
 [ψήφισεν .....<sup>9</sup>.....] Ο[.....<sup>8</sup>.....] εντ[.....<sup>ca. 12</sup>..... καὶ]  
 5 [συμπρόεδροι· ἔδοξεν τῶι δῆμωι· ..] Γ[.....<sup>15</sup>.....]  
 [...<sup>26</sup>.....] ΧΗ[.....<sup>15</sup>.....]

Lines 7-10 illegible

[.....<sup>16</sup>..... εὐ]σεβῶς [.....<sup>20</sup>.....]  
 [...<sup>19</sup>.....] ων [.....<sup>22</sup>.....]  
 [.] ε[-----]  
 μενα [-----]  
 15 [....] καὶ [-----]  
 ΕΤ[.] ΚΡΟ[-----]  
 [....] Τ[----- εὖσε]  
 [βεία]ς ἔνεκα τ[ῆ]ς πρὸς το[ύς] θεο[ύς] -----  
 [....] ΟΥ· εἶναι [δ'] αὐτῶι καὶ εἰ[----- ἄ]  
 20 ξίως τῆς πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εὐνοίας [----- δι]  
 καίως συνάρχουσι τὴν ἀρχὴν [-----]  
 [....] ἀναγράφαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισ[μα ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ]  
 [καὶ στ]ῆσαι ἐν τῶι τεμένει τοῦ Δι[ός· δοῦναι δὲ τὸν ταμί]  
 [αν ἐκ τοῦ νό]μου τὸ γενόμενον ἀ[νάλωμα vacat ]  
 25 vacat  
 [...<sup>19</sup>.....] Οἰήθεν  
 -----

But this text, with its line of 43 letters, differs so radically from the conventional formulae, both at its beginning and at its end, that one seeks still for other restorations. The crux of the matter is that line 2 ought, by all normal standards, to hold the name of the secretary. His demotic cannot have been Ὑβ[άδης] without posing the conflict we now seek to avoid with Πολυκτῆμων Εὐκτιμένον Εὐπυρίδης of the year of Kydenor.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Some letters in later lines have also been added to those given in the first publication.

<sup>13</sup> If the restoration Ὑβ[άδης] is correct, I have no explanation for the confusion it implies in the secretary-cycles.

Can the line contain the name of a secretary with a demotic other than Ὑβ[άδης]? Among known demes the only candidate is Hyporeia, with demotic Ὑπωρειεύς or Ὑπωρείαθεν, for which the first evidence is the list of demes of 201/0 B.C., now published as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2362. Here the name of the deme appears (Ὑπώρει[α]) as belonging to the phyle of Ptolemais. There is no evidence that the deme existed before the creation of this phyle in 224/3,<sup>14</sup> and the only demesmen so far known to have belonged to it are two epheboi of Roman times (155/6) named in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2068, lines 46-47. But there is no evidence that the deme did not exist before Ptolemais; it may have been like Thyrgonidai, for which there is even less epigraphical evidence, but which Harpocration attests for Aiantis before it appears under Ptolemais in the register of demes of 201/0. And if the demes existed, surely there must have been demesmen, whether or not their names have been preserved. So in the mid third century it is possible, I believe, that there was a secretary from Hyporeia and that he may have belonged to Aigeis or Pandionis in one of the years preceding Kydenor. The appearance here for the first time of a demesman from Hyporeia is no more strange than the appearance for the first time of a demesman from Perrheidai in Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 36, no. 3, lines 11-12. Or, if Dow's alternative suggestion is correct that the reading of his text should be Ἑρρείδαι, that would be an example not only of the appearance of a new demesman but, even more extraordinary, of a new deme as well.<sup>15</sup>

But if restorations are attempted on this assumption it is at once apparent that the length of line will have to be longer than 43 letters. It cannot have been much longer without lengthening unduly the name of the secretary. Tested in the concluding lines first, where certain formulae must be restored, a line of 48 letters seems possible, yielding for lines 22-23: ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισ[μα τὸν γραμματέα τοῦ δήμου | καὶ στ]ῆσαι ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Δι[ός].<sup>16</sup> The reading of lines 23-24 may now be continued: [μερίσαι δὲ ἐκ τῶν κατὰ ψη]φίσματα δῆ[μον τὸ γενόμενον ἀ]νάλωμα τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει]. The designated source of the money is taken to be the same as that specified in the earlier formula: ἐκ τῶν εἰς τὰ κατὰ ψηφίσματα ἀναλισκομένων τῷ δήμῳ, from which the words εἰς τὰ were sometimes omitted.<sup>17</sup>

These longer lines permit a new restoration of the prescript, and of some of the body of the text, so that a complete version may be given as follows:

<sup>14</sup> For Ptolemais, see W. K. Pritchett, *The Five Attic Tribes after Kleisthenes* (Baltimore, 1943), pp. 13-22; reprinted from *A.J.P.*, LXIII, 1942, pp. 413-432.

<sup>15</sup> It is not possible to cite *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7998, as evidence for the deme Hyporeia; L. Robert has shown (*Hellenica*, I, pp. 106-108) that the ethnic Ὑπωρεά(της) refers to a town in Akarnania.

<sup>16</sup> The Secretary of the Demos was named as the officer responsible for the inscription in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 651 (288/7). To restore τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν would give too long a line. It is possible to restore simply τὸν γραμματέα and replace τοῦ δήμου with ἐν στήλῃ, if one prefers to do so.

<sup>17</sup> For the normal form, see, e. g., *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 657 (285/4).

246/5 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 48

- [ἐ]πὶ Φιλόνεω ἄρχ[οντος] ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀκα[μαντίδος τρίτης πρυτανεί]  
 [ας ἦι .....<sup>17</sup>.....]δήμου Ὑπ[ωρειεύς (?) ἐγγραμμάτευεν· Β]  
 [σηδρομιῶνος·] ἐκ[κλη]σί[α ἐν Δι]ονύσιον [σύγκλητος κατὰ ψήφισμ]  
 [α ὁ .....<sup>14</sup>.....]Ο[.....<sup>5</sup>..... εἰπ]εν· τ[ῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν]  
 5 [.....<sup>21</sup>..... καὶ συμ]π[ρόεδροι· ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλ]  
 [ἡ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ· .....<sup>18</sup>.....]ΧΗ[----- εἰπεν·]

lines 7-10 illegible

- [.....<sup>16</sup>..... εὖ]σεβῶς [.....<sup>25</sup>.....]  
 [.....<sup>19</sup>.....]ων [.....<sup>27</sup>.....]  
 [.]ε[-----]  
 μενα [-----]  
 15 [....] καὶ [-----]  
 ΕΤ[....]ΚΡΟ[-----]  
 [....]Τ[----- εὖσε]  
 [βεία]ς ἕνεκα τ[ῆ]ς πρὸς το[ύς] θεο[ύς] καὶ φιλοτιμίας τῆς πρὸς τὸ  
 [ν δῆμ]ον· εἶναι [δ'] αὐτῷ καὶ εἰ[----- α]  
 20 ξίως τῆς πρὸς τὸν δῆμον εὐνοίας [----- δι]  
 καίως συνάρχουσι τὴν ἀρχὴν [-----]  
 [....] ἀναγράφαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισ[μα τὸν γραμματεὰ τοῦ δήμου]  
 [καὶ στ]ῆσαι ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Δι[ός]· μερίσαι δὲ ἐκ τῶν κατὰ ψη]  
 [φίσματα δῆ]μον τὸ γενόμενον ἀ[νάλωμα τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει].  
 25 vacat  
 [.....<sup>19</sup>.....] Οἰῆθεν  
 -----

Kydenor is thus left in possession of the year 244/3, but his immediate predecessors require further attention. The new text (Inv. No. I 6064) published above implies that Diomedon was the immediate predecessor of Kydenor, for the board of sitonai elected for Diomedon's year were praised when Kydenor was archon. But Diomedon is fixed in 247/6, three years earlier than Kydenor, by a variety of considerations which have been set forth by Pritchett and Meritt in their *Chronology* and which need not be repeated here. The praise of the sitonai was therefore unfinished business of long standing when the decree in their honor was passed on the ninth of Elaphebolion in 244/3. Epheboi of Philoneos' year and agoranomoi of Philoneos' year were both praised when Kydenor was archon. These decrees may have been unfinished business too, and so perhaps Philoneos belongs in 246/5 rather than in 245/4. The other claimant to the year immediately before Kydenor is Theophemos, whose place in the sequence of archons is attested by *S.E.G.*, II, 9. This decree of thiasotai was passed in the archonship of Kydenor, with provision that the successive boards of

epimeletai, year by year from Polyeuktos to Theophemos, should be inscribed on stone<sup>18</sup> by an especially selected committee of three. Apparently the citations of these boards were arranged in the first of two columns on the marble stele—those of Polyeuktos, Hieron, and Diomedon being still preserved. The second column has at its head the citation of the board of Kydenor's own year, and this is followed by an abbreviated citation (in another hand) of the year of Eurykleides. This text, in my opinion, carries more weight in determining the sequence of the archons than do the decrees which name only one earlier board, normally but not necessarily the immediate predecessor, and in the case of Diomedon demonstrably removed by three years from the date of the decree which honored it. It is worth noting that the decree for the agoranomoi of Philoneos' year was passed on the same day with the decree for the sitonai of Diomedon's year. They were related subjects and both were items of business that ought normally to have been taken care of earlier.

On the other hand, perhaps the strongest item that favors an arrangement placing Theophemos in 246/5 and Philoneos in 245/4 is the decree honoring the epheboi of Philoneos' year, passed when Kydenor was archon. This is independent of the decrees honoring sitonai and agoranomoi, and one may argue that unfinished business in praising the city's provisioners carries no implication of unfinished business touching the epheboi. But the surprising fact is that there was unfinished business at all. It touched not only the official life of the city but the corporate life of the thiasotai. When the epimeletai of these thiasotai had conscientiously done their duty in the archonship of Thersilochos they were praised in a resolution passed on Skirophorion 2 of that year, now preserved as *S.E.G.*, II, 10. Thersilochos was the archon immediately preceding Polyeuktos; therefore it is understandable that the picking up of arrears of commendation evidenced in *S.E.G.*, II, 9, should have commenced only with Polyeuktos. One would have thought that there were no individual decrees, like that of the year of Thersilochos, which praised the epimeletai in the years of Polyeuktos, Hieron, and Diomedon, were it not for the fact that such a decree for Hieron's year has been preserved (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1317b). Hence the inference is justified that the sequence from Polyeuktos to Theophemos included all the boards, both those that had been praised by their koinon and those that had not, in order to bring the record down to date. Since the decree of *S.E.G.*, II, 9, was passed when Kydenor was archon, this establishes the strong presumption that Theophemos was his immediate predecessor. In view of the record of Hieron one cannot assume that Philoneos, for example, intervened between Theophemos and Kydenor and was not named for inclusion on the stele because a decree had already been passed for this year.

The only way to restrict the coverage of *S.E.G.*, II, 9, so that it can include every board down to Theophemos and still leave one year unclaimed before Kydenor is to

<sup>18</sup> *S.E.G.*, II, 9, lines 6-8: καὶ ἀναγράφαι κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκάστην τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἀπὸ Πολυεύκτου ἄρχοντος μέχρι Θεοφήμου.

assume that for some reason the board of Philoneos' year, for whom the hypothetical reservation is being made, did not deserve praise and so could not be named. But this assumption is contradicted by the language of *S.E.G.*, II, 9: ἐπειδὴ τῶν θιασωτῶν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν οἱ καθιστάμενοι εἰς τὰς ἐπιμελείας καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως ἐπιμετέληνται τῶν τε θυσιῶν, ὡς αὐτοῖς πάτριόν ἐστίν, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσων αὐτοῖς ὁ νόμος προστάττει καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἀποδεδώκασιν, δεδόχθαι τῷ κοινῷ ἐπαινέσαι αὐτοὺς καὶ στεφανῶσαι καὶ ἀναγράψαι κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐκάστην τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἀπὸ Πολυνέκτου ἄρχοντος μέχρι Θεοφήμον. It would be perverse to read this as a resolution of praise for all except the immediately preceding board.<sup>19</sup> Why the epheboi had to wait a year and a half for their decree of praise remains a problem, but they were no worse off than the agoranomoi (who waited almost two years) or than the sitonai (who waited a year longer still).

The dating of Philoneos in 246/5 displaces Lysitheides, who has been tentatively assigned to that year. He should probably be dated in 242/1, now left available by the removal upward of Eurykleides.

The adjustments in the archon-tables necessitated by these new discoveries are summarized as follows:

Year	Type	Archon	Secretary	Phyle
247/6	O*	Diomedon	Φορυσκίδης Ἀριστομένου Ἀ[ναγνώσιος] <i>Chronology</i> , p. xxii; see above, p. 11.	III
246/5	I	Philoneos	[..... <sup>17</sup> .....]δήμον Ὑπ[ωρειεύς] (?) <i>Chronology</i> , p. xxii; see above, pp. 11-13.	4
245/4	O*	Theophemos	Προκ[λ]ῆς Ἀπ[..... <sup>15</sup> .....] <i>Chronology</i> , p. xxii; see above, pp. 11-13.	5
244/3	I*	Kydenor	Πολυκτῆμων Εὐκτιμένου Εὐπυρίδης <i>Chronology</i> , pp. xxii-xxiii; see above, p. 11.	VI
243/2	O	Eurykleides	secretary unknown <i>Chronology</i> , p. xxii; see above, p. 13.	7
242/1	O	Lysitheides	secretary unknown <i>Chronology</i> , p. xxii; see above, p. 13.	8
232/1	O	Jason	secretary unknown <i>Chronology</i> , p. xxiii; see above, p. 4, note 3.	6

4 (Plate 5). Fragment of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found in a modern wall at the corner of Eponymon and Ptolemy Streets in Section Θ on July 3, 1947.

<sup>19</sup> For μέχρι Θεοφήμον for a *terminus ad quem* in the preceding archonship see now also *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 165, where a record down to the archonship of Poseidonios (162/1) is authorized in the archonship of Aristolas (161/0).

Height, 0.135 m.; width, 0.17 m.; thickness, 0.10 m.; height of letters, 0.008 m. The spacing of the lines varies from 0.012 m. to 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 6035.

ca. 232 B.C.

[ῆ βου]λῆ  
[ὁ δῆ]μος  
[τοῦ]ς ἐφῆ  
βους

This is one of the citations from a decree honoring the epheboi and their instructors. I have not found that it is part of any known stele, though the general appearance suggests a date close to that of *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 158-160 (6).<sup>20</sup> The type of citation is that of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 766, republished above on pp. 5-7 and dated in 244/3.<sup>21</sup>

5 (Plate 5). Fragment of off-white marble with some reddish and some bluish veins, with a small bit of the left edge preserved, found in a late fill under Eponymon Street in Section Θ on June 28, 1947.

Height, 0.095 m.; width, 0.18 m.; thickness, 0.037 m.; height of letters, 0.005 m. Inv. No. I 6020.

The writing is stoichedon with a chequer pattern which measures 0.01 m. vertically and 0.01 m. (or more) horizontally. The spacing is closest next the left margin.

ca. 230 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 38

[...<sup>10</sup>.....]μοκ[.....<sup>14</sup>..... εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ]  
[ο]ἱ πρυτάνεις τῇ[ς ...ντίδος ἐπαινέσαντες καὶ]  
στεφανώσαντε[ς ἀποφαίνουσιν τὸν ταμίαν ὃν εἶ]  
λοντο ἐξ ἑαυτ[ῶν .....<sup>16</sup>..... τὰς τε θυσί]  
5 ας τεθυκένα[ι ἀπάσας τὰς καθηκούσας ἐν τῇ πρυ]  
[τα]νείαι ὑπ[ὲρ - - - - -]

The lettering and surface treatment of the stone are much like Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, no. 31. A somewhat earlier date is here suggested because the text is stoichedon.

6 (Plate 5). Fragment of a stele of Hymettian marble, with the right side and rough-picked back preserved but otherwise broken, found in a mixed fill in Section ΟΟ on July 18, 1947.

<sup>20</sup> For the date 232/1 see *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 299 and 302.

<sup>21</sup> See lines 24-26.

Height, 0.185 m.; width, 0.205 m.; thickness, 0.09 m.-0.095 m.; height of letters, ca. 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 6060.

This fragment forms part of the same stele with Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, no. 40, enabling the text to be read and restored as follows:

203/2 B.C.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 48

- [----- ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπαγγέλλουσιν οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς Οἰνεί]δ[ος ὑπὲρ]  
 [τῶν θυσιῶν ὧν ἔθνον τὰ πρὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τῶι τε] Ἀπόλλωνι τῶ[ι]  
 [Προστατηρίῳ καὶ τεῖ Ἀρτέμιδι τεῖ Βουλαίαι κ]αὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις  
 [θεοῖς οἷς πάτριον ἦν· ἀγαθεῖ τύχει δεδ]όχθαι τῶι δήμῳ· τὰ  
 5 [μὲν ἀγαθὰ δέχεσθαι τὰ γεγονότα ἐ]ν τοῖς ἱεροῖς οἷς ἔθνον ἐ[φ']  
 [ὑγιείαι καὶ σωτηρίαι τῆς τε β]ουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου· ἐπει  
 [δὴ δὲ οἱ πρυτάνεις τὰς τε θυσίας] ἔθυσαν ἀπάσας ὅσαι καθ[ήκ]ο[ν]  
 [ἐν τεῖ πρυτανείαι καλῶς καὶ φι]λοτίμως, ἐπιμεμέληντ[αι δὲ]  
 [καὶ τῆς συλλογῆς τῆς τε βουλ]ῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν ἄλλ[ων]  
 10 [ἀπάντων ὧν αὐτοῖς προσέ]ταττον οἳ τε νόμοι καὶ τὰ ψηφίσ[μα]  
 [τα τοῦ δήμου· ἐπαινέσαι τοὺς] πρυτάνεις τῆς Οἰνείδος κα[ὶ]  
 [στεφανῶσαι {στεφανῶσαι} χρυσῶι] στεφάνῳι κατὰ τὸν νόμο[ν]  
 [εὐσεβείας ἔνεκα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοῦ]ς καὶ φιλοτιμίας [τῆς εἰς]  
 [τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθην]αίων· ἀνα[γράψαι δὲ τὸ ψή]  
 15 [φισμα τόδε τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ π]ρυτ[ανείαν ἐν στήλει]  
 [λιθίνει καὶ σ]τήσα[ι ἐν τῶι πρυτανικῶι· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγρα]  
 [φὴν καὶ τὴν] ποιήσιν τ[ῆς στήλης μερίσαι τὸν ἐπὶ τεῖ διοικῆ]  
 [σει τὸ γενό]μενον ἀνάλω[μα]
- |               |           |              |
|---------------|-----------|--------------|
| ἡ βουλὴ       | ὁ δ[ήμ]ος | [ἡ βουλὴ]    |
| 20 τὸν ταμίαν | τοὺς πρυ  | [τὸν γραμμα] |
| Κάλλιππον     | 25 τάνεις | τέ[α Κάλλιπ] |
| ᾽Οῦθεν        |           | πο[ν ? ---]  |
- 30 ἐπὶ Προξενίδου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἱπποθωντίδος δευτέρα[s πρυ]  
 τανείας ἦι Εὐβουλος Εὐβουλίδ[ο]ν Αἰζωνεὺς ἐγραμμάτευ[εν·]  
 Μεταγεινιώνος δευτέραι ἱσταμένου, πέμπτη τῆς πρυ[τα]  
 νείας· βουλὴ ἐμ βουλευτηρίῳ· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν Νικίας  
 [Νικ]ίου Πιθεὺς καὶ συμπρόεδροι ᾽ ἔδοξεν τεῖ βουλεῖ ᾽ Τιμοκλῆς Δι  
 35 [. . .<sup>43</sup>. . .]ου Ἀγνούσιος εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς Οἰνείδος καὶ οἱ  
 [ἀείσιτοι ἐπα]νέσαντες καὶ στ[ε]φανώσαντες ἀποφαίνουσιν  
 [τεῖ βουλεῖ τὸν ταμ]ίαν ὃν εἶλοντο [ο]ἱ πρυτάνεις Κάλλιππον ᾽Οῦθεν  
 [τάς τε θυσίας τεθυκέναι] πάσας τὰς καθηκούσας ἐν τῇ πρυτα  
 [νείαι ὑπὲρ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δή]μου, ἐπιμεμελῆσθαι δὲ καὶ τῶν

- 40 [ἄλλων ἀπάντων καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως· ἀγαθεῖ τύ]χει δεδόχθαι τεῖ βουλῇ·  
 [ἐπαινέσαι τὸν ταμίαν Κάλλιππον] Φιλιστίδο[υ] Ὁῆθεν εὐσεβείας ἔνε  
 [κα τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ φιλοτ]ιμίας τῆς εἰς το[ύς] φυλέτας  
 [καὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων· ἐπαινέσα]ι δὲ καὶ τὸν γραμματέα Κάλλ[ιππ?]ον  
 [-----<sup>ca. 21</sup>-----] καὶ τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ ἐπωνύμου Λυσι[. ?]
- 45 [---<sup>ca. 8</sup>--- καὶ τὸν γραμματέ]α τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου Σώσιππον  
 [Φλυέα καὶ τὸν ὑπογραμματέα Π]ρωτομένην Εἰτεαῖον καὶ τὸν κήρυκα  
 [τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου Εὐκ]λῆν Βερενικίδην καὶ τὸν αὐλητὴν Νε  
 [οκλῆν Βερενικίδην καὶ στε]φα[νῶ]σαι ἕκαστον αὐτῶν θαλλοῦ στε  
 [φάνωι· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφι]σμα τὸν γρ[α]μματέα τὸν κατὰ πρῶ  
 50 [ταναίαν ἐν στήλει λιθίνει καὶ στῆ]σαι ἐν τῷ πρυτανικῷ· εἰς δὲ  
 [τὴν ἀναγραφὴν καὶ τὴν ποίησιν τῆς] στήλης μερίσαι τὸν ἐπὶ τεῖ  
 [διοικήσει τὸ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα]

	[ῆ βουλῇ]		[ῆ βουλῇ]	65	ῆ βουλῇ
	[τὸν ἱερέα]		[τὸν γραμ]μα		τὸν ὑπο
55	[Λυσι--]	60	[τέα τῆς] βο		γραμματέα
	[----]		[λῆς καὶ] τοῦ		Πρωτομένην
	[---]		[δήμου] Σώ		Εἰτεαῖ
			[σιππ]ον	70	ον
			[Φλ]υέα		
	[ῆ βουλῇ]		[ῆ βουλῇ]		
	[τὸν κήρυκα]		[τὸν αὐλη]		
	[τῆς βουλῆς]		80	[τὴν Νεο]	
	[καὶ τοῦ δή]			[κλῆν Βε]	
75	[μου Εὐκλῆν]			[ρενικί]	
	[Βερενει]			[δην]	
	[κίδην]				

7 (Plate 5). Part of a stele of Hymettian marble, with the right side preserved, found in the wall of a modern house in Section Θ on June 6, 1946.

Height, 0.21 m.; width, 0.107 m.; thickness, 0.089 m.; height of letters, 0.008 m. Each line measures about 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 5912.

ca. 200 B.C.

[ῆ βου]λῇ  
 [τὸν τα]μίαν  
 [τῆς βο]υλῆς  
 [ . . . ]ωνα  
 5 [ . . . ]έα

There are three concentric rings around the citation and traces of guide-lines for the text within. This fragment is from the lower part of a decree honoring prytaneis.

8 (Plate 5). Part of a stele of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found under Eponymon Street in Section K on July 25, 1947.

Height, 0.125 m.; width, 0.125 m.; thickness, 0.035 m.; height of letters, 0.005 m.-0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 6057.

ca. 190 B.C.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 50-57

[ἐπὶ —<sup>ca. 10</sup>— ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐ]ρεχθείδος δε[υτέρας πρυτανείας ἥι]  
[—<sup>ca. 21</sup>— ἐγραμμ]άτευεν· Μεταγ[εινιῶνος —<sup>ca. 21</sup>—]  
[ἰσταμένον . . .<sup>ca. 8</sup>. . . τῆς πρυτα]νείας· βουλὴ ἐμ [βουλευτηρίῳ· τῶν]  
[προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν Δωρόθε]ος Δωροθέου Ἐρο[ιάδης καὶ συμπρό]  
5 [εδροι· ἔδοξεν τῇ βουλῇ· . .<sup>?</sup>. . .]ίας Στησιχόρου [—<sup>ca. 21</sup>— εἶπεν·]  
[ἐπειδὴ οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς —<sup>ca. 21</sup>— ἰ]δος καὶ οἱ ἀείσιτ[οι ἐπαινέσαντες]  
[καὶ στεφανώσαντες ἀποφαίνουσιν —<sup>ca. 21</sup>—]

The proedros (line 4) is an ancestor of him of the same name who was ephebos in 123/2 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1006, line 118). The orator was apparently the same as the orator in Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 102, no. 48, line 2, so that both these texts probably belong to one year.

9 (Plate 6). An inscribed stele of Pentelic marble, found on June 14, 1947, in the floor of a modern house in Section Θ. Part of the top is preserved, though both upper corners have been broken; the stele is also broken at the bottom. The stone tapers markedly toward the top, which is flat, but which near the left preserves part of the hole for a dowel for the attachment of a crowning pediment. The sides are dressed with a toothed chisel; the back is rough. As discovered, the stele was being re-used at least for a second time, for it was face down and the rectangular cutting in the face must date from an earlier re-use.

Height, 0.84 m.; width (above the register), 0.545 m.; thickness, 0.095 m.; height of letters, 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 6006.

140/39 B.C.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 60

[Ἐπὶ Ἀγνοθέου ἀρχ]οντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀττα[λίδος πέμπτῃς πρυτανείας ἥι Μενε]  
[κράτης Χარიξένου] Θερίκιος ἐγραμμάτε[υεν· —<sup>ca. 25</sup>—]  
[—<sup>ca. 13</sup>—]ει τῆς πρυτανείας· ἐκκλ[ησία· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν]  
[—<sup>ca. 10</sup>—] Νικάνορος Μυρρινούσιος κα[ὶ συμπρόεδροι· ἔδοξεν τῷ δήμῳ·]

- 5 [Εὐ]κτί[μενος Ε]ὐδήμων Εἰτεαῖος εἶπεν· ὑπ[έρ ὧν ἀπαγγέλλουσιν οἱ πρυτάνεις]  
[τῇ]ς Ἀντ[ιοχ]ίδος ὑπὲρ τῶν θυσιῶν <ῶ>ν ἔθν[ον τὰ πρὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τῷ τε]  
[Ἀπ]όλλωνι τῷ Προστατηρίῳ καὶ τεῖ Ἀρτέμ[ιδι τεῖ Βουλαίαι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις]  
[θε]οῖς οἷς πάτριον ἦν, ἔθυσαν δὲ καὶ τεῖ Ἀρτέμ[ιδι τεῖ Φωσφόρῳ καὶ ἅπαντα τὰ]  
[ἄλ]λα συνετέλεσαν καλῶς καὶ εὐσχημόνως· ἐβ[ουθύτησαν δὲ καὶ τὰς θυσίας]  
10 [τ]εῖ Δήμητρι καὶ τεῖ Κόρει ὑπὲρ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ το[ῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν συμμάχων·]  
[ε]θυσαν δὲ καὶ τῷ Θησεί καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Π[ατρῴῳ, καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι]  
[τῇ]ν εἰρυσιώνην ἀνέθηκαν κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ὡς ἀγαθ[εῖ τύχει δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ]  
[τὰ] μὲν ἀγαθὰ δέχεσθαι τὰ γεγονότα ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς [οἷς ἔθουν ἐφ' ὑγιείαι καὶ σω]  
[τ]ηρίαι τῆς τε βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ οἱ τε φυλέ[ε]  
15 [ται] εἰσὶν εὖνους τῷ δήμῳ οἱ τε πρυτάνεις τὰς θυσίας[ς ἔθυσαν ἀπάσας ὅσαι]  
[κ]αθῆκον ἦν τεῖ πρυτανείαι καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως· ἐπιμ[εμέληνται δὲ καὶ τῆς]  
[συ]λλογῆς τῆς τε βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπ[άντων ὧν αὐτοῖς προσέ]  
[τ]αττον οἱ τε νόμοι καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα τοῦ δήμου· ἐπαινέσ[αι τοὺς πρυτάνεις]  
[τ]ῆς Ἀντιοχίδος καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ κατὰ τ[ὸν νόμον εὐσεβείας]  
20 [ἐ]νεκεν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ φιλοτιμίας τῆς εἰς τὴν βου[λὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον·]  
[ἀν]αγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτα[νείαν εἰς στήλην]  
[λι]θίνην καὶ στήσαι ἐν τῷ πρυτανικῷ· εἰς δὲ τὴν ποίησιν τῆς στ[ῆλης καὶ τὴν ἀνα]  
[γ]ραφὴν μερίσαι τὸν [ταμία]ν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν τὸ γενόμενον [ἀνάλωμα νᾶς.]

ἡ βουλὴ	ὁ δῆμος	ἡ βο[υλὴ]
25 τὸν ταμίαν	τοὺς	τὸν
Εὐκτίμενον	30 πρυτάνεις	γραμμα[τέα]
Εἰτεαῖον		Εὐκτίμ[ενον]
		35 Εἰτεαῖ[ον]

- [ἐ]πὶ Ἀγνοθέου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀτταλίδος πέμπτης πρυτανείας  
[ῆ]ι Μενεκράτης Χαριζένου Θορίκιος ἐγραμμάτευεν· Μαιμακτηριῶνος  
δευτέρα μετ' εἰκάδας, ὀγδόει καὶ δεκάτει τῆς πρυτανείας· βουλὴ  
[ἐ]μ Πειραιεῖ ἐν τῷ Φωσφορίῳ· τῶμ προέδρων ἐπεψήφισεν Νικοκράτης  
40 [Ἐ]πικράτου Πτελεάσιος καὶ συμπρόεδροι· ὅσοις ἔδοξεν τεῖ βουλεῖ ὅσοις  
Εὐκτίμενος Εὐδήμων Εἰτεαῖος εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς Ἀντιο  
χίδος καὶ οἱ αἰεῖσιτοι ἐπαινέσαντες καὶ στεφανώσαντες ἀποφαίνου  
σιν τεῖ βουλεῖ τὸν ταμίαν καὶ γραμματέα Εὐκτίμενον Εἰτεαῖον τὰς τε θυ  
σίας τεθυκέναι τὰς καθηκούσας ἐν τεῖ πρυτανείαι· ἐπιμεμελῆσθαι δὲ ὅσοις  
45 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως· ἀγαθεῖ τύχει δεδόχθαι ὅσοις  
τεῖ βουλεῖ ἐπαινέσαι τὸν ταμίαν καὶ γραμματέα Εὐκτίμενον Εἰτεαῖον  
εὐσεβείας ἔνεκεν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς φυλέτας· ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τὸν γραμματέα  
τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου Στράτιππον Ῥαμνούσιον καὶ τὸν ὑπογραμματέα ὅσοις  
Χαιρητίδην Κορυδαλλέα καὶ τὸν κήρυκα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου Εὐκλῆν Τρι

- 50 νεμέα καὶ τὸν αὐλητὴν Θεόδωρον Οἰναῖον καὶ τὸν ταμίαν τῆς βουλῆς <sup>ν ν ν</sup>  
 Λυκόφρονα Σουνιέα καὶ τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ ἐπωνύμου Ἀμμώνιον Ἀναφλύστιον  
 καὶ στεφανῶσαι ἕκαστον αὐτῶν θαλλοῦ στεφάνωι· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε {τόδε}  
 τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν εἰς στήλην λιθίνην καὶ στή  
 55 σαι ἐν τῷ πρυτανικῷ· εἰς δὲ τὴν ποίησιν τῆς στήλης καὶ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν μερί  
 σαι τὸν ἐπὶ τεῖ διιοικήσει τὸ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα *vacat*

Εἰτεαῖοι *		Παλληνεῖς		Φιλόδημος		Θοραιεῖς	
Εὐκτίμενος		Ἰολλᾶς		Αἰσχρίων		Δημαγόρας	
Λέων		Ἐξακῶν		Μενέλαος		Ἀριστοκράτης	
[. . . . .]ς		Σατυρίων		Ἀριστίων		Δεινοκράτης	
60	[Σημαχίδαι]	75	Φανόκριτος	90	Πάτρων	105	Ἀναφλύστιοι
	[-----]		Διονύσιος		Διογένης		Ἀττινᾶς
	[-----]		Ἀθηνόδωρος		Ἀνδρόνικος		Φιλόθεος
	[-----]		[Ἀρ]χέλαος		Αἰσχροῶνδης		Κριωεῖς
	[-----]		[. . . . .]ιος		Ἀμφιτροπαιεῖς		Ὀλυμπίων
65	[-----]	80	[. . . . .]ος	95	Ἀπολλώνιος	110	Ἡρακλέων
	[-----]		[Ἀλωπεκεῖς]		Σάτυρος		Βασιλείδης
	[-----]		[-----]		Κλεόνοστος		Πύρρος
	[-----]		[-----]		Ἴων		Ἐροιάδαι
	[-----]		[-----]		Κλέων		Τιμόστρατος
70	[-----]	85	[-----]	100	Κλεότιμος	115	<i>vacat</i>
[ἀντιγραφεύς ----- ο]ν Σημαχίδης							
117	[ἡ βουλῇ]	120	[ἡ βουλῇ]	123	[ἡ βουλῇ]	126	ἡ βουλῇ
	[Στράτιππον]		[Χαιρητίδην]		[Εὐκλήν]		Θεόδωρον
	[Ῥαμνοῦσιον]		[Κορυδαλλέα]		[Τρινεμέα]		Οἰναῖ[ον]
	129	[ἡ βουλῇ]			132	[ἡ βουλῇ]	
		[Λυκόφρονα]				[Ἀμμώνιον]	
		[Σουνιέα]				[Ἀναφλύστιον]	

Line 6: The stone has ON. Line 16: Perhaps ἦν should be transcribed <ἐ>ν.

This stele, with its two decrees, its register of prytaneis, and its citations, conforms to the standard pattern described by Dow in *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 4. It has its own peculiar interest in that the same man was both treasurer and secretary of the prytaneis honored, and that he also proposed both decrees, one awarding an olive crown to himself in each of his two capacities and one awarding a golden crown to the councillors of his phyle. It has, moreover, an additional name below the register. Obviously this man was not one of the prytaneis, and I assume that he was the anti-grapheus, an official whose name occasionally appears in decrees of approximately

this date.<sup>22</sup> In the present text he is not named and praised with the officials,<sup>23</sup> but his name was added because, presumably, he belonged to the phyle that was being honored. Semachidai was a deme of Antiochis, and its councillors were listed in the register above.

The calendar equation in lines 37-38 shows that the year of Hagnotheos was intercalary. The Phosphorion in the Peiraeus, where the meeting of the Council took place, brings a welcome addition to the gazetteer of Attic topography, and its site should probably be fixed to the sanctuary of Artemis in Mounychia.<sup>24</sup> The second decree (line 49) also shows that the career of the younger Eukles as herald extended down at least to 140/39.<sup>25</sup> The flutist, however, is different from him last known before the date of this present inscription.<sup>26</sup>

The register is not complete, but the scheme of its disposition is sufficiently well indicated to show that only two demotics, both belonging to large demes, have been lost. The total panel of fifty is achieved if one restores *Σημαχίδαι* in line 60, thus giving ten councillors to that deme, and *Ἀλωπεκεῖς* in line 81, thus giving twelve councillors, the maximum possible, to Alopeke. These figures compare well with nine for Semachidai and fourteen for Alopeke in *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, no. 71, of 169/8 B.C. There is no room in the list for a demesman from Besa, which had one councillor in 169/8; nor is there room for a demesman from Atene, which was likewise not represented in 169/8. This double absence of Atene confirms the judgment of Bates and Kirchner, recently restated by Dow after dissent on the part of Dinsmoor and Ferguson, that the deme in the course of its history was never divided, but that it went from Antiochis entirely to Demetrias in 307/6, reverted temporarily to Antiochis when the so-called Macedonian phylai were abolished in 201, and then went entirely to Attalis in 200 and there remained.<sup>27</sup>

The supposed necessity for having Atene a divided deme is the alleged fact that otherwise two of the nine archons of the year of Menekrates<sup>28</sup> will have come from only one phyle, Demetrias, and that this would be a violation of the rule of distribution

<sup>22</sup> Cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 967, lines 2-3 (= Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, no. 85), and Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, no. 86, lines 3-4 and 13-14. Both inscriptions are prytany-decrees of 145/4; for the date see Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. xxxi. Cf. also *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 209, lines 102-103 and 114-115 (128/7).

<sup>23</sup> As in *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, no. 86.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, p. 452.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 17.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 154, no. 86, line 12, and also p. 18.

<sup>27</sup> F. O. Bates, *The Five Post-Kleisthenian Tribes* (Ithaca, 1898), pp. 21-22; J. Kirchner, *Rh. Mus.*, XLVII, 1892, p. 555, and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1706, note (cf. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>3</sup>, 542, note 8); W. B. Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 448; W. S. Ferguson, *Tribal Cycles*, p. 51; S. Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 133, and III, 1934, p. 180. W. K. Pritchett, *The Five Attic Tribes after Kleisthenes* (Baltimore, 1943), p. 34, counted Atene still as a divided deme.

<sup>28</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1706, lines 73 and 76 = *Hesperia*, II, 1933, Plate XIV, lines 93 and 96.

commonly known as Beloch's Law, which was observed without exception, save only here, in the eighteen years covered by the great archon list in which they appear. But the supposed difficulty does not exist, and at last a long-standing error in the epigraphical tradition must be corrected. The name of the polemarch, universally read as Κλεομέδων Ἀτην, was in fact Κλεομέδων Ἀζην in which the demotic must be expanded to Ἀζην(ιεύς), giving an affiliation with Hippothontis and causing no conflict with any other archon of the same year.<sup>29</sup> Fortunately this reading can be controlled. The letter taken as T in ΑΤΗΝ is damaged at the bottom<sup>30</sup> by a superficial scar which comes up from left to right across the surface of the stone and barely impinges on the letter. Part, but not all, of the lower stroke of T has thus been lost. What remains can still be seen in the photograph. The stroke is quite clearly defined at the right and largely lost in the blemish on the marble at the left. It was made with a blow from the mason's chisel similar to that which made the vertical stroke, and it seems to have been made before the vertical stroke, for this latter was imposed upon it. The vertical stroke was broad and deep at the bottom and narrow and shallow at the top, being hardly perceptible where it touches the upper horizontal. The lower horizontal is 0.005 m. long, like many other strokes in the letters of this inscription, and appears heavier at the left than at the right. This shows better on a squeeze than in a photograph, where the right half of the lower horizontal stroke seems more prominent. But there can be no question about the existence of the stroke or the necessity for reading the letter as zeta. The text of the inscription is to be corrected accordingly.<sup>31</sup>

Some of the councillors named in the register are otherwise known or have connections to which reference should be made here:

Line 73: Exakon was presumably the father of the Exakon of *P.A.*, 4708. The son, Ἐξακῶν Ἐξακῶντος Παλληνεύς, was orator of two decrees in 116/5.<sup>32</sup> While it is possible that the orator of 116/5 may be identical with the councillor of 140/39, the interval of time favors slightly the alternate interpretation.

Line 74: Satyriion is to be identified with the gymnasiarch at Delos of 136/5, Σατυρίων Σατυρίωνος Παλληνεύς (*B.C.H.*, XXXVI, 1912, p. 396). Cf. Sundwall, *Nachträge*, s.v.

<sup>29</sup> The reading ΑΤΗΝ can be traced back through successive editions to Rangabé in 1855 (*Antiquités Helléniques*, II, no. 1258) and Eustratiades in 1852 (*Ἐπιγραφαὶ ἀνέκδοτοι*, II, pp. 19-20).

<sup>30</sup> See the photograph in *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 441, fig. 11.

<sup>31</sup> M. Mitsos and E. Vanderpool have recently examined the stone itself, at my suggestion, and both report T (letter from Mitsos of November 17, 1947). The numeral 12, now read for the phyle of the polemarch in 220/19 in the tables published by Pritchett and Meritt, must be changed to 10. Cf. Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. 44; Pritchett, *The Five Attic Tribes after Kleisthenes* (Baltimore, 1943), p. 15 (= *A.J.P.*, LXIII, 1942, p. 415).

<sup>32</sup> See *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1009, line 32, and *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 170, no. 67, line 6. The accent on the name in *Hesperia* is to be corrected. Also, in *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 171, ἐβουθύτησαν is the corrected reading in lines 19-20.

Line 76: Dionysios is so common a name that exact identifications are difficult. Several are known from Pallene.

Line 86: Philodemos may be the son of Dionysodoros of Antiochis who was secretary in 159/8, [Διονυ]σόδωρος Φι[λοδήμου -- <sup>ca. 9</sup> --].<sup>33</sup> The identification rests on the assumption that Dionysodoros the secretary, being the father of Philodemos, was, through him, grandfather of a younger Dionysodoros, the latter of whom were both pythaists in 97/6 B.C.<sup>34</sup> The demotic Παλληνεύς is admirably suited to the space of about nine letters available in *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 144, no. 79, line 36 for the demotic of the secretary, and this restoration, [Διονυ]σόδωρος Φι[λοδήμου Παλληνεύς], is here suggested for that text.

Line 91: Satyros may possibly be the father in the sepulchral inscription *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 5606: 'Απολλοφάνης Σατύρου <Ἀμφι>τροπήθε<ν>.

Line 93: Ion is to be identified with [Ἵ]ων Ἀμφιτροπήθεν of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1938, line 28, a hieropoios in the archonship of Lysiades (*ca.* 148/7; cf. Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. xxx).

Line 103: Aristokrates was probably the son of the councillor of the same name of 169/8 known from *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 132, no. 71, line 90.

Line 106: Attinas was the father of [Ῥ]αδάμανθης Ἀττινοῦ Ἀντιοχίδος named in Sundwall, *Nachträge*, pp. 148-149. This Rhadamanthys was one of the Πυθαῖσται παῖδες in 138/7, then theoros to Delphi and ἱππεύς in 128/7.<sup>35</sup>

Line 110: Herakleon is to be identified with Ἡρακλέων Μηνο[φίλ]ου Κριωεύς, whose name appears in a list of epimeletai *ca.* 140-130 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1939, line 46).

Line 112: Pyrrhos was the father of Παγκράτης Πύρρου Κριωεύς (*P.A.*, 11513), who was ephebos in the archonship of Aristarchos in 107/6 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1011, line 118).

10 (Plate 7). Three joining fragments of a stele of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found in Section Θ on June 11, 1947.

Height, 0.06 m.; width, 0.15 m.; thickness, 0.26 m.; height of letters, 0.006 m. Each line occupies about 0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 6003.

135/4 B.C.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. *ca.* 52

[Ἐπὶ Διονυ]σίου ἄρχοντος [τοῦ μετὰ Τιμαρχίδην ἐπὶ τῆς . . . <sup>ca. 8</sup> . . .]  
[δος ἐνάτ]ης πρὶν[τανε]ίας [ἥ]ι Θεόλυτος Θεοδότου Ἀμφιτροπήθεν ἔγραμ[μα]  
[μάτευεν·] Ἐλαφ[ηβολι]ῶ[νος] -----  
[-----] | --- | [-----]

<sup>33</sup> See *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 144, no. 79, lines 35-36.

<sup>34</sup> See Sundwall, *Nachträge*, pp. 63 and 164; S. Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 145.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. G. Colin, *Le Culte d'Apollon Pythien à Delphes* (Paris, 1905), pp. 46, 41, 81; also *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2, no. 11 (line 15), no. 8 (line 12), and no. 27 (line 28). This last reference gives the assignment to Antiochis.

This inscription so much resembles that published in *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 126-130, that they may have been cut by the same hand. The requirements of space indicate that the name of the phyle to be restored in lines 1-2 was fairly long. For the date, see Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, pp. xxxi-xxxii.

**11** (Plate 7). Part of a stele of Hymettian marble, with left side and back preserved, found on September 26, 1946, in the north foundation wall of the south tower of the Valerian wall, the site of the church of Panagia Pyrgiotissa. This fragment belongs to the ephebic stele published as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1006, and forms part of lines 88-116 in that inscription.

Height, 0.52 m.; width, 0.15 m.; thickness, 0.167 m.; height of letters, 0.005 m.-0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 5953.

122/1 B.C.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

(for previous lines, see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1006)

τοὺς ἐν ὄλῳ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ καλοκαγαθίαν καὶ εὖνοϊαν· [ἔδωκεν] δὲ κ[αὶ τ]ὰς εὐθύνας  
 [κα]τὰ τὸν νόμο[ν· ἔ]να οὖν καὶ ἡ βουλὴ [καὶ] ὁ δῆμος φανε  
 ροὶ γίνων[τ]αι τιμ[ῶν]τες καταξίως τοὺς φιλαγαθοῦντας τ[ῶν] κοσμ[η]τῶν καὶ  
 ἄρχοντας δικαίως καὶ κατὰ το[ύ]ς νόμους καὶ ἀποδε[ικ]νυμένους τὴν  
 90 εἰς ἑαυτοὺς εὖν[οϊαν], γίνονται δὲ κα[ὶ] ἄλλοι ζηλωταὶ τῶ[ν] αὐτῶν, ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ  
 δεδόχθα[ι] τῇ βουλῇ τοὺς λαχόντας προέδρο[υς] εἰς τὴν ἐπιού  
 σταν ἐκκλησίαν χ[ρ]ηματίσαι περὶ τούτων, γνώμην δὲ [ξύμ]β[άλλ]εσθαι τῆς  
 [βου]λῆς ε[ἰ]ς τὸν δῆμον ὅτι δο[κε]ῖ τῇ βουλ[ῇ] ἐπαινέσαι τὸν κοσ  
 μητὴν τῶν ἐφήβ[ω]ν τῶν ἐπὶ Δημητρίου ἄρχοντος Διονύσι[ο]ν Σ[ω]κρά[του Φυλά]σιον  
 καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσ[ῶι] στεφά[ν]ωι κατὰ τὸν νόμον  
 ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν κ[αὶ] δ[ικαιοσύνης] ἣν ἔχων διε[τ]έλεσεν εἰς τ[ὴν] βουλὴν κ[αὶ] τὸν  
 δῆμον, καὶ ἀνείπ[ειν] τὸν στέ[φ]ανον τοῦτον Διονυσί  
 ων τε τῶν ἐν ἄστ[ει] καινοῖς τραγωδοῖς καὶ Παναθηναίων καὶ Ἑλευ[σινίων] τοῖς  
 γυμνικ[οῖς] ἀγῶσιν· τῆς δὲ ἀ[ναγορε]ύ[σεως] τοῦ στεφάνου ἐπὶ  
 95 μεληθῆναι τοὺς [στρ]ατηγοὺς· ἐπικεχωρῆσθαι δὲ Διονυσίωι καὶ τ[ὴν] ἀνάθεσιν τῆς  
 εἰκόνης ποιήσασθαι ἥι ἐστεφάνω]σαν αὐτὸν οἱ ἐφηβεύσαντες οὗ  
 μὴ οἱ νόμοι ἀπαγορ[εύου]σιν· εἶναι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν [εὐ]ρέσθ[αι] παρὰ  
 τοῦ δῆμον οὗ ἂν] δοκῇ ἄξιος εἶναι· ἀναγράψαι  
 δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισ[μα] τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρῶτα[ν] εἰς στήλαις λιθίναις δυσὶν  
 καὶ στήσαι μ[υ]ίαν μὲν ἐν ἀγορᾷ, τὴν δὲ ἐτέ  
 ραν οὗ ἂν ἐπιτῆδειον φαίνεται· [ε]ἰς δὲ τὴν [ἀν]αγ[ρ]αφὴν [καὶ] τὴν ἀνάθεσιν τῶν  
 στήλων τὸ γενό]μενον ἀνάλωμα μερίσαι  
 τὸν ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν. vasat

At this point there were seven citations (lines 100-105) across the width of the stone

	I	II	III	IV
100	ἡ βουλὴ ὁ δῆμος τὸν κοσμητῆν <i>in corona</i> Διονύσιον Σωκράτου Φυλάσιον	ἡ βουλὴ ὁ δῆμ[ο]ς <i>in corona</i> τοὺς [ἐφήβους]	ἡ βουλὴ ὁ [δ]ῆμος τὸν κοσμητῆν <i>in corona</i> Διονύσιον Σωκράτου Φυλάσιον	<i>citation lost,</i> <i>except for a</i> <i>small part</i> <i>of the</i> <i>crown</i>
	V	VI	VII	
100	[οἱ ἐφηβοὶ ?] <i>in corona</i> [τὸν κοσμη]τῆν [Διο]νύσιον Σωκράτου [Φ]υλάσιον	[ὁ δ]ῆμος τὸν κοσμητῆν <i>in corona</i> Διονύσιο[ν] Σωκράτου Φυλάσιον καὶ τοὺς 105 ἐφήβους	ἡ βουλὴ ὁ δῆμος <i>in corona</i> τοὺς [ἐφήβ]ου[ς]	

123/2 B.C.

Οἱ ἐφηβεύσαντες [ἐπὶ Δημη]τρίου ἄρχ[οντ]ος

Column I

Ἐρεχθείδος

- Ἀντίπατρος Ἀντιπάτρου Λαμπρεύς  
Χαρίδημος [-----] Ἄρον ἐκ Κηδῶν  
110 Φιλόνικος [-----]ν Λαμπρεύς  
Νουμήνιος Ἑρμίου Λαμ[πρε]ύς  
Ἀρχίας [Ἀπ]ολλωνίου Κηφισιεύ[ς]  
Ἐπιγέ[νη]ς Ἐπιγένου Φηγούσιος  
Ἀντιφ[... ]ς Στεφάνου Κηφισιεύς  
115 Αἰγείδος  
Μεν[... ]χος Κραταιμένου Φιλαίδ[η]ς  
[-----]ος Διογένου ἐκ Κολων[οῦ]

(for the rest of the text, see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1006).

The new dispositions in the text are for the most part self-explanatory, but the number of citations in lines 100-105 was clearly seven, and part of every one of the crowns has been preserved.

Noumenios (line 111) may be the father of *P.A.*, 11139, who was ephebos in the archonship of Apollodoros (80/79).<sup>36</sup>

12 (Plate 7). Pedimental stele of Pentelic marble, broken at the left and bottom, found on July 21, 1947, lying over the tiles of a Roman drain at the west end of the Middle Stoa in Section K.

Height, 0.87 m.; width, 0.36 m.; thickness at the bottom, 0.085 m.; height of letters, 0.007 m.-0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 6053.

95/4 B.C.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. *ca.* 46-60

- [Ἐπὶ Θεοδότου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰ]πποθωντίδος πένπτης πρῦ<sup>υ</sup>  
 [τανείας ἥι -----<sup>ca. 17</sup>-----]ον Παιανιεύς ἐγραμμάτευεν,  
 [Μαιμακτηριῶνος ἐνάτει ἰσταμέ]νου κατὰ θεόν, ἐνάτει τῆς πρῦ  
 [τανείας, κατ' ἄρχοντα δὲ --<sup>6-7</sup>-- ἰ]σταμένον· ἐκκλησία κυρία ἐν  
 5 [τῷ θεάτρῳ· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεφ]ήφιζεν Διόδοτος Φιλοστράτου  
 [----- καὶ συμπρόεδροι *vacat*] *vacat*  
 [ἔδοξεν τῷ] δῆμῳ  
 [-----<sup>ca. 27</sup>-----]ς εἶπεν· ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπαγγέλλουσιν  
 [οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς Κεκροπίδος ὑπὲ]ρ τῶν θυσιῶν ὧν ἔθνον τὰ πρὸ τῶν  
 10 [ἐκκλησιῶν τῷ τε Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ Προ]στατηρίῳ καὶ τεῖ Ἀρτέμιδι τεῖ<sup>υ</sup>  
 [Βουλαίαι καὶ τεῖ Φωσφόρῳ καὶ τοῖς] ἄλλοις θεοῖς οἷς πάτριον ἦν, ἀγαθεῖ  
 [τύχει δεδόχθαι τῷ δῆμῳ τὰ μὲν] ἀγαθὰ δέχεσθαι τὰ γεγονότα ἐν<sup>υ</sup>  
 [τοῖς ἱεροῖς οἷς ἔθνον ἐφ' ὑγίαι καὶ σ]ωτηρίαι τῆς τε βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου  
 [τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ παίδων καὶ γυναικ]ῶν καὶ τῶν φίλων καὶ συμμάχων· ἐπειδὴ  
 15 [δὲ οἱ πρυτάνεις τὰς τε θυσίας ἔθυσ]αν ἀπάσας τὰς καθηκούσας ἐν τεῖ<sup>υ</sup>  
 [πρυτανείαι καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως, ἐπε]μελήθησαν δὲ καὶ τῆς συλλογῆς τῆς  
 [τε βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ τῶν ἄλ]λων ἀπάντων ὧν αὐτοῖς προσέτατ  
 [τον οἷ τε νόμοι καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα τοῦ] δήμου, ἐπαινέσαι τοὺς πρυτάνεις<sup>υ</sup>  
 [τῆς Κεκροπίδος καὶ στεφανῶσαι χ]ρυσῶι στεφάνῳι κατὰ τὸν νόμον εὖσε  
 20 [βείας ἔνεκεν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς] καὶ φιλοτιμίας τῆς εἰς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν  
 [δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τ]όδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα τὸγ κατὰ  
 [πρυτανείαν ἐν στήλει λιθίνει καὶ] στήσαι οὗ ἂν εὐκαιρον ἦι· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀνα  
 [γραφὴν καὶ τὴν ποιήσιν τῆς στήλης] μερίσαι τὸν ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτι<sup>υ</sup>  
 [κῶν τὸ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα *vacat*] *vacat*

<sup>36</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1039, line 78: [...σ]τρ[α]τ[ο]ς Νουμηνίου Λαμπτρέυς. The date of Apollodoros' archonship is given by Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 291, as 81/0 (?), but a fragment found in the Agora (Inv. No. I 2388) shows that Apollodoros must be at least as late as 80/79. Cf. Dinsmoor, *The Athenian Archon List*, p. 204.

- 25 [ἡ βουλῇ] 30 [ὁ] δῆμος ἡ βουλῇ  
[τὸν ταμίαν] τοὺς τὸν γραμ  
[Ἀριαράθην] [πρ]υτάνεις 35 ματέα  
[Συπαλήτ] Ἀγέλαον  
[τιον] Ἀλαιέα
- [ἐπὶ Θεοδότου ἄρχοντος ἐπ]ὶ τῆς Ἰπποθωντίδος πέμπτης πρυτανεί  
[ας ἦι ----- <sup>ca. 17</sup> ----- ου] Παιανιεύς ἐγραμμάτευεν· Μαιμακτηρι  
40 [ῶνος ὀγδόει ἱσταμένου κατὰ] θεόν, ὀγδόει τῆς πρυτανείας, κατ' ἄρχον <sup>v</sup>  
[τα δὲ -- <sup>5-6</sup> ----- ἱσταμένου· βουλῇ] ἐν βουλευτηρίῳ· τῶν προέδρων ἐπεψήφει <sup>v</sup>  
[ζεν ----- <sup>ca. 20</sup> -----] εὐς καὶ συμπρόεδροι  
[ἔδοξε]ν τεῖ βουλεῖ  
[----- <sup>ca. 25</sup> -----] εὐς εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ οἱ πρυτάνεις τῆς Κεκρο  
45 [πίδος καὶ οἱ αἰεῖσιτοι ἐπαινέσα]ντες καὶ στεφανώσαντες ἀποφαίνουσιν τεῖ  
[βουλεῖ τὸν ταμίαν ὃν εἶλοντο] ἐξ ἐαυτῶν Ἀριαράθην Πολεμαίου Συπαλήττιον  
[καὶ τὸν γραμματέα Ἀγέλαον Ἀ]γελάου Ἀλαιέα τὰς τε θυσίας τεθυκέναι ἀπὰ  
[σας τὰς καθηκούσας ἐν τεῖ π]ρυτανείαι ὑπέρ τε τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου,  
[ἐπιμεμελῆσθαι δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλ]λων ἀπάντων καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως, ὅπως οὖν  
50 [καὶ ἡ βουλῇ φαίνεται τοῖς ὑπομ]ένουσι τὰς λειτουργίας ἀπονέμουσα τὸγ κα  
[θήκοντα ἐπαινον, ἀγαθεῖ τύ]χει δεδόχθαι τεῖ βουλεῖ ἐπαινέσαι τὸν ταμίαν  
[Ἀριαράθην Πολεμαίου Συπα]λήττιον, ἐπαινέσαι δὲ καὶ τὸν γραμματέα <sup>v v</sup>  
[Ἀγέλαον Ἀγελάου Ἀλαιέα, ἐπ]αινέσαι δὲ καὶ τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ  
[τοῦ δήμου ----- <sup>ca. 15</sup> -----]ν Παιανιέα καὶ τὸν ὑπογραμματέα Εὐμαχον  
55 [----- <sup>ca. 16</sup> ----- καὶ τὸν] κήρυκα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου Κλέωνα Κι  
[κυννέα καὶ τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ ἐπωνύμου] Δικαιοπόλιν Παμβωτάδην καὶ τὸν ταμίαν  
[τῆς βουλῆς ----- <sup>ca. 17</sup> ----- καὶ τὸν α]ὐλητήν Ἀθηνόπολιν Λαμπτρέα καὶ τὸν  
[----- <sup>ca. 26</sup> ----- καὶ τὸν ἀ]ναγραφέα Ἀγάθαρχον [Κ]ηφισιέα καὶ τὸν  
[----- <sup>ca. 35</sup> -----] Εἰτεαῖον καὶ τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κα  
60 [τὰ πρυτανείαν -- <sup>ca. 10</sup> ----- Παιανιέα καὶ τ]ὸν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπόρρητον Σίδωνα Λακ[ιά]  
[δην καὶ τὸν ----- <sup>ca. 21</sup> ----- ἐκ Κ]εραμέων καὶ στεφανῶσαι ἕκαστον  
[αὐτῶν θαλλοῦ στεφάνῳ· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε] τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γραμματέα <sup>v v</sup>  
[τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν στήλει λιθίνει καὶ στ]ῆσαι οὗ ἂν εὐκαιρον ἦι· εἰς δὲ  
[τὴν ἀναγραφὴν καὶ τὴν ποίησιν τῆς στήλης μερίσαι] τὸν ταμίαν τῶν στρα  
65 [τιωτικῶν τὸ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα vacat ] vacat  
[Συπαλήττιοι] [-----] [-----] 75 [Ξ]υπεταιό[νες]  
[Ἀριαράθης] 70 [-----] [-----] [-----] s  
[-----] [-----] [-----] [-----] os

The late date here suggested for this text is indicated by the formulae, by the extraordinarily long roster of officers praised, and by the designation of the place

where the stele was to be erected. It is confirmed by the name of the proedros in line 5 and made more precise by the exigencies of the secretary cycle.

The formula in lines 49-50 is like that in *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 282-283, and in Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, nos. 95 and 96. These readings should be, respectively, [ὅπως οὖν καὶ ἡ βουλὴ φαί]νηται τοῖς ὑπο[μένουσι τὰς λειτουργίας ἀπονέμουσα τὸν καθήκοντα ἔπαινον], [ὅπως οὖν καὶ ἡ βουλὴ φαίνεται τοῖς ὑπομένουσι τὰς λειτουργίας ἀπ]ονέμ[ουσα τὸν καθήκοντα ἔπαινον], and ὅπως οὖν καὶ ἡ βουλ[ὴ φαίνεται τοῖς ὑπομένουσι τὰς] λειτουργίας ἀπονέμουσα τ[ὸν καθήκοντα ἔπαινον]. See also W. Peek, in *Kerameikos*, III, p. 4, lines 7-9, where one should read [ὅπως οὖν] καὶ ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμο[ς φαίνονται ἀπονέμοντες τὸν καθήκοντα] ἔπαινον τοῖς καλῶ[ς καὶ φιλοτίμως ὑπομένουσι τὰς λειτουργίας].

The roster of officers praised (lines 51-61) is similar to that of *Kerameikos*, III, pp. 4-5, and it is assuredly longer than the last previous list in which the complete panel is known, or can be restored, which dates from 145/4 B.C.<sup>37</sup> It is not certain that the end of the list is preserved in the text from 131/0 published in *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 282-283. As this is now restored, the formula which follows the name of the ἀντιγραφεὺς is [καὶ στεφανῶσαι θαλλοῦ στεφάνωι ᾧ ἐστι πά]τριον ὃ ἀ[ναγράψαι δὲ -----]. This formula is unique, and was introduced, apparently, to bring the list of officers to a close when the prevailing opinion was that there could have been no more than nine of them in all. Now that the longer lists are known, it is much more probable that instead of [ἐστι πά]τριον one should read [Δημή]τριον, which suits the available space, as well as the sense, much better. So the word which followed was not ἀ[ναγράψαι], but Δ[-----], or Δ[-----],<sup>38</sup> the name of Demetrios' father, and there is hardly enough space between the two words to justify an assumed break, or an uninscribed letter-space, in the text. It is not possible on the present evidence to determine the name of the office in which Demetrios served. There is no exact correspondence between this text and that recently published by Peek, but significant additions to the list of officers which are common to both inscriptions are τὸν γραμματέα τὸν κατὰ πρυτανείαν and τὸν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπόρρητον.<sup>39</sup>

The place for the erection of the stele is given in lines 22 and 63 as οὗ ἂν εὐκαιρον ᾦ. The first preserved text with this designation is Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, no. 88, of 131/0 B.C.,<sup>40</sup> lines 19-20 of which should probably be restored: στῆσαι οὗ ἂν [εὐκαιρον ᾦ· εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν καὶ τὴν ποιήσιν τῆς στήλης] τὸν ταμ[ίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν μερίσαι τὸ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα].<sup>41</sup> There is no evidence that these prytany-

<sup>37</sup> Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, no. 86.

<sup>38</sup> The letter seems to me to be delta, rather than alpha. See the photograph in *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 282.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Peek, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

<sup>40</sup> See also *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 977; Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, pp. 130-131; *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 282-283.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1004, line 17.

stelai, after 131/0, were to be set up ἐν τῷ πρυτανικῷ; hence that phrase should probably yield place to οὐ ἂν εὐκαιρον ᾗ wherever in these later texts it has heretofore been restored: Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, nos. 91, 93, 96; Meritt, *Hesperia*, XIII, 1944, p. 258.<sup>42</sup>

Most of the men named in the text cannot be identified, but the chairman of the proedroi, Διόδοτος Φιλοστράτου [-----], was ephebos in 128/7.<sup>43</sup> Inasmuch as the secretary (lines 2 and 39) was from Paiania, the earliest date which may be considered for the inscription is 107/6, when the cycle requires a secretary from the phyle Pandionis (III) and when, in fact, the name of the secretary is known as Τελέστης Μηδείου Παιανιεύς.<sup>44</sup> The name of the archon in 107/6 was Aristarchos, but the experiment of trying the lines for space with ἐπὶ Ἀριστάρχου (or ἐπ' Ἀριστάρχου) restored in lines 1 and 38 and Τελέστης Μηδείου Παιανιεύς in lines 2 and 39 shows that the present text probably cannot be assigned to that year. Lines 1 and 38 are slightly too long and lines 2 and 39 are from four to two letters too short. In a non-stoichedon inscription these discrepancies are not impossible, but they represent contrasting, rather than sympathetic, directions of error. In line 1, for example, ἐπὶ Ἀριστάρχου ἄρχοντος ἐπὶ τῆς would take the same space as τανείας ᾗ Τελέστης Μηδεί in line 2: twenty-seven letters as against twenty-two, whereas in the right-hand side of the stone, where parts of lines 1 and 2 are preserved, the spacing is closer in line 2 than it is in line 1. The next year for a secretary from Pandionis (III) is 95/4. The archon is not known with certainty, but he may have been Theodotos,<sup>45</sup> whose name would fit satisfactorily the space in lines 1 and 38. If the year is correct, the name of the secretary is not known, but his demotic (whatever the year) was Παιανιεύς.

This inscription has the additional interest of naming Ariarathes, son of Polemaios, of Sypalettos, as Treasurer of the Prytaneis. The patronymic is unusual, and is otherwise known at Athens only for the nephew of Antigonos I and cousin of Demetrios Poliorketes.<sup>46</sup> It is questionable whether the name at this late date implies any connection with the Macedonian royal house. But the name Ariarathes, especially Ariarathes of Sypalettos, clearly implies connection with the royal house of Kappadokia. The Ariarathes of this inscription is not one of the known members of the family, but his appearance in a prytany-decree of the pre-Sullan type and in which there can be no doubt that his deme Sypalettos belonged to the phyle Kekropis (line 44) argues against my recent assumption that Sypalettos may have been divided between Attalis and Kekropis in 201/0 B.C., with the Attalid-Kappadokian members belonging to Attalis, perhaps, until the time of Sulla, after which the deme may have become united again in Kekropis.<sup>47</sup> It is true that I assumed even the possibility of

<sup>42</sup> Cf. also Dow, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

<sup>44</sup> Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. xxxiv.

<sup>43</sup> *Fouilles de Delphes*, III, 2, no. 24, line 21.

<sup>45</sup> W. B. Dinsmoor, *Archon List*, p. 204.

<sup>46</sup> This Polemaios has been incorrectly indexed in *Hesperia*, Index to Volumes I-X and Supplements I-VI, p. 125, as son of Demetrios; the necessary rectification should be there made.

<sup>47</sup> *A.J.P.*, LXVIII, 1947, pp. 196-197.

reuniting the divided deme earlier than Sulla, but I feel no confidence that such could have been the case, nor indeed much confidence in the hypothesis of reunion in Kekropis even after Sulla. The prosopographical evidence seems to be that Sypalettos was never divided, but remained wholly in Kekropis; yet the anomaly in the cycle of secretaries caused by a secretary from Kekropis in 147/6 remains an argument for division. This is a paradox for which I have no solution, but it might be worth while to learn, if possible, whether there is any evidence that the Attalids belonged to Kekropis other than the dedication of Karneades by Attalos and Ariarathes (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3781), in which both were called *Συπαλήττιοι*. Granted that Ariarathes and his Kappadokian relatives who became Athenian citizens belonged in Sypalettos of Kekropis, need this mean that Attalos, also of Sypalettos, cannot have belonged to Attalis? May not the text of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3781, define the deme, but, if the deme was divided, not necessarily the phylai into which the divisions fell?

Pritchett remarked<sup>48</sup> on the expectation one normally feels that just as Hadrian was later a citizen in his own phyle so the families of all eponymoi should be similarly assigned. The expectation is strengthened by the fact that Ptolemy (V) Epiphanes belonged to Ptolemais,<sup>49</sup> and one wonders if too much emphasis may not have been placed on the relationship of Attalos II to the royal house of Kappadokia.

**13** (Plate 8). Part of a stele of Pentelic marble, made up of two joining fragments, found in Section Θ on June 4, 1947. The rough-picked back is preserved, but otherwise the fragments are broken on all sides.

Height, 0.17 m.; width, 0.275 m.; thickness, 0.053 m.; height of letters, 0.006 m.

Inv. No. I 5990.

ca. 80 B.C.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. ca. 53

- [-----] Παιαν[ιέα <sup>ca. 7</sup> -----]  
 [-----] πλεονάκις καὶ κ[<sup>ca. 7</sup> -----]  
 [-----] α τὴν ἐνδεχομένην [<sup>ca. 7</sup> -----]  
 [-----] τύχηι ἀγαθ]ῇ δεδόχθαι τῇ βουλῇ· ἐπαινέ[σαι τὸν]  
 5 [ταμίαν τῶν φυλετῶν Σαρ]απ[ί]ωνα Παιανιέα καὶ στεφαν[ῶσαι αὐ]  
 [τὸν θαλλοῦ στεφάνωι·] ἐπικεχωρῆσθαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς πρυτά[νεσιν]  
 [καὶ τοῖς ἀείσιτοισ πο]ιήσασθαι αὐτοῦ γραπτῆς εἰκόνης ἀν[άθεσιν]  
 [ἐν ὀπλῳ ἐπιχρύν]ωι ἐν τῇ Ἀττάλου στοᾷ ἔχουσιν ἐπιγρα[φὴν <sup>v v</sup>]  
 [τήνδε· οἱ πρυτάνε]ις τῆς Πανδιονίδος καὶ οἱ ἀείσιτοι οἱ ἐπὶ Δ[<sup>ca. 6</sup> -----]  
 10 [ἄρχοντας τὸν ἑα]ν[τ]ῶν ταμίαν ἀνέθηκαν· ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδ[ε τὸ ψή]  
 [φισμα τὸν γραμματέα τὸν] κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν στήλῃ λιθί[νῃ καὶ]  
 [στῆσαι ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ vacat] vacat

<sup>48</sup> *The Five Attic Tribes after Kleisthenes* (Baltimore, 1943), p. 36, note 13.

<sup>49</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2314, lines 41-42: [βα]σιλεὺς Πτολεμαῖος βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου [Πτολ]εμαίδος φυλῆς.

I	II	III
[-----]	[-----]	[—]ην[-----]
[-----]	[-----]	[-----]

The decree resembles *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1050,<sup>50</sup> and must be of approximately the same date; its text has been used as a guide in restoration. The archon D --- in line 9 is unknown, but the treasurer Sarapion may be a relative of Sarapion, son of Sosikles, of Paiania (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7081), though there is no assurance of it. Below the decree was probably a list of prytaneis, with names arranged in columns as in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1050.

**14** (Plate 8). Three fragments of a pedimental stele of Pentelic marble. Fragment *a* was found in a modern wall in Section Σ on October 16, 1934; it carries parts of three lines of text and a large segment of the pediment with an egg and dart moulding between them. Fragment *b* was found in a wall in Section Σ on February 6, 1936; it is broken on all sides. These two fragments join. Fragment *c* was found in a late wall in Section Σ on February 21, 1936; it is broken on all sides and does not join the other two fragments.

*a* + *b*: height, 0.325 m.; width, 0.29 m.; thickness, *ca.* 0.12 m.; height of letters, 0.008 m.

Inv. No. I 2185 *a*.

*c*: height, 0.227 m.; width, 0.224 m.; thickness, 0.075 m.; height of letters, 0.009 m.

Inv. No. I 2185 *b*.

64/3 B.C. (?)

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ. *ca.* 50

- [ἀγ]αθῇ τύχῃ τῆς β[ου]λῆς καὶ [τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων *vacat* ]  
 [ἐπὶ Οἱ]νοφίλου ἄ[ρχ]οντος ἐπὶ τ[ῆς ----- πρυτα]  
 [νείας ἥ] Ταραν[τ]είνος Νεικίου Αἰγ[ιλίου] ἐγραμμάτευεν. ---]  
 [--- ὦνος ὄγ]δόμη ἰσταμένου δ[--- τῆς πρυτανείας· βουλῇ ἐν]  
 5 [βουλευτηρί]ωι· τῶν προέδρω[ν ἐπεψήφισεν -----]  
 [. . . . . καὶ συ]μπρόεδροι ὅδο[ξεν τῇ βουλῇ -----]  
 [--- εἶπε]ν ὅτι ἐπειδὴ οἱ π[ρυτάνεις τ]ῆς Α[ιγίδος καὶ οἱ αἰε]  
 [σιτοι οἱ ἐπὶ Οἰνοφίλ]ου ἄρχον[τος ἐπα]ινέσα[ντες καὶ στεφανώ]  
 [σαντες ἀποφαίνουσιν τῇ βουλῇ τὸν ταμ]ίαν ὃν [εἵλοντο ἐξ ἑαν]  
 10 [τῶν ----- <sup>ca. 20</sup> ----- Πλ]ωθέ[α] τὰς τε θ[υσίας τεθυκέ]  
 [ναι τὰς καθηκούσας ἐν τῇ πρυτα]νείαι ἐκ τῶν ιδίω[ν ὑπέρ τε τῆς]  
 [βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ] παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν [-----]  
 [-----]  
 [----- γυμ]νασ[ί]ωι λαμπ[-----]  
 15 [-----]

<sup>50</sup> See Dow's notes in *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 165-166.

The style of the preamble is much like that of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1046 (52/1), and I believe that this inscription also should be dated near the middle of the first century before Christ. It is a decree in which the prytaneis of Aigeis praise their treasurer (also from Aigeis) who was a demesman of Plotheia. If this date is correct, the archon Oinophilos is not to be identified with him of 28/9 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1713, line 37), nor is it clear to which of the two main families who used the name, if to either, he should be assigned.<sup>51</sup> Inasmuch as the secretary in this inscription is from Aigilia, of the phyle of Ptolemais, I have followed a suggestion made by Notopoulos in dating the text tentatively in 64/3 B.C. in conformity with his determining of the secretary cycles after the time of Sulla.

### TRIBUTE-QUOTA LIST

**15** (Plate 8). Small fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found in a loose fill of earth over the floor of the Klepsydra on June 6, 1938.

Height, 0.055 m.; width, 0.056 m.; thickness, 0.047 m.; height of letters, 0.009 m.  
Inv. No. I 4809 *b*.

Apparently the inscription was stoichedon, with a chequer unit which measures 0.012 m. across and 0.014 m. down.

	418/7 B.C.	Part of List 37, Col. II.
	[-----]	[.]ε[-----]
	[ΗΡΔΓΤΗΙΙ]ΙΙ	Χε[ρρονεσῖται]
		ἀπ' [Ἀγορᾶς]
20	[-----] <sup>vv</sup>	Κ[αλλιπολίται]
	[-----]	[-----]

This small fragment belongs in the second column of the tribute-quota list published as *A.T.L.*, I, 33, but now known to be List 37 and assigned to the year 418/7.<sup>52</sup> The letters are identical with those of the other fragments of List 37, showing the same double strokes of the chisel and the same shapes and stoichedon disposition.<sup>53</sup> Within the stele, the approximate position of the fragment can be determined by the following considerations:

- (1) The name beginning with Χε---, and before which part of the quota

<sup>51</sup> See A. E. Raubitschek, in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v. Oinophilos.

<sup>52</sup> Meritt, *A.J.P.*, LXII, 1941, p. 15; Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*<sup>2</sup>, p. 266.

<sup>53</sup> Three of the now-preserved four fragments of this inscription have been found on the north slope of the Acropolis. The fourth fragment (No. 1 in *A.T.L.*) came to the Epigraphical Museum (E.M. 6784) from the collections of the Archaeological Society, and before that had been in the Pinakothek at the western end of the Acropolis where many fragments of the quota lists found on the Acropolis were once housed.



## SACRED TREASURES

**16** (Plate 9). Two joining fragments of Hymettian marble, the upper piece, with right edge preserved, found in the wall of a modern house in Section II on December 27, 1934, and the lower piece found in Section II on March 4, 1937.

Height, 0.432 m.; width, 0.225 m.; thickness, 0.13 m.; height of letters, 0.004 m.

Inv. No. I 2260.

The writing is stoichedon, of the mid fourth century, with a square chequer pattern in which the unit measures 0.0076 m.

*post 346/5 a.*

	[-----]ΓΕΧΟΝ[... <sup>6</sup> ...]
	[-----]ἀργύρι[ον ... <sup>6</sup> ...]
	[-----]ρω[. στ]αθμ[. ... <sup>8</sup> ...]
	[-----]ν[.]ον θυμιατή[ρι]ο[ν] ...]
5	<i>vacat</i>
	[-----]ΓΗΝ τράπεζαν / [...]
	[-----]ον ταῦτα ο[ὕ]κ ἐστά[θη] ..]
	[-----]ΧΧΠΗΗΗΗΔ[.]ΤΤΤ[... <sup>5</sup> ...]
	[-----] οὐχ ὑγιὲς ὁ Κλεον[...]
10	[-----]εν: ΠΔΔΔΔΤΤ: καὶ [...]
	[-----]μενον σταθμόν: ΧΠ[...]
	[-----] καὶ διερε[ί]σματα ε[...]
	[-----]ν οὐχ ὑγιέ[ς], σταθ: ΧΧ[...]
	[-----]ιον ὑπάργυρον χαλκ[...]
15	[-----] οὐχ] ὑγι: σταθ: ΧΧΠΔΔ: ἐπηγ[...]
	[-----] κεφάλαι]ον τούτων: ΠΠΗΗΗΗΠΤΤ[...]
	[-----]κ]ατὰ μικρὸν ἰστάμενα [...]
	[-----] ε]λίκτ[ῃ]ρ]ες χρυσοῖ [.]Π[...]
	[-----] ἀριθμός: ΔΔΔ[...]
20	[-----] χρυσο[...] <sup>5</sup> ος [...]
	[-----]ον σταθμόν: ΠΠ[...]
	[-----]ον[.]Ι <sup>Λ</sup> ΙΑΣ[...]
	[-----] ὑποδερί[ς] ... <sup>7</sup> ...]
352/1	[-----] οἱ τα]μίαι ἐπὶ Ἀρι[στοδῆμο]
25	[ν ἄρχοντος -----]ινωι: ΠΠ <i>vacat</i>
347/6	[-----]ν ἐπὶ Θεμιστ[οκλέου]
	[ς ἄρχοντος -----] ὁ]ρμίσκος <i>vacat</i>
	[-----] οἱ ταμίαι οἱ ἐ[πὶ] ...]
	[-----]ΠΑΒΑ[...] <sup>6</sup> ΤΟΙ[... <sup>6</sup> ...]

30 [-----]ους ταμίας [. . .<sup>5</sup>. . .]  
 346/5 [-----] ἐπ' Ἀρχίο[υ ἄρχον]  
 [τος -----] ὕαλον χ[. . .<sup>6</sup>. . .]  
 [----- στα]θμόν: [. . .<sup>6</sup>. . .]  
 [-----] τάδε [. . .<sup>6</sup>. . .]  
 35 [-----] ἐπὶ Να[υσιγέ]  
 368/7 [νους ἄρχοντος (?) -----] ΟΙΙ[-----]  
 [-----]

The surface of the stone is in places badly worn, and neither the length of line nor the attribution of the document can be definitely determined. It is evidently part of a record of temple treasure.

### POLETAI

**17** (Plate 9). A thin fragment of Pentelic marble, with the right edge preserved, found in the west end of the Middle Stoa in Section K on July 16, 1947. This piece joins the stone earlier published in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 47-48, no. 35, and has been given the same inventory number (I 236 a). The new fragment may preserve part of the heading of the inscription in line 18. It preserves also the ends of some of the lines already known, and in particular shows that the proposed restoration Οἰχ[αλίας (?) ] in line 25 cannot be correct. But this line is still a puzzle. The preserved letters are ΟΙΧ[.]ΜΕΝΙΟ, which I restore now tentatively as Ὀ<ρ>χ[ο]μένιο(ς), with the hope that a better suggestion may be elicited.

414/3 B.C.

[-----]αμ[-----]  
*vacat*  
 20 [. . .<sup>5</sup>. . .]ΟΝΟΝΙ[.]ΟΝ  
 [. . .<sup>5</sup>. . .]ΥΘΡΟΝ  
 [. . .<sup>6</sup>. . .]ον  
 [. . .<sup>5</sup>. . .]ε ῥακία  
 [ἀμφιτά]πες λευκός  
 25 [ἀμφιτά]πες Ὀ<ρ>χ[ο]μένιο(ς)  
 [ἀμφιτά]πες λευ[κ]ός  
 [ἀμφιτά]πες λευ[κ]ός  
 [ἀμφιτά]πες λευκ|ό|ς  
 [ἀμφιτά]πες λευκ|ό|ς  
 30 [ἀμφιτά]πες λευκός  
 [ἀμφιτά]πες λευκός  
 [ἀμφιτά]πες λευκός  
 [παραπέτ]ασμα ποικίλο[ν]  
 [παραπέτ]ασμα *vacat*

35 [ταπὶς πο]ικίλε  
 [-----] *vacat*  
 [-----] *vacat*  
 [-----] [-----]  
 [-----]

## BOUNDARY STONES (18-21)

**18** (Plate 9). Boundary stone of Hymettian marble, with rough edges at the top and at both sides, found in Section NN on May 30, 1946. The surface was dressed smooth where it was to be inscribed.

Height, 0.29 m.; width, 0.235 m.; thickness, 0.087 m.; height of letters, 0.024 m.  
 Inv. No. I 5910.

*ca.* 400 B.C.

[ἱερὸν]  
 Κηφισὸ  
 Γλεων  
 τίδος  
 5 [φ]ρατρίας

This inscription adds the new name of an Attic phratry to the list published by Kurt Latte in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, *s.v.* Phratric. The form of the name (Γλεωντίς) is the same as that of the phratry Thymaitis in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 886 (Θυμαίτις); indeed, the documents are otherwise similar in that they mark sanctuaries belonging to their phratries. The river-god Kephissos is here shown to have been worshipped as one of the deities of Gleontis. To the bibliography cited by Latte (1941) may be added a reference to M. Guarducci, *Memorie della R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* (Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche), VI, 1937, pp. 3-103, especially pp. 11-57 (discussion of Attica) and 83-94 (testimonia).

**19** (Plates 9 and 10). Fragment of Pentelic marble, with the rough left side preserved, found in the wall of a modern house in Section O on January 19, 1935. Traces of red are preserved in the letters.

Height, 0.246 m.; width, 0.15 m.; thickness, 0.055 m.; height of letters, 0.026 m.  
 Inv. No. I 2170.

Early fourth century B.C.

ὄρος (σ)ή  
 ματος Ὀ  
 νησίμο

This stone was recognized by Eugene Vanderpool as the companion piece to that published in *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 79. From the place of their discovery one may judge it extremely probable that the two markers from the Agora are those published as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2581 *a* and *b*, and that they were at one time in the possession of Fauvel, who brought them from his excavations to his home near the place of their present discovery.<sup>60</sup> Fauvel reported that the letters of some of his inscriptions were alternately black and red, a fact which should be noted as a possible means of identification because traces of red exist in the letters of the present text.

But a third identical text, hitherto assumed to be *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2581 *b*, has been reported in the museum at Berlin. At present it is difficult to say precisely which was which, and presumably the matter must remain in doubt unless more can be learned of the history of the piece in Berlin. Boeckh (*C.I.G.*, 535) gave Dodwell as authority that the two stones in Fauvel's collection were found near the Ilissos. His note has been quoted by Koehler (*I.G.*, II, 1071) and the designation of locality which it implies has been repeated by Kirchner and, with reference to *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2581 *a*, by me.<sup>61</sup> There is no evidence that these stones were ever near the Ilissos, for the suggestion that they were depends on a misreading of Dodwell's account. He says, indeed, that excavations had been opened near the Ilissos when he visited Athens,<sup>62</sup> but he continues his narrative with a change of scene: "— and a short way from the foot of the Musaeum several sepulchres were discovered containing painted terra cotta vases —." Later he goes on to say (p. 400): "The following sepulchral inscriptions were found near the same place —," giving the text of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2581 *a* and of two other documents. His designation of the place of their discovery is evidently near a spot a short way from the foot of the Museum, which brings them close to the site of Fauvel's excavation.

Dodwell and Fauvel report the text of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2581 *a* as ὄρος (σ)ή|ματος Ὀ|νησίμο, omitting one sigma from their copies of line 1. The present stone is broken at the right, and hence gives no control over this reading, though I believe it highly probable that it is in fact the same inscription.

**20** (Plate 11). Fragment of poor greyish marble, broken on all sides, found in the wall of a modern house in Section O on November 9, 1934.

Height, 0.256 m.; width, 0.274 m.; thickness, 0.054 m.; height of letters, 0.018 m.

Inv. No. I 2067.

<sup>60</sup> See *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 78. Fauvel's account is in *Magasin Encyclopédique*, Année XVII, 1812, II, pp. 91-97, especially pp. 91-93. His excavations were conducted "sur le grand chemin qui conduisoit de la porte Hippades à Acharnes." Letters lost since Fauvel's time are here underlined.

<sup>61</sup> *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 78.

<sup>62</sup> Edward Dodwell, *A classical and topographical tour through Greece* (London, 1819), I, p. 399.

*saec.* IV *a.*

[ὄρος]

[μ]νήμα

τος

For similar inscriptions, see (for example) *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2527-2550.

**21** (Plate 11). Block of Hymettian marble, broken at the left, back, and bottom, found in the wall of a modern house in Section Ξ on November 9, 1934.

Height, 0.43 m.; width, 0.15 m.; thickness, 0.09 m.; height of letters, 0.02 m.  
Inv. No. I 2121.

*saec.* IV *a.*

[ὄρ]ος

[μνήμ]ατος

See also No. 20.

## CATALOGUE OF PRYTANEIS

**22** (Plate 11). Fragment of Pentelic marble with part of the smooth left side preserved, found in the wall of a modern house in Section ΖΖ on October 22, 1938.

Height, 0.175 m.; width, 0.135 m.; thickness, 0.048 m.; height of letters, 0.009 m.  
Inv. No. I 5633.

The stone now discovered in the Agora is fragment *a* of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1771.

138/9-150/1 A.D.

ἀγαθῇι<sup>v</sup> τύχηι

ἐπὶ ἄρχ[ο]ντος<sup>v</sup> Δ Νουμ

μίου Μή[ν]ιδος Φαληρέ

ως οἱ πρυ[τ]άνεις τῆς Αἰγ[η]

5 ἰδος φυλῇ[ς] δωδεκάτης

πρυτανε[ία]ς τιμήσαντε[ς]

ἑαυτοὺς ἀνέγραψαν<sup>v</sup>

*vacat*

[ἐπώνυμος Ἑρμε]ίας Γλα[ύκου]

10 [-----]

[-----]

[-----]

[-----]

[-----]

15 [-----]  
 [-----]os  
 [-----]  
 [-----]v  
 [-----]

For the date, and for the restoration of line 9, see A. E. Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 62 (cf. also J. A. Notopoulos, *A.J.P.*, LXV, 1944, p. 165). The last letters in line 9 must have been crowded. Apparently the names in the register were ordered in one column, for much of the right side of the face was not inscribed. Raubitschek (*loc. cit.*) has suggested the association of this inscription in one text with *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1766.

### DEDICATIONS (23-35)

**23** (Plate 11). Part of a dedicatory monument of Pentelic marble, found in a Hellenistic cistern in Section ΔΔ on May 3, 1947. The stone is broken above, behind, and at the right; the left end and bottom are dressed with a toothed chisel. At the back is the corner of a large rectangular cutting for the insertion of a votive offering. This cutting extends the whole height of the block. Traces of red are still preserved in the rho of line 1.

Height, 0.089 m.; width, 0.295 m.; thickness, 0.103 m.; height of letters, 0.033 m.  
 Inv. No. I 5986.

*saec.* V a.

Ἀρτε[-----]  
 Ἀχερδ[όσιος-----]

**24** (Plate 12). Block of Hymettian marble, found in Asteroskopeiou Street in Section Ψ on September 13, 1945. The stone has been re-cut, but the bottom and top are probably original and part of the right edge is preserved along the front.

Height, 0.21 m.; width, 0.30 m.; thickness, 0.64 m.; height of letters, 0.011 m.-0.013 m.

Inv. No. I 5902.

*ca.* 403 B.C.

[Δημήτριος Ἀλω]πεκῆθεν ἐπόησεν

The type of lettering suggests the fourth century, but the old Attic spelling in the preserved portion of the demotic suggests the fifth; I have given a date near the time of transition from the official use of Attic to Ionic script, and identified the artist with Demetrios of Alopeke (*P.A.*, 3376), whose work (signed Demetrios) is already

known in Athens in the early fourth century.<sup>63</sup> A dedication made by this artist in the late fifth century is being published by Raubitschek in his forthcoming volume on *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis*, pp. 159-160, no. 143.<sup>64</sup>

**25** (Plate 12). The upper left corner of a monument of Hymettian marble, found in the wall of a modern house in Section Θ on May 3, 1946. This fragment joins one found earlier in Section Ζ. The overall measurements are as follows:

Height, 0.14 m.; width, 0.397 m.; thickness, 0.085 m.; height of letters, 0.011 m.  
Inv. Nos. 5906 + 259.

325/4 B.C.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[Αἰ]αντίδο[ς πρυτά]νεις ἀνέθεσαν  
[σ]τεφανω[θέντ]ες ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς  
καὶ τοῦ δή[μ]ου ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ  
δικαιοσύ[ν]ης ἐπ' Ἀντικλέους  
*vacat*

The text as originally published in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 66, was repeated as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2833a by Kirchner, who erroneously added a fifth line.

**26** (Plate 12). Fragment of a marble dedicatory plaque representing an eye, found in Section ΟΟ on March 31, 1947.

Height, 0.097 m.; width, 0.076 m.; thickness, 0.03 m.; height of letters, *ca.* 0.007 m.

Inv. No. I 5968.

*saec.* III/II *a.*

[ῥΗ]ρωι Ἰα[τρῶι -----]

The decree *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 839, of 221/0 B.C., deals with the melting down of dedications to the Hero Physician, and in the roster names eyes among the items converted. References to the cult and to the sanctuary will be found in the commentary *ad locum*. Cf. also *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 840.

**27** (Plate 13). Numerous fragments of a circular dedicatory base of Pentelic marble, estimated diameter *ca.* 0.64 m., found in Section Θ on June 2/3, 1947.

(*a*) Height, 0.082 m.; width, 0.36 m.; height of letters, 0.018 m. This piece consists of two joining fragments which preserve part of a cutting with a straight edge and a rounded corner in the upper surface.

<sup>63</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3453, 3828, 4321 (= *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 288), 4322, 4895.

<sup>64</sup> Cf. *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, p. 70, no. 13.



The date is suggested by the character of the writing. None of the men named is known from Kirchner's *Prosopographia Attica*, from Sundwall's *Nachträge*, or from the index to *Hesperia*, I-X. If the date is earlier than *ca.* 229 B.C., they may be from a register of prytaneis (cf. Dow, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 29, note 1), though the proximity of the last line to the bottom of the stone is extraordinary.

**29** (Plate 14). Statue base of Hymettian marble, found built into the north foundations of the north tower of the Valerian Wall in Section I on July 25, 1946. The depth of the block (thickness) is 0.645 m.; its height and width cannot at present be determined, for it remains built into the Valerian Wall. The photographs here published were made with mirrors and printed in reverse. The reading depends upon a transcript supplied by Eugene Vanderpool on November 6, 1947. There is a moulding below the inscribed surface and a dowel hole in the top.

Inv. No. I 5925.

*ca.* 15 B.C.

οἱ ἔμποροι Ἀντίπατρον Ἀντι[πάτρον]  
 Φλυέα στρατηγήσαντα τὸ ἔβδ[ομον]  
 ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπλείτας καὶ προνοηθέν[τα]  
 τῶν ἐμπόρων ἀσφαλείας τε καὶ σω[τηρίας]

The discovery of this inscription was noted in *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 209. Antipatros, here honored by the merchants, appears in three prytany inscriptions published by Dow (*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, nos. 105, 110, and 116). He had held the office of *στρατηγὸς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὀπλείτας* for the fifth time about 20 B.C.; the present text shows that his terms of tenure ran at least to seven.<sup>65</sup>

In the last line of the text the association of *σωτηρία* with *προνοηθεὶς* finds similar expression, e. g., in Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>8</sup>, 700, lines 19-20: *τῶν --- φρουρῶν προνοηθεὶς τῆς σωτηρίας*; its use in conjunction with *ἀσφάλεια* appears, e. g., in Dittenberger, *Sylloge*<sup>8</sup>, 581, line 63: *ἀσφάλειαν καὶ σωτηρίαν τᾶς πόλιος*.

One should question, I believe, whether the name [Ἀντίπατρον Ἀντιπ]άτρον Φλυέα might not be a suitable restoration for the first line of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3539, now restored as [Αἰολίωνα Ἀντιπ]άτρον Φλυέα and assigned to a date *ca.* 66 A.D.

**30** (Plate 14). Block of Pentelic marble, with the bottom preserved, worn smooth by re-use, but elsewhere broken, found in the wall of a modern house in Section II on December 20, 1934. A moulding has been broken from the bottom of the face.

<sup>65</sup> See Dow, *op. cit.*, p. 191. Antipatros of Phlya should not be confused with him of Steiria; see Dow, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

Height, 0.172 m.; width, 0.363 m.; thickness, 0.24 m.; height of letters, 0.03 m.  
Inv. No. I 2248.

*ante a. 14 p.*

[-----]  
[-----]σντην, Ἀντοκ[ράτορος Καίσαρος]  
[Σεβαστοῦ κ]αὶ Τιβερίου Κα[ίσαρος]

There is a strong probability that this is the inscription copied by Fourmont and now published as *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3233. If so, the stone has suffered some damage since Fourmont's time. There are traces of letters, illegible, in the first line.

**31** (Plate 14). Fragment from the sloping upper part of the trunk of a portrait herm, with only the smooth left side and inscribed surface preserved, found in Section OO on June 9, 1947.

Height, 0.22 m.; width, 0.31 m.; thickness, 0.06 m.; height of letters, 0.023 m.  
Inv. No. I 6010.

*saec. II p.*

[Ζ]ήνων Μνασέ[ου]

The herm carried a portrait head of the famous Stoic philosopher.

**32** (Plate 15). Fragment of Pentelic marble, with the bottom preserved but elsewhere broken away, found in Section OE on September 28, 1934.

Height, 0.055 m.; width, 0.30 m.; thickness, 0.13 m.; height of letters 0.008 m  
Inv. No. I 2013.

*saec. II p.*

[----]ος Φ[ . . . . ]φρον[ος]  
Ζώπυρος Εὐτυχίδου

[--]ακυλε[----]  
Δωνάτος

*vacat*

**33** (Plate 15). The upper right corner of a monument of Pentelic marble, found in the wall of a modern house in Section II on December 22, 1934. The top has a narrow smooth band along the front; the right side is rough-picked, and has a recessed band at its front edge.

Height, 0.075 m.; width, 0.175 m.; thickness, 0.044 m.; height of letters, *ca.* 0.01 m.  
Inv. No. I 2254.

*ca. 200 A.D.*

Εἰσίδοτος  
[ἐξ] Οἶον

**34** (Plate 15). Fragment from the top of a small columnar altar, found in Section Ψ in February, 1947.

Height, 0.105 m.; diameter, 0.23 m.; height of letters, *ca.* 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 5960.

*saec.* II/III *p.*

Δὸ ἑψίσ[τωι]  
[----]ν[--]

The altar may be a votive offering from the sanctuary on the hill of Pnyx.<sup>66</sup> There is a circular depression in the upper surface, measuring 0.10 m. in diameter and 0.015 m. in depth.

**35** (Plates 15-18). Several fragments of Pentelic marble, which belong to one (or more ?) cylindrical dedicatory monuments.

(*a*) Broken on all sides, found in the wall of a modern house in Section N on November 23, 1934. Height, 0.20 m.; width, 0.14 m.; thickness, 0.27 m.; height of letters, 0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 2210.

(*b*) Broken on all sides, found in the Stoa of Attalos in February, 1936. Height, 0.126 m.; width, 0.36 m.; thickness, 0.275 m.; height of letters, 0.03 m.

Inv. No. I 2343b.

(*c*) Broken on all sides, found in a Turkish cesspool on March 5, 1936. Height, 0.22 m.; width, 0.145 m.; thickness, 0.195 m.; height of letters, 0.027 m.

Inv. No. I 2343c.

(*d*) Two joining fragments, one of which preserves part of the bottom of the monument, found on April 5, 1935, in demolition work in Section O. Height, *ca.* 0.46 m.; width, *ca.* 0.40 m.; height of letters, 0.025 m.

Inv. No. 2717a.

(*e*) A small fragment with cable moulding similar to fragment *d*, found on the surface in Section O on February 9, 1934.

Height, 0.06 m.; width, 0.06 m.; thickness, 0.09 m.; height of letters, 0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 2399.

<sup>66</sup> See Thompson, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 154-156, and, for other dedications, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4798-4811, 4843. Cf. also A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, I, p. 147.

(f) Broken on all sides, with a cable moulding similar to fragment *d*, found in a modern wall in Section O on April 5, 1935. Height, 0.07 m.; width, 0.12 m.; height of letter, 0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 2717c.

(g) Broken on all sides, found in a modern wall in Section O on April 5, 1935. Height, 0.23 m.; width, 0.29 m.; height of letters, 0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 2717b.

(h) Broken on all sides, found near the surface in Section O on February 6, 1936. Height, 0.15 m.; width, 0.26 m.; thickness, 0.08 m.; height of letters, 0.022 m.

Inv. No. I 2393.

(i) Broken on all sides, found in Section O on March 4, 1935. Height, 0.25 m.; width, 0.25 m.; thickness, 0.30 m.; height of letter, 0.035 m.

Inv. No. I 2564.

(j) Broken on all sides, found in the demolition of a modern house in Section O on January 25, 1935. Height, 0.182 m.; width, 0.053 m.; thickness, 0.157 m.; height of letters, 0.03 m. (in line 1), 0.01 m. (in line 2).

Inv. No. I 2343a.

The inscription is on a large shield (?) in low relief.

*aet. imp. Rom.*

(a) Ησ[-----  
θνγ[-----]

(b) Νέμεια

(c) [Πανα]θήναια

(d) Κορνήλεια

(e) -----νι ----- or -----ιν -----

(f) -----α

(g) [’Ολ]υμπία ἐν ’Αθήνα[ις]

(h) [τὰ ἐν] Σμύρνα (*sic*) [κ]οινὰ [’Ασίας]

(i) -----η or η-----

(j) ----ΜΟ-----

Στ[-----]

In addition to the inscribed fragments there is an unscribed piece with similar ornamentation. The Kornelia will be of interest, and will pose a problem, to students of Greek games and festivals. In (*h*) the formula is uncertain; obviously there is no room to restore Σμύρνα[ν κ]οινὰ [’Ασίας], but the reading also is clearly not Σμύρνη.

## GRAVE MONUMENTS (36-64)

**36** (Plate 18). Base of a funeral monument of Pentelic marble, found in a modern fill in Section II on February 2, 1935.

Height, 0.19 m.; width, 0.49 m.; thickness, 0.40 m.; height of letters, 0.02 m.-0.03 m.

Inv. No. I 2352.

*saec. VI a.*

[-----]  
 [----- σοῦ δὲ θαν]  
 όντος ἔχουσι φίλοι [----- πένθ]  
 ος ἄλαστον      *vacat*

The text is in hexameter verse, without any arrangement for division of lines other than that necessitated by the width of the stone. At the top, near the left front, appears the front corner of a rough-picked cutting. The stone is broken at the top, but unless this cutting was very deep the inscription could have contained only three or four lines; a text of four lines would give space for two hexameters. The bottom of the stone is rough-picked, the back is slightly smoother, and the left side appears to be original. This inscription will be published as no. 28A by Paul Friedländer in his forthcoming book *Epigrammata: Greek Inscriptions in Verse, from the Beginnings to the Persian Wars* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1948).

**37** (Plate 18). Fragment of a grave stele of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides but with the rough-picked back preserved, found on the surface in Asteroskopeiou Street on September 13, 1945.

Height, 0.039 m.; width, 0.13 m.; thickness, 0.185 m.; height of letters, 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 5901.

The inscription is stoichedon, with a chequer pattern which measures 0.017 m. across and 0.024 m. down. The stone was seen and copied by Pittakys, and is now published as *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 941 (cf. *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 208).

*ca.* 450 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ.

	[Λυ]σανίας		[Φι]λοχσενί[δες]
	[Ἀρ]χιάδες	10	[Ν]αυκρατίδ[ες]
	[Εὐ]κλείδες		[Νι]κοκ [κ]λῆς
	[Ἀρ]ιστοκλέ[ς]		[. .]ομις
5	[Εὐ]κλείδες		[Δι]ονύσιος
	[Ἐρ]ασίστρα[τος]		[Θε]οχαρίδε[ς]
	[Ε]ὐαρχίδες	15	[Τε]ισικλεί[δες]
	[. .]ετορί[δες]		[. .]κον

The stone has suffered a recent fracture at the upper left corner, so that it is impossible now to control Pittakys' readings at the beginning of lines 1 and 2. Several changes in the other names are necessary, the most significant being in line 7. The traditional [Κλ]ειτορί[δες] in line 8 is no more satisfactory as a restoration than [Ὀν]ετορί[δες]. In line 11 a kappa was cut twice by mistake, and one of them erased.

The date is suggested by the forms of the letters. The sloping bar of the alpha and the four-bar sigma exclude any date much before or after the middle of the century.

**38** (Plate 18). Fragment of a dedicatory base of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found in Section Φ on February 15, 1947.

Height, 0.13 m.; width, 0.33 m.; thickness, 0.26 m.; height of letters, 0.03 m.

Inv. No. I 5961.

*aet. imp. Rom.*

[ . . ]νος Ὀνάσο[υ]

[Ἀγ]γεληθεν

**39** (Plate 19). Columnar grave monument, broken at the top and bottom, found in Section ΟΟ on May 7, 1947.

Height, 0.32 m.; diameter, 0.15 m.; height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 5979.

*aet. imp. Rom.*

[-----]

Μουσ[αί]ο[υ]

Ἀλεξαν

δρέως

γυ[υ]ή

**40** (Plate 19). Part of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, broken on all sides, found in the wall of a modern house in Section Θ on May 4, 1946.

Height, 0.22 m.; height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 5908.

*saec. III a.*

Καλλ[ίστη ?]

Ἀμιση[νία]

Ἰμν[ον]

γυ[υ]ή

The ethnic form Ἀμισσηνία is to be preferred slightly to Ἀμισσηνή for reasons of symmetry in spacing. Cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 8060.

41 (Plate 19). Columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, brought to the excavations from a store of building material on a lot near by on January 29, 1947.

Height, 0.77 m.; diameter at the top, 0.26 m.; height of letters in (a), 0.03 m.-0.04 m.; in (b), 0.05 m.-0.07 m.

Inv. No. I 5939.

(a) *saec.* II/I *a.*

Χάρης

Διονυσίου

Ἀντιοχεύς

(b) *saec.* I/II *p.*

[Ε]ὖπο

ρος

42 (Plate 19). Fragment of a sepulchral stele, with the back preserved but broken on all sides, found in the wall of a modern house in Section II on January 8, 1935. Below the inscription is a rudely cut recess with traces of sculpture, apparently the top of a head.

Height, 0.215 m.; width, 0.235 m.; thickness, 0.11 m.; height of letters, 0.025 m.-0.03 m.

Inv. No. I 2294.

(a) *ca. saec.* I *a.*

[ - - - - - ]

[ - - - ]τιος

(b) *ca. saec.* I *p.*

[ - - - - - ]

[ . ]οσα[ - - - ]

Ἀχαρνεύς

The inscribed surface was carelessly dressed, in an effort to obliterate an earlier inscription and to prepare the stone for the epitaph of the Acharnian.

43 (Plate 20). Part of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found in the wall of a modern house in Section N on November 22, 1934.

Height, 0.21 m.; width, 0.17 m.; height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 2208.

*saec.* III/II *a.*

[Δι]ονύ[στος]

[Σ]τρατ[ - - - ]

[Γ]αργή[ττιο]ς

The close spacing of the letters in the last line argues against long names in lines 1 and 2.

44 (Plate 20). Columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found in the excavated area in February of 1947.

Height, 0.37 m.; diameter, 0.17 m.; height of letters, *ca.* 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 5941.

*saec.* III *a.*

Ἀρκεσίλαος

Ἡλωνος Ἡλεῖος

The name Ἀρκεσίλαος was first cut as Ἀρκεσίλας; then, without erasure, the omikron was cut over the sigma and the final sigma added.

45 (Plate 20). Two joining fragments of Pentelic marble, the larger found in a modern house in Section N on September 28, 1934, and the smaller in a house in Section Θ in the previous year. The bottom is preserved, but the stones are otherwise broken.

Height, 0.211 m.; width, 0.33 m.; thickness, 0.165 m.; height of letters, *ca.* 0.025 m.

Inv. Nos. I 2110 + 270.

*aet. imp. Rom.*

[---] ὥτιον Π[α]τρο[κλέους --- θυγάτηρ]

[--- Κηφ]εισιέ[ως] γυν[ή]

46 (Plate 20). Rough fragment of a grave stele of Hymettian marble, with the left edge preserved, found in Section OD on June 7, 1946.

Height, 0.185 m.; width, 0.17 m.; thickness, 0.08 m.; height of letters, *ca.* 0.015 m.

Inv. No. I 5913.

*saec.* III *a.*

Τιμ[---]

παῖς

Ξένωνος Κυ[δ]

αθη(ναιέως)

47 (Plate 20). Gravestone of Hymettian marble, found in the wall of a Byzantine house in Section OO on June 11, 1947. The surface of the stone has been partially smoothed, and there are worn breaks at the sides and top; the break at the bottom is not worn.

Height, 0.21 m.; width, 0.29 m.; thickness, 0.10 m.; height of letters, 0.018 m.-0.022 m.

Inv. No. I 6011.

*saec. I a.*

[᾽Α]λέξανδ[ρος]

Κτήσων[ος]

Μιλήσιος

48 (Plate 21). Columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found in the wall of a Byzantine house in Section III on April 30, 1947.

Height, 0.085 m.; diameter, 0.22 m.; height of letters, 0.022 m.-0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 5976.

*saec. I a.*

᾽Αφροδισία

᾽Αρίστωνος

Μιλησία

49 (Plate 21). Fragment of a columnar grave monument, broken on all sides, found in the excavated area in February of 1947.

Height, 0.27 m.; height of letters, 0.04 m.

Inv. No. I 5950.

*aet. imp. Rom.*

[Διονυ]σόδω[ρος]

[Δημ]ητρίου

[Μιλή]σιος

50 (Plate 21). Columnar grave monument of coarse-grained white island marble, brought to the excavations from a store of building material on a lot near by on January 29, 1947.

Height, 0.52 m.; diameter at the top, 0.19 m.; height of letters, 0.015 m.-0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 5938.

*saec. II a.*

Εἰρήνη

᾽Απολλωνίου

Μιλησία

Φαλακρίωνος

5 Δαμπτρέως

γυνή

The stone was published as *C.I.G.*, 703 *b*, from an imperfect copy sent to Boeckh by H. K. E. Koehler, and other editions have been derived from this. The latest version before the present re-discovery is *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 9531.

51 (Plate 21). Fragment from the upper part of a columnar grave monument, found in the excavated area in February of 1947.

Height, 0.33 m.; height of letters, 0.04 m.

Inv. No. I 5940.

*saec. I p.*

Λυσίας

Μιλήσι[ος]

52 (Plate 21). Grave stele of Hymettian marble, broken at the bottom, found in Section Φ on September 15, 1945. The back is rough-picked.

Height, 0.18 m.; width, 0.25 m.; thickness, 0.05 m.; height of letters, 0.015 m.-0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 5900.

*saec. III a.*

Ἀριστόβουλος

Μενίππου

Ῥαμνούσιος

53 (Plate 21). Columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found in the wall of a modern house in Section O on October 27, 1934.

Height, 0.311 m.; diameter, 0.156 m.; height of letters, 0.023 m.

Inv. No. I 2055.

*ca. saec. I p.*

Ἀτανί[α]

Θήρωνος

Τυρία

For the name, see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7547.

54 (Plate 22). Fragment of Pentelic marble, broken on all sides, found in the wall of a modern house in Section O on November 22, 1934. There are projecting mouldings at the top and two flat fasciae below.

Height, 0.219 m.; width, 0.355 m.; thickness, 0.210 m.; height of letters, 0.03 m.

Inv. No. I 2090.

*ca. saec. II p.*

[— — — —] Ἀλεξάνδρου θ[υγάτηρ]

[ἐκ Φα]ληρέων

Alexander, the father, may be the same as the Alexander (of Phaleron) of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 7593.

**55** (Plate 22). Columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, broken at the bottom and otherwise damaged, found in Section K on July 4, 1947.

Height, 0.32 m.; diameter, 0.28 m.; height of letters, 0.027 m.

Inv. No. I 6049.

*saec.* III/II *a.*

Νικόστρατος

Μεν<ε>κράτου

Φλυεύς

*incised loutrophoros*

**56** (Plate 22). Top of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found in the wall of a modern house in Section II on November 28, 1947.

Height, 0.273 m.; diameter, 0.194 m.; height of letters, 0.022 m.

Inv. No. I 2227.

*ca.* 300 B.C.

Ἀθηναίς

For the name, cf. also *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 10579 and 10580.

**57** (Plate 22). Upper left corner of a block of Pentelic marble, with traces of moulding above the inscription, found in the wall of a modern house in Section N on November 9, 1934.

Height, 0.165 m.; width, 0.46 m.; thickness, 0.14 m.; height of letters, 0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 2202.

*ca.* 350 B.C.

[-----]

Ἀφροδισία Ἀ[-----]

[-----]

**58** (Plate 22). Columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found about 160 m. southwest of the Observatory, at a depth of about 2 m., when workmen were excavating for an air-raid shelter, and brought to the excavations early in June of 1946.

Height, 0.62 m.; diameter, 0.18 m.; height of letters, 0.025 m.-0.03 m.

Inv. No. I 5914.

*saec.* III/II *a.*

Δώριον

**59** (Plate 22). Fragment of a columnar grave monument of Hymettian marble, found in the excavated area in February of 1947.

Height, 0.23 m.; diameter, 0.17 m.; height of letters, 0.02 m.

Inv. No. I 5948.

*saec.* I *p.*

Ἔρως

Χρησ[τός]

Enough is preserved of the fourth letter in line 1 to make the reading certain.

**60** (Plate 23). Fragment from the upper part of a columnar grave monument, found in the excavated area in February of 1947.

Height, 0.23 m.; estimated diameter, 0.25 m.; height of letters, *ca.* 0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 5957.

*saec.* III/II *a.*

[Εὐ]φροσύ[νη]

[Ἐρ]μογ[ένου]

**61** (Plate 23). Grave stele of Hymettian marble, broken at the bottom, found in Section Θ on June 27, 1947. The top and sides were dressed with a toothed chisel; the back is rough.

Height, 0.275 m.; width, 0.29 m.; thickness, 0.055 m.; height of letters, 0.025 m.

Inv. No. I 6019.

*saec.* III *a.*

Κτή[σις]ν

For the same single name on a grave monument, see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 11921/2.

**62** (Plate 23). Fragment of an inscribed stele of Pentelic marble, found in the wall of a modern house in Section II on December 5, 1934. The rough-picked back and part of the rough-picked top of the pediment are preserved.

Height, 0.185 m.; width, 0.177 m.; thickness, 0.16 m.; height of letters, *ca.* 0.014 m.

Inv. No. I 2235.

*ca.* 350 B.C.

Λυσιστράτη [-----]

**63** (Plate 23). Fragment from the upper left corner of a grave stele of Pentelic marble, showing part of a relief in a sunken field, found in the wall of a modern house in Section Θ on June 5, 1946. The back is rough-picked.

Height, 0.215 m.; width, 0.15 m.; thickness, 0.052 m.; height of letters, 0.015 m.  
Inv. No. I 5915.

*saec. IV a.*

Σάτυρος

**64** (Plate 23). Top of a columnar grave monument, found in the excavated area in February of 1947.

Height, 0.24 m.; diameter, 0.14 m.; height of letters, *ca.* 0.025 m.  
Inv. No. I 5942.

*ca. saec. II/I a.*

Φίλων

χρηστός

BENJAMIN D. MERITT

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

# GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

(PLATE 24)

65 (PLATE 24). Fragment of Pentelic marble, with the right side preserved, but otherwise broken, found on November 29, 1943, in Section AA.

Height, 0.237 m.; width, 0.19 m.; thickness, 0.07-0.075 m.; height of letters, 0.01-0.012 m.

Inv. No. I 5896.

The inscription is in stoichedon Ionic lettering, the units measuring 0.0164 m. horizontally and 0.016 m. vertically. The lettering is regular and precise,<sup>1</sup> and for the straight strokes the cutter appears to have used three chisels, measuring 0.012 m., 0.009 m., and 0.007 m. respectively; all three may be observed in use in the letter Π and sometimes in Ε.

ca. 394 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 20

[----- εἰ] π  
 [εν· ἐπαινέσαι μὲν ...] λλι  
 [..., ...<sup>11</sup>..... Ἰη] λυσί  
 [ωι, ἐπειδὴ φίλος ἐν] τῶι πρ  
 5 [όσθεν χρόνῳ ἦν, κ] αἰ τοῖς  
 [ἀδελφοῖς ὧν καὶ τ] ῶι Ἰηλυ  
 [σίῳν κήρυκι (?), ἐπ] ειδὴ καὶ ὁ  
 [πατήρ αὐτῶν ἦ] ν πρόξενος  
 [καὶ εὐεργέτ] ης καὶ ἐπὶ τῶ  
 10 [ν τριάκοντα] καθιρέθη ἡ  
 [στήλη· ἀναγρά] ψαι δὲ αὐτὸ  
 [ν καὶ τὸς ἀδελ] φὸς τὸν γρα  
 [μματέα τῆς βολῆ] ς τέλεσι  
 [τοῖς .....<sup>8</sup>...πρ] οξένος  
 15 [καὶ εὐεργέτας <sup>v v v v</sup> <sup>v v v v</sup>]

The division of the name in lines 2 and 3 is suggested merely by way of example. Nine letters are given to the name of the proxenos, since an eight-letter genitive must be restored in line 14 where the name of the person to pay for the stele is to be inserted. This name was probably that of the proxenos himself, for wherever the formula τέλεσι τοῖς is used it is invariably an indication that the burden of expense fell upon the recipient of the honor or upon his city. The more usual practice was for Athens

<sup>1</sup> Except that the junctions of the angular letters are not always exact: compare the Α's in lines 9, 11, and 12.

to pay the cost out of public funds.<sup>2</sup> It so happens that in line 14 the genitive Ἰηλυσίων also supplies the correct number of letters, but as it was more usual for the individual to pay, it is perhaps preferable not to insert any supplement at this point. Lines 7-8, in mentioning the father of the new proxenos, with the καί placed in a position of emphasis as an additional reason for bestowing the honor, make it necessary to restore a prior reason in line 4. This might be restored as ὅτι πρόξενος — ἦν, a restoration which would obviate the difficulty that the delegate was not himself the chief proxenos and did not have his name recorded. But ἀναγράφαι in line 11 implies an initial grant of προξενία: if it were a renewal one would expect, e.g., ἀνανεώσασθαι. Such a formula is employed in a decree from Delphi<sup>3</sup> in which two Lokrians obtain the renewal of a proxeny granted to their grandfather and (one must suppose) his descendants. In the present instance it would seem that the father's grant had not extended to his children.

Line 7. θεωρῶι would be a possibility in place of κήρυκι; but a θεωρός is primarily an ambassador to a religious function, and there is no evidence in this decree to indicate that relations other than secular were involved.

In line 12 the letter preceding omicron retains upon the stone the top of a vertical stroke directly below that of ψ in the line above. The alternatives are Ι and Φ, and the latter is not precluded by the line of fracture. A word such as [ἐκγό]γος would not be a possibility, as the right-hand stroke of Ν would appear further to the right than that surviving on the stone. [Τ]ίος might be possible, but the order seems to require [ἀδελ]φός, which will appear also in the dative in line 6.

It was not until the fleet of Konon and Pharnabazos appeared in the Aegean that the way was really open for the resumption of diplomatic relations between Athens and Rhodes. The break had come more than fifteen years previously. In winter 412/1, according to Thucydides (VIII, 44, 1), after a naval engagement off Syme, the most influential Rhodians approached Sparta with proposals for a revolt from the Athenian Empire; soon afterwards the Peloponnesian fleet put in at Kamiros to bring about the secession not of that city alone but of Lindos and Ialysos also. It was, therefore, before this date that "the father" had been proxenos of Athens in Ialysos.

The island derived little immediate benefit from its change of side. The Athenian fleet, based on Samos, Kos, and Chalke, harried it, and the only action taken by the

<sup>2</sup> Paul Monceaux, *Les Proxénies Grecques* (Paris, 1886), pp. 82-83, says that the majority of proxeny-stelai appear to have been charged to the candidate for honor or to his native city, but later remarks that the demos usually bore the cost. In fact, in almost half of the proxeny-decrees of this period, no indication is given of who is to pay. Down to 377 B.C., of 46 such decrees in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup> and II<sup>2</sup> and from the Agora in which survive the instructions given to the γραμματεῖς to have the stele inscribed, (i) twenty-two give no more precise commands; (ii) four certainly set the charge to the proxenos, with four likely additions; (iii) fourteen, with two likely additions, definitely instruct that payment be made from a state fund, and name disbursing officers. Of group (ii) the majority name the proxenos himself, and not his city, as paying the cost of the stele.

<sup>3</sup> *B.C.H.*, XXIII, 1899, p. 542. See G. Daux, *Delphes au II et I Siècle* (Paris, 1936), pp. 436-438.

Peloponnesians was to levy 32 talents<sup>4</sup> as a war contribution. Indeed they quitted it less than three months later, on the establishment of a pro-Spartan oligarchy. Anti-Spartan unrest ensued (Diodoros, XIII, 38, 5), which the athlete Dorieus, himself a Rhodian by birth, was sent to quell in the summer of 411 (*ibid.*, 45, 1). He remained until autumn, and after his departure for northern waters Rhodes remained unmolested by either side, but with the oligarchic government in firm control. Certainly no diplomatic relations with Athens were possible: the next visit of the Athenians to the island occurred in the summer of 408, when Alkibiades led a raiding expedition.

In this same year 408 according to Diodoros (XIII, 75) the *συννοικισμός* of the Rhodian communities took place: the new Rhodian state remained a Peloponnesian ally and contributed to the fifty ships collected among the islands by Kallikratidas. But there were also Rhodians, perhaps refugees of the democratic party, in the Athenian fleet at Arginusae (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1951).<sup>5</sup> The new Rhodian constitution, although based on that of Athens, placed real power in the hands of *πρυτάνεις* elected half-yearly, and the *πλήθος* was kept under control (cf. Strabo, XIV, 2, 5).<sup>6</sup> Anti-Athenian sentiment is further evidenced by the adoption of a coin standard other than the Attic;<sup>7</sup> but pro-Athenians were still numerous, and in 395 Konon found no lack of collaborators to assist in his liberation of Rhodes (Pausanias, VI, 7, 6).

After the end of the Peloponnesian War the Spartans kept a close hold on Rhodes, which was their naval headquarters in the eastern Aegean. It seems therefore unlikely that this inscription dates to the period before the Corinthian War. The destruction by Konon of Spartan naval supremacy opened the way for Athens and Rhodes to resume relations, as did the democratic revolution which, even before the battle, Konon's arrival provoked.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Almost as much as the *φόρος* previously paid to the Athenians. Lindos, in the latest tribute list (40) in which it appears (*A.T.L.*, 37 of 415/4; for the date, see Tod, *Gr. Hist. Inscr.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 266) paid 15 talents. In list 39 (416/5; see Tod, *loc. cit.*) Kamiros paid 10 talents, while in list 34 (421/0), besides Lindos' 15 talents, appear 5 talents paid by Ialysos, 2 by the Diakrioi, and a talent each by the Pedies and Brikindarioi. As Lindos' tribute was the same in lists 34 and 40, we may perhaps assume this to have been true of the other Rhodian communities and conclude that before the revolt Rhodes was paying a tribute of 34 talents per annum. It was the prospect of this revenue, as Thucydides (*loc. cit.*) points out, which caused the Spartans to comply all the more readily with the propositions of the Rhodian oligarchs.

<sup>5</sup> If we accept the suggestion of B. D. Meritt (*A.J.A.*, XXXI, 1927, pp. 462-470), following Koehler (*Ath. Mitt.*, VIII, 1884, pp. 179 ff.). Hiller von Gaertringen, however, in P. W., *R.E.*, s.v. Rhodos, p. 772, prefers to assign this casualty list to the battle of Knidos in 394 or that of Naxos in 376.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. A. H. J. Greenidge, *Handbook of Greek Constitutional History* (London, 1896), p. 218, and references there: also Hiller in P. W., *R.E.*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>7</sup> C. T. Seltman, *Greek Coins* (London, 1933), p. 150.

<sup>8</sup> For Rhodian history of the period under review see especially H. van Gelder, *Geschichte der alten Rhodier* (The Hague, 1900), pp. 80-85, and Hiller von Gaertringen (*loc. cit.*). Hiller postulates an oligarchic revolution in 397, on the evidence of Aristotle (*Politics*, 1302b, 1304b): this would imply a preceding popular democracy under Spartan control, since Aristotle refers to the cause of the revolt as extreme provocation by the demagogues. It is hard to reconcile such contra-

The inscription confirms that the parent cities of Rhodes continued to maintain a vigorous corporate existence despite the foundation of the new city (cf. Hiller, *op. cit.*, p. 769). This was particularly the case with religious matters, for the old municipalities, which had given their names to the Rhodian demes, administered the cults of the original δῆμος. Much of the evidence is, however, of later date (e. g., *I.G.*, XII, 677, 694, 761-2, etc.): we now have an indication that, in secular matters also, in the first years of the new city the Ialysians were able to act on their own initiative in foreign affairs, while the Athenians, for their part, regarded Ialysos as still of an importance to justify the appointment of proxenoi there besides, presumably, in Rhodes itself.

The earlier grant of προξενία may have been one of that series of grants with which Athens attempted to strengthen her position in the Aegean in the last phase of the Peloponnesian War. A number of proxeny decrees dating *ca.* 411/0 seems to bear witness to a definite Athenian policy: e. g., *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 106, 110a, 113, 143, 144 and perhaps Agora I 1674, which is in Ionic characters though perhaps of too early a date (415/4) to be included.<sup>9</sup> All these refer to the eastern, and particularly to the south-eastern area. No. 143 is directly connected with the Hellespont, a vital point for Athenian survival, and in no. 106 Polykles, Peraieus, and Aristoboulos are specifically mentioned as having influence in that region. Similarly Euagoras (113), the Hali-carnassians (110a), Proxenides of Knidos (144), and perhaps our man of Ialysos (the father) may well have been so honored in order to maintain pro-Athenian enthusiasm in places liable to disaffection, when Athenian naval power was no longer able to do so in a more direct manner.

One other proxeny decree (Plate 24) may be added to this list, and in consequence dated *ca.* 410 B.C. This is *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 146,<sup>10</sup> the revised text of which names a certain Proxenos of Chalke, the little island off Rhodes, as proxenos and benefactor. This appears in the *Corpus* as referring to Chaleion, on the Corinthian Gulf, but a reference to the southeastern Aegean suits the political probabilities, as well as the epigraphic requirements, very much better.

*ca.* 411/0 B.C.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

Πρόχσενος Χαλκ[ιδέος (?) πρόχσενος καὶ]  
 εὐεργέτης Χαλ[κεάτης καὶ οἱ τοῦτο πα]  
 ἰδες. *vacat*  
 [ἔδ]οχσεν τῷ βολῇ κα[ὶ τῷ δέμοι, ἀναγράφαι Πρ]

dictory circumstances with the previous history of the new state. It is more likely that Aristotle refers to the revolution of 390, when the oligarchs applied for Spartan help and received seven triremes under Eudokimos, Philodokos, and Diphilas (Diodoros, XIV, 97) or twenty-seven under Teleutias (Xenophon, *Hellenica*, IV, 8, 23-24).

<sup>9</sup> Published by B. D. Meritt in *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 381.

<sup>10</sup> Published by Kavvadias in *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1898, pp. 12-14, with a photograph on plate I. See also A. Wilhelm in *Mélanges Nicole* (Paris, 1905), p. 601.

- 5 [όχσ]ενον τὸν [Χαλκεάτεν ἐστέλει]  
 [λιθίν]ει ἐν πό[λει πρόχσενον καὶ εὐεργ]  
 [έτεν καὶ] τὸς τοῦ[το παίδας· ἡόπος δ' ἄν μὲ]  
 [ἀδικῶνται] ἐπιμ[έλεσθαι τέν τε βολὲν τέν]  
 [αἰεὶ βολεύουσιν καὶ τὸς πρυτάνες καὶ τὸς]  
 10 [στρατεγός - - - - -]

The lettering is Attic, but in line 1 Λ = λ, and in line 2 Η = η, Γ = γ, and Α again = λ. The first three lines are in a loose stoichedon, but subsequent lines have no stoichedon arrangement: there are between 26 and 38 letters in a line.

The letters of line 4 are crowded, with spacing very much closer than that in line 5. Indeed, a line spaced like line 4 would contain 39 letters, whereas a full line 5 would have room for only 26 letters. It seems likely that the cutter wished to give extra prominence to the name of the proxenos by increasing the spaces between the letters of the line referring to him: unfortunately the name must overlap into line 4 by two letters; if these two were inscribed where three might go on the basis of previous spacing, line 4 with 38 letters will occupy the same space on the stele as line 5 with 26.

Line 6: Proxeny decrees with headings similar to this repeat the formula of the heading in the body of the inscription (e.g., *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 103, 125; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 130, 133). It therefore seems desirable to make a restoration which, unlike that in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, will include the words καὶ εὐεργέτεν at this point.

Line 8: The letters επιμ are clearly discernible on the squeeze and moderately sure in the published photograph. They must belong to the formula whereby those honored in the decree are entrusted to the care and protection of the magistrates, and on this basis the necessary supplements have been made. Cf. *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 59 lines 14 ff., 110 lines 32-34, 118 lines 15-20, 149 lines 11-16, etc.

Similar considerations of space and length of line make necessary certain corrections, which I record here, in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 19 and 20. For a photograph of the former (Plate 24) I am indebted to Markellos Mitsos, Director of the Epigraphical Museum in Athens. The first two lines of no. 20 belong with the text of no. 19, A. E. Raubitschek<sup>11</sup> having shown that they form part of the same inscription. The stoichedon unit of this earlier decree measures 0.0147 m. across and 0.019 m. down.

458/7 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 48 (except line 1)

- a [φιλία καὶ χσυνμαχία Ἀθηναίων καὶ] Ἐγεσταί[ον]  
 [ἔδοχσεν τῇ βολῇ καὶ τ]ὸ[ι δέμοι· ...<sup>6</sup>... ἰς] ἐ[π]ρυτάνευε, [...]  
 [--- ἐγραμμάτευε, ---]ο[... ἐπεστάτε, ἡά]βρον ἔρχε, Ἀρ[χέ]δε  
 [μος εἶπε· .....<sup>82</sup>...] ταυτο / [...]

<sup>11</sup> See *T.A.P.A.*, LXXV, 1944, p. 10, note.

- 5 [.....<sup>19</sup>.....]ιω[.....<sup>18</sup>.....]α [hoίτινες]  
 [ἐχσορκόσοσι ἀφικόμενοι ἐς Ἐγεσταν ἡλέσθα]ι τὸ[ν] δ[έμον δέ]  
 [κα ἄνδρας αὐτίκα μάλα· π]ερ[ὶ δὲ τ]ο . . . π . . [h]ιερὰ ἡόσομ[περ . .]  
 [.....<sup>18</sup>..... τ]ὸν ἡό[ρκ]ο[ν ὁμνύ]να[ι· ἡόπ]ος δ' ἂν ὁμό[σοσ]  
 [ιν ἡάπαντες, ἡοι στρατ]εγοὶ ἐπιμελεθέν[τον παρ]αγγ[ελ . . . . .]<sup>5</sup>  
 10 [.....<sup>14</sup>..... μετὰ τ]ὸν ἡο[ρ]κοτὸν ἡόπ[ος . . . . .]ς Ἐγ[εσταιο . .]  
 [.....<sup>11</sup>..... τὸ δὲ φσέ]ψισμα τόδε καὶ τὸν [ἡόρκ]ο[ν] ἀνα[γράφσα]  
 [ι ἐστέλει λιθίνει ἐμ π]όλει τὸν γραμματέα τῆς βολῆς· [ἡοι δὲ π]  
 [ολεταὶ ἀπομισθοσάντ]ον· ἡο[ι] δὲ κολακρέται δό[ν]το[ν τὸ ἀργύρ]  
 [ιον· καλέσαι δὲ καὶ ἐπ]ὶ χσένια τὲν πρεσβείαν τὸν Ἐ[γεσταίων]  
 15 [ἐς πρυτανεῖον ἐς τὸν] νομιζόμενον χρόνον Ἐϋφ[ε]μος εἶπε· τὰ]  
 [μὲν ἄλλα καθάπερ τῇ β]ολεῖ· τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἐπειδὰν π[ρέσβες ἔλ]  
 [θοσιν ἀπ' Ἐγεσταίων ἡο κ]ῆρυχς προσαγ[έτο . . . . .<sup>15</sup>.....]  
 [.....<sup>22</sup>..... τὸ]ς π[ρέσβες — (or π[ρυτάνεις]?) — ]  
 lacuna  
 b [πρέσβες] Ἐγεσταί[ον ἡοῖδε τὸν ἡόρκον ὁμνον . . . . .<sup>12</sup>.....]  
 20 [.....<sup>7</sup>.....]ικίνο Ἀπ[.....<sup>84</sup>.....]  
 vacat

The letters of the heading are larger than those of rest of the inscription. The spacing of those which survive shows clearly that the text of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 19 (*Συμμαχία Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἐγεσταίων*) restores too short a line. Reading χσ- for σ- in *συμμαχία*, one has room for a further eight letters, and the words *φιλία καὶ* supply the deficiency exactly. The formula *φιλία καὶ χσνυμαχία* is orthodox, and examples of it may be found, e.g., in the treaty with Perdikkas (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 71, lines 75-76) and in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 90, line 25.

Line 3: Raubitschek (*loc. cit.*) finds traces of βρ before ο in the archon's name. In conformity with this the treaty is now dated to 458/7 B.C. See *S.E.G.*, X, no. 7.

Line 10: The letter following ε, half of which is tentatively indicated by Hiller, seems to be γ: The nature of the surface preceding the ε indicates a sigma, and I feel confident that the phrase read τὸς Ἐγεσταίος (or τοῖς Ἐγεσταιοῖς).

In lines 16-17 is incorporated a suggestion kindly made to Meritt by A. M. Woodward (ἐπειδὰν — — — — προσαγέτο).

Details of the oath presumably occupied the lacuna between fragments *a* and *b*. For the restoration of fragment *b* made by Raubitschek a slightly altered form is here preferred which corresponds more closely to that of Thucydides, V, 19. There is space for four names of delegates, plus patronymics, as in the treaties with Rhegion and Leontini (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 51, 52).

Raubitschek's publication of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 20<sup>12</sup> is based on a stoichedon line of 48 letters, i.e., the same length as that of the Segesta treaty which was inscribed on

<sup>12</sup> A. E. Raubitschek, *loc. cit.*, where a photograph of the squeeze is also published.

the upper part of the same stele. But whereas the horizontal measurement of the stoichedon chequer unit is 0.0147 m. in the Segesta treaty, in the treaty with Halikyai it is 0.013 m. There is space therefore not for 48 but for 54 letters, and the text below has been reconstructed on that basis.

Raubitschek's text is further open to the objections (*a*) that the Athenians as a contracting party are not mentioned, and (*b*) that the Segestaeans are introduced, even appearing to be the contracting party with whom Halikyai is making the treaty. This appearance of Segesta is explained by Raubitschek on the grounds that Athens was making a joint treaty with the two states which would reinforce the earlier treaty. It seems more likely that Athens and Halikyai made an alliance on the same terms as those of the Athens-Segesta alliance, and that therefore it was highly convenient to inscribe the new treaty on the same stele which bore the terms of the old.<sup>13</sup> And since the same terms were made, the words *φιλίαν καὶ χσυμαχίαν* have been included in line 3, in correspondence with the newly restored heading of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 19.

ca. 433/2 B.C.

ΣΤΟΙΧ. 54

- [ἔδοχσε]ν τῇ βολῇ [καὶ τοῖ δέμοι· . . . .<sup>ca. 9</sup> . . . ἐπρυτάνενε, . . . .<sup>ca. 9</sup> . . . ]  
 [ . . ἐγραμ]μάτενε, Ἄρ[ . . . .<sup>ca. 7</sup> . . . ἐπεστάτε, . . . .<sup>ca. 11</sup> . . . . εἶπε· Ἀθηναίοις ]  
 [καὶ ἡαλι]κναίοις Ἐλ[ύμοις φιλίαν καὶ χσυμαχίαν εἶναι κατὰ τὰ χσν]  
 [γκείμεν]α τὰ πρὸς Ἀθ[εναίος ἡὰ Ἐγεσταίοις ἐστίν· ταῦτα δὲ τὸν γραμμ]  
 5 [ατέα τῆς β]ολῆς ἀναγ[ράφσαι ἐμ πόλει ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ στέλει ἐν ἡῇ ἀναγ]  
 [ἐγραπται κα]ὶ περὶ Ἐ[γεσταίων τὰ ἐφσεφισμένα τοῖ δέμοι vacat]

The stoichedon chequer unit measures 0.013 m. across and 0.019 m. down.

The association with Segesta led Raubitschek to cite for this treaty a passage in Thucydides (VI, 6, 2), where in 416 B.C. the Segestaeans invoked Athenian assistance *τὴν γενομένην ἐπὶ Λάχης καὶ τοῦ προτέρου πολέμου Λεοντίνων ξυμμαχίαν ἀναμνησκοντες*. Hude and Classen omit *Λεοντίνων*, which makes it appear that Laches in 427/6 made a treaty with Segesta; it was proposed that this treaty may have been *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 20. But, quite apart from the question of the literary context and its translation, the omission of Segesta from the inscription eliminates any reference to Laches. I suggest that this treaty may have been made ca. 433/2, when the Athenians were very active diplomatically in the west, and were making certain of their allies in Sicily before the onset of the impending storm. "Treaties forever" with Rhegion and Leontini were reaffirmed,<sup>14</sup> and even the smallest city would be welcomed into the Athenian alliance.

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<sup>13</sup> The new text of the second alliance is to be republished as *S.E.G.*, X, 64.

<sup>14</sup> B. D. Meritt, *Cl. Qu.*, 1946, pp. 85-91.

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Attalos II: ἐν τῇ Ἀττάλῳ στοαί, 29 (138)  
Augustus and Tiberius, *ante a.* 14 *p.*: Αὐτο-

κ[ράτορος Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ κ]αὶ Τιβερίου  
Κα[ίσαρος], 41-42 (30)

### 

Ἀ[----], *ca.* 383 B.C., father or husband (?)  
of Ἀφροδισία, 51 (57)

Α[----] (Μυρρινούσιος), *ca.* 312 B.C., father  
of [...] ξένος, 2 (124)

Α[----] (Σφήτιος), *ca.* 266 B.C., father of  
Εὐνικός, 6 35

[Ἀ]βρων, archon in 458/7, 58 3

Ἀγάθαρχος [Κ]ηφισιεύς, anagrapheus in 95/4, 26  
(12 58)

Ἀγαθο[---], *ca.* 312 B.C., 1 (15)

Ἀγαθοκλῆς (Συπαλήττιος), *ca.* 266 B.C., father of  
Αἰ[ν]ησίδημος, 6 41

[Ἀγέλαος Ἀ]γελάου Ἀλαιεύς, secretary of the  
prytaneis of Kekropis in 95/4, 26 (12 47);  
[Ἀ. Ἀ. Ἀ.], 26 (12 53); Ἀ. Ἀ., 26 (12 36-37)

[Ἀ]γέλαος (Ἀλαιεύς), *ca.* 128 B.C., father of  
[Ἀγέλαος], 26 (12 47); [Ἀ.] (Ἀ.), father of  
[Ἀ.], 26 (12 53)

Ἀγνόθεος, archon in 140/39, 18 (9 36); [Ἀ.],  
17 (9 1)

Ἀθηναίς, *ca.* 300 B.C., 51 (56)

Ἀθηνόδορος (Παλληνεύς), councillor in 140/39,  
19 (9 77)

Ἀθηνόπολις Λαμπρεύς, flutist in 95/4, 26 (12 57)

Αἰ[ν]ησίδημος Ἀγαθοκλέους Συπαλήτ(τιος), ephe-  
bos of Kekropis in 246/5, 6 41

Αἰσχίνης (Οἰναῖος), *ca.* 277 B.C., father of Μόλοτ-  
τος, 4 (3 8)

Αἰσχρίων (Ἀλωπεκεύς), councillor in 140/39, 19  
(9 87)

Αἰσχρώνδης (Ἀλωπεκεύς), councillor in 140/39,  
19 (9 93)

[Ἀ]λέξανδ[ρος] Κτήσων[ος] Μιλήσιος, *saec.* I *a.*,  
49 (47)

Ἀλέξανδρος (Φαληρεῖς), *ca. saec.* II *p.*, 50 (54)

Ἀμμώνιος Ἀναφλύσιος, priest of the eponymos  
of Antiochis in 140/39, 19 (9 51, [133-134])

Ἀναξικρά[της], archon in 279/8, 1 (1 1)

Ἀνδρόνικος (Ἀλωπεκεύς), councillor in 140/39,  
19 (9 92)

Ἀντικλῆς, archon in 325/4, 39 (25)

Ἀντικλῆς Ἐξηκέστου Αἰωνεύς, proedros in 244/3,  
4 (3 6); Ἀ. Ἐ[ξηκέστου Αἰ.], 4 (*Chr.* 6)

Ἀντίπατρος Ἀντιπάτρου Λαμπρεύς, ephebos in  
123/2, 24 (11 108)

Ἀντίπατρος (Λαμπρεύς), *ca.* 143 B.C., father of  
Ἀντίπατρος, 24 (11 108)

[Ἀντίπατρος] (Συπαλήττιος), *ca.* 279 B.C., father  
of [Λυσι]κλῆς, 6 17

Ἀντίπατρος Ἀντι[πάτρου] Φλυεύς, στρατηγῆσας ἐπὶ  
τοὺς ὀπλείτας τὸ ἔβδ[ομον], *ca.* 15 B.C., 41 (29)

Ἀντί[πατρος] (Φλυεύς), *ca.* 48 B.C., father of  
Ἀντίπατρος, 41 (29)

Ἀντιφ[...]ς Στεφάνου Κηφισιεύς, ephebos in  
123/2, 24 (11 114)

Ἀντιφῶν (Φηγαεύς), *ca.* 266 B.C., father of  
Πολύευκτος, 6 43

Ἀπ[-----], ambassador from Segesta in  
458/7, 59 20

Ἀπολλώνιος (Ἀμφιτροπαιεύς), councillor in  
140/39, 19 (9 95)

[Ἀπ]ολλώνιος (Κηφισιεύς), *ca.* 143 B.C., father  
of Ἀρχίας, 24 (11 112)

Ἀπολλώνιος (Μιλήσιος), *saec.* II *a.*, father of  
Εἰρήνη, 49 (50)

Ἀρ[----], prytanis *ca.* 433/2, 60 2

Ἀριαράθης Πολεμαίου Συπαλήττιος, treasurer of  
the prytaneis of Kekropis in 95/4, 26 (12 46);  
[Ἀ. Π. Συπα]λήττιος, 26 (12 52); [Ἀ. Σ.],  
26 (12 27-29); [Ἀ.] (Σ.), 26 (12 67)

Ἀριστίων (Ἀλωπεκεύς), councillor in 140/39, 19  
(9 89)

Ἀριστόβουλος Μενίππου Ὀρμνούςιος, *saec.* III *a.*,  
50 (52)

Ἀρι[στόδημος], archon in 352/1, 33 (16 24-25)

Ἀριστόδημος, toxotes in 246/5, 6 19; [Ἀ.], 7 57

[Ἀρ]ιστοκλῆ[ς], on a funerary monument *ca.*  
450 B.C., 45 (37 4)

- Ἀριστο[κρ]άτης Ἀριστομένου[ς], *init. saec. II a.*, 40 (28 6)
- Ἀριστοκράτης (Θοραיעύς), councillor in 140/39, 19 (9 103)
- Ἀριστομένης, *fin. saec. III a.*, father of Ἀριστο-  
[κρ]άτης, 40 (28 6)
- Ἀρίστων (Μιλήσιος), *saec. I a.*, father of Ἀφρο-  
δισία, 49 (48)
- Ἀρκεσίλαος Ἡλωνος Ἡλείος, *saec. III a.*, 48 (44)
- Ἀρτε[-----] Ἀχερδ[ούσιος], *saec. V a.*, 38 (23)
- Ἀρ[χέ]δη[μος], orator in 458/7, 58 3-4
- [Ἀρ]χέλαος (Παλληνεύς), councillor in 140/39, 19 (9 78)
- [Ἀρ]χιάδης, on a funerary monument *ca. 450 B.C.*, 45 (37 2)
- Ἀρχία[ς], archon in 346/5, 34 (16 31)
- Ἀρχίας [Ἀπ]ολλωνίου Κηφισιεύ[ς], ephebos in 123/2, 24 (11 112)
- Ἀταινί[α] Θήρωνος Τυρία, *ca. saec. I p.*, 50 (53)
- Ἀττινῶς (Ἀναφλύστιος), councillor in 140/39, 19 (9 106)
- Ἀφροδισία Ἀρίστωνος Μιλησία, *saec. I a.*, 49 (48)
- Ἀφροδισία Α[-----], *ca. 350 B.C.*, 51 (57)
- Βασιλείδης (Κριωεύς), councillor in 140/39, 19 (9 111)
- Γ[-----] (Μυρρινούσιος), *ca. 312 B.C.*, father of  
[Σ]θενοκλῆς, 2 (1 25)
- Γλα[ύκος], *ca. 110 A.D.*, father of [Ἐρμε]ίας, 37 (22 9)
- Γλαύκων (Κρωπίδης), *ca. 302 B.C.*, father of  
[Καλλίστρατος], 3 (2 3)
- Δ[---<sup>ca. 6</sup>---], archon *ca. 80 B.C.*, 29 (13 9)
- Δ[---<sup>ca. 6</sup>---] (Παιανεύς), *ca. 266 B.C.*, father of  
[Δρα]κοντίδης, 6 45
- Δεινοκράτης (Θοραיעύς), councillor in 140/39, 19 (9 104)
- Δημαγόρας (Θοραיעύς), councillor in 140/39, 19 (9 102)
- Δημαίνετος Φ[ίλ]ωνος ἐκ Κολωνοῦ, ephebos of  
Aigeis in 246/5, 6 42
- Δημήτριος, archon in 123/2, 23 (11 92); [Δη-  
μή]τριος, 24 (11 106)
- [Δημή]τριος Ἀλω[πεκῆ]θεν, sculptor *ca. 403 B.C.*, 38 (24)
- [Δημ]ήτριος (Μιλήσιος), *aet. imp. Rom.*, father  
of [Διονυ]σόδω[ρος], 49 (49)
- Δημοκ[-----], *ca. 233 B.C. (?)*, father of [Δ]η-  
μοσθένης, 40 (27 a)
- [Δ]ημοσθένης Δημοκ[-----], polemarch *ca.*  
200 B.C. (?), 40 (27 a)
- Δημοχάρη[ς] (Ἀντιγονίδος), *ca. 266 B.C.*, father  
of Παράμυθος, 6 34
- Δι[. . .<sup>43</sup>. . .]ος (Ἀγνούσιος), *ca. 236 B.C.*, father of  
Τιμοκλῆς, 15 (6 34-35)
- Δικαιοπόλις Παμβωτάδης, priest of the eponymos  
of Kekropis in 95/4, 26 (12 56)
- Διογένης (Ἀλωπεκεύς), councillor in 140/39, 19 (9 91)
- Διογένης (ἐκ Κολωνοῦ), *ca. 143 B.C.*, father of  
[-----]ος, 24 (11 117)
- Διόδοτος Φιλοστράτου [-----], proedros in  
95/4, 25 (12 5-6)
- Διόδω[ρος] ---, sculptor *ca. 200 B.C. (?)*, 40 (27 c)
- Διομέδων, archon in 247/6, 4 (3 9-10)
- Διόμνη[στος], *fin. saec. III a.*, father of [Πολ]ύ-  
μνη[στος], 40 (28 1)
- [Δι]ονύσιος, on a funerary monument *ca. 450 B.C.*, 45 (37 13)
- [Διονύ]σιος, archon in 135/4, 22 (10 1)
- Διονύσιος (Ἀντιοχεύς), *saec. II/I a.*, father of  
Χάρης, 47 (41 a)
- [Δι]ονύ[σιος Σ]τρατ[--- Γ]αργή[ττιος], *saec.*  
III/II a., 47 (43)
- Διονύσιος (Παλληνεύς), councillor in 140/39, 19 (9 76)
- Διονύσιο[ς Σ]ωκρά[του Φυλά]σιος, kosmetes of  
the epheboi in 123/2, 23 (11 92); Δ. Σ. Φ.,  
24 (11 101-104, four times); Δ., 23 (11 95)
- [Διονυ]σόδω[ρος Δημ]ητρίου [Μιλή]σιος, *aet. imp. Rom.*, 49 (49)
- [Δρα]κοντίδης Δ[---<sup>ca. 6</sup>---]ος Παιανιεύ(ς), ephebos  
of Pandionis in 246/5, 6 45
- Δωνάτος, *saec. II p.*, 42 (32)
- Δωνάτος, *saec. II p.*, father of Δωνάτος, 42 (32)
- Δώριον, *saec. III/II a.*, 52 (58)
- [Δωρό]θεος Δωροθέου Ἐρο[ιάδης], proedros *ca.*  
190 B.C., 17 (8 4)
- Δωρόθεος (Ἐροιάδης), *ca. 223 B.C.*, father of  
[Δωρό]θεος, 17 (8 4)

- Εἰρήνη Ἀπολλωνίου Μιλησία Φαλακρίωνος Λαμπ-  
τρέως γυνή, *saec.* II *a.*, 49 (50)
- Εἰσιδοτος [ἐξ] Οἴου, *ca.* 200 A.D., 42 (33)
- Ἐξακῶν (Παλληνεύς), councillor in 140/39, 19  
(9 73)
- Ἐξήκεστος (Αἰξωνεύς), *ca.* 277 B.C., father of  
Ἀντικλῆς, 4 (3 6); Ἐ[ξήκεστος] (Αἰ.), father  
of Ἀ., 4 (*Chr.* 6)
- [Ἐόρ]τιος [Ἐρ]μοδώρου Ἀχαρνεύς, ephebos of  
Οἰνεῖς in 246/5, 6 38
- [Ἐόρτιος] (Ἀχαρνεύς), *ca.* 279 B.C., father of  
[Ἐρμόδορος], 6 16
- Ἐπιγέ[νη]ς Ἐπιγένου Φηγούσιος, ephebos in 123/2,  
24 (11 113)
- Ἐπιγένης (Φηγούσιος), *ca.* 143 B.C., father of  
Ἐπιγέ[νη]ς, 24 (11 113)
- [Ἐ]πικράτης (Πτελεάσιος), *ca.* 273 B.C., father  
of Νικοκράτης, 18 (9 40)
- [Ἐρ]ασίστρα[τος], on a funerary monument  
*ca.* 450 B.C., 45 (37 6)
- [Ἐρμε]ίας Γλα[ύκου], eponymos of Aigeis *ca.*  
138/9–150/1, 37 (22 9)
- Ἐρμίας (Λαμπτρέως), *ca.* 143 B.C., father of  
Νουμήνιος, 24 (11 111)
- [Ἐρ]μογ[έν]ης, *saec.* III/II *a.*, father of [Εὐ]-  
φροσύ[νη], 52 (60)
- [Ἐρμόδορος Ἐορτίου Ἀχα]ρνεύς, paidotribes in  
246/5, 6 16; Ἐ. Ἀ., 7 52–53; [Ἐρ]μόδορος  
(Ἀ.), father of [Ἐόρ]τιος, *floruit ca.* 266 B.C.,  
6 38
- Ἐρως, *saec.* I *p.*, 52 (59)
- [Εὐ]αλκος Φωκίνου [----], ephebos of Deme-  
trias in 246/5, 6 36
- [Ε]υαρχίδης, on a funerary monument *ca.* 450  
B.C., 45 (37 7)
- Εὐβουλίδης (Αἰξωνεύς), *ca.* 236 B.C., father of  
Εὐβουλος, 15 (6 31)
- Εὐβουλος Εὐβουλίδ[ο]ν Αἰξωνεύς, secretary in  
203/2, 15 (6 31)
- [Ε]ὐδημος (Εἰτεαῖος), *ca.* 173 B.C., father of  
[Εὐ]κτί[μενος], 18 (9 5); Εὐ. (Εἰ.), father of  
Εὐ., 18 (9 41)
- [Εὐ]κλείδης, on a funerary monument *ca.* 450  
B.C., 45 (37 3)
- [Εὐ]κλείδης, on a funerary monument *ca.* 450  
B.C., 45 (37 5)
- [Εὐ]κλῆς Βερενικίδης, herald in 203/2, 16 (6 47);  
[Εὐ. Β.], 16 (6 75–77)
- Εὐκλῆς Τρινεμεύς, herald in 140/39, 18–19 (9 49–  
50); [Εὐ. Τ.], 19 (9 124–125)
- [Εὐ]κτί[μενος] Εἰτεαῖος, orator in  
140/39, 18 (9 5); Εὐ. Εὐ. Εἰ., 18 (9 41);  
Εὐ. Εἰ., treasurer of the prytaneis of An-  
tiochis in 140/39, 18 (9 26–27); Εὐκτίμ[ενος]  
Εἰτεαῖ[ος], secretary of the prytaneis of An-  
tiochis in 140/39, 18 (9 34–35); Εὐ. Εἰ.,  
treasurer and secretary of the prytaneis of  
Antiochis in 140/39, 18 (9 43, 47); Εὐ. (Εἰ.),  
councillor in 140/39, 19 (9 57)
- Εὐκτίμενος (Εὐπυρίδης), *ca.* 277 B.C., father of  
Πολυκτῆμων, 3 (3 3); [Εὐ.] (Εὐ.), father of  
[Π.], 4 (*Chr.* 2–3); [Εὐκτί]μενος (Εὐ.), father  
of [Π.], 5 2
- Εὐμαχος [---<sup>ca. 16</sup>---], assistant secretary in  
95/4, 26 (12 54–55)
- [Εὐμ]νηστος [----] (Μυρρινούσιος), councillor  
in 279/8, 2 (1 23); [Εὐ. -- Μ.], 2 (1 55–58)
- Εὐνικος Α[---<sup>ca. 9</sup>--- Σ]φήττιος, ephebos of Aka-  
mantis in 246/5, 6 35
- [Ε]ὐπορος, *saec.* I/II *p.*, 47 (41 b)
- Εὐριπίδης [---<sup>ca. 8</sup>--- Χολ]αργεύς, ephebos of  
Akamantis in 246/5, 6 34
- Εὐτυχίδης, *saec.* II *p.*, father of Ζώπυρος, 42 (32)
- Εὐφη[μος], orator in 458/7, 59 15
- [Εὐ]φροσύ[νη Ἐρ]μογ[έν]ου, *saec.* III/II *a.*, 52  
(60)
- [Ζ]ήνων Μνασέ[ου], *floruit ca.* 300 B.C., inscribed  
*saec.* II *p.*, 42 (31)
- Ζώπυρος Εὐτυχίδου, *saec.* II *p.*, 42 (32)
- Ἦλων (Ἠλείος), *saec.* III *a.*, father of Ἀρ-  
κεσίλαος, 48 (44)
- Ἡρακλέων (Κριωεύς), councillor in 140/39, 19  
(9 110)
- Θεμιστίος (Φαληρεύς), *ca.* 266 B.C., father of  
Σωκράτης, 6 47
- Θεμιστ[οκλῆς], archon in 347/6, 33 (16 26–27)
- [Θεόδοτος], archon in 95/4, 25 (12 1), 26 (12 38)
- [Θεόδοτος] (Ἀμφιτροπήθεν), *ca.* 168 B.C., father  
of [Θεόλυτος], 22 (10 2)
- Θεόδωρος Οἰναῖος, flutist in 140/39, 19 (9 50);  
Θ. Οἰναῖ[ος], 19 (9 127–128)
- [Θεόλυτος Θεοδότου Ἀμφιτροπήθεν], secretary in  
135/4, 22 (10 2)

- [Θε]οχαρίδης[ς], on a funerary monument *ca.* 450 B.C., 45 (37 14)  
Θήρων (Τύριος), *ca. saec. I p.*, father of Ἀτανί[α], 50 (53)
- Ἰολλᾶς (Παλληνεύς), councillor in 140/39, 19 (9 72)  
Ἰσαρχος Ξε[νοκλ]έους ἐκ Κεραμέ(ων), ephebos of Akamantis in 246/5, 6 36  
Ἰων (Ἀμφιτροπαιεύς), councillor in 140/39, 19 (9 98)
- Καλλιᾶδης (Ἀθμονεύς), *ca.* 266 B.C., father of Νο[υ]φράδης, 6 42  
[Κάλλιπ]πο[ς ? ---], secretary of the prytaneis of Oineis in 203/2, 15 (6 28-29); Κάλλ[ιπ?]ος [---], 16 (6 43-44)  
[Κάλλιππος] Φιλιππίδο[υ] Ὁῆθεν, treasurer of the prytaneis of Oineis in 203/2, 16 (6 41); K. Ὁ., 15 (6 21-22, 37)  
Καλλ[ίστη] (?), Ἀμυσή[ν]ια Ὑμν[ου] γυ[νή], *saec. III a.*, 46 (40)  
[Καλλίστρατος] Γλαύκωνο[ς] Κρω[πίδης]ς, orator in 269/8, 3 (2 3-4)  
[Κλ]ειτορί[δης], on a funerary monument *ca.* 450 B.C., 45 (37 8). See also [Ὀν]ητορί[δης]  
Κλεομέδων Ἀξην(ιεύς), polemarch in 220/19, 21  
Κλεον[---], dedicant *ca. med. saec. IV a.*, 33 (16 9)  
Κλεόνοστος (Ἀμφιτροπαιεύς), councillor in 140/39, 19 (9 97)  
Κλεότιμος (Ἀμφιτροπαιεύς), councillor in 140/39, 19 (9 100)  
Κλέων (Ἀμφιτροπαιεύς), councillor in 140/39, 19 (9 99)  
Κλέων Κι[κυνεύς], herald in 95/4, 26 (12 55-56)  
Κραταιμένης (Φιλαΐδης), *ca.* 143 B.C., father of Μεν[... ]χος, 24 (11 116)  
Κτησικλ[---] (Ἀντιγονίδος), *ca.* 266 B.C., father of Χαιριγένης, 6 32  
Κτή[σιω]ν, *saec. III a.*, 52 (61)  
Κτήσων (Μιλήσιος), *saec. I a.*, father of [Ἀ]λέξανδ[ρος], 49 (47)  
Κυδῆνωρ, archon in 244/3, 3 (3 2); [Κυ]δῆνωρ, 4 (*Chr.* 1); [Κ.], 5 1
- Λέων (Εἰτεαῖος), councillor in 140/39, 19 (9 58)  
Λυκόφρων Σουνιεύς, treasurer of the Council in 140/39, 19 (9 51, [130-131])  
[Λυ]σανίας, on a funerary monument *ca.* 450 B.C., 45 (37 1)  
Λυσι[---], priest of the eponymos of Oineis in 203/2, 16 (6 44-45, [55-57])  
Λυσίας Μιλήσι[ος], *saec. I p.*, 50 (51)  
[Λυσι]κλῆς [Ἀντιπάτρου] Συπαλήττιος, akontistes in 246/5, 6 17; Λ. Συπαλή[ττιος], 7 57-58  
Λυσιστράτη, *ca.* 350 B.C., 52 (62)
- Με[---], *ca.* 312 B.C., father of Χα[---], 2 (1 49-51)  
Μεν[... ]χος Κραταιμένου Φιλαΐδ[η]ς, ephebos in 123/2, 24 (11 116)  
Μενεκράτης Χαριζένων Θορίκιος, secretary in 140/39, 18 (9 37); [M. X.] Θ., 17 (9 1-2)  
Μεν<ε>κράτης (Φλυεύς), *saec. III/II a.*, father of Νικόστρατος, 51 (55)  
Μενέλαος (Ἀλωπεκεύς), councillor in 140/39, 19 (9 88)  
Μενεσθεύ[ς] --ca. 8-- Κικ[ι]ννεύ(ς), ephebos of Akamantis in 246/5, 6 33  
Μένιππος (Ῥαμνούσιος), *saec. III a.*, father of Ἀριστόβουλος, 50 (52)  
Μῆ[ν]ις: Λ. Νούμμιος Μῆ[ν]ις Φαληρεύς, archon between 138/9 and 150/1, 37 (22 2-4)  
Μνασέ[ας], *floruit ca.* 333 B.C., father of [Ζ]ήνων, inscribed *saec. II p.*, 42 (31)  
Μόλοττος Αἰσχίνου Οἰναῖος, orator in 244/3, 4 (3 8)  
Μουσ[αῖ]ο[ς] Ἀλεξανδρεύς, *aet. imp. Rom.*, 46 (39)
- [Ν]ακρατίδ[ης], on a funerary monument *ca.* 450 B.C., 45 (37 10)  
Να[υσιγένης], archon in 368/7, 34 (16 35-36)  
Νευκίας (Αἰγυλιεύς), *ca.* 97 B.C., father of Ταργ[ε]ῖνος, 30 (14 3)  
Νε[οκλῆς] Βερενεϊκίδης, flutist in 203/2, 16 (6 47-48, [80-83])  
Νικάνωρ (Μυρρινούσιος), *ca.* 173 B.C., 17 (9 4)  
Νικίας [Νικ]ίου Πιθεύς, proedros in 203/2, 15 (6 33-34)  
[Νικ]ίας (Πιθεύς), *ca.* 236 B.C., father of Νικίας, 15 (6 33-34)

- [Νε]κοκ[κ]λῆς, on a funerary monument *ca.* 450 B.C., 45 (37 11)
- Νικοκράτης [Ἐ]πικράτου Πτελεάσιος, proedros in 140/39, 18 (9 39-40)
- Νικόστρατος Μεν<ε>κράτου Φλυεύς, *saec.* III/II *a.*, 51 (55)
- [Νίκων] (Εἰταῖος), *ca.* 312 B.C., father of [...<sup>8</sup>... ἰδης], 1 (1 2)
- Νουμήνιος Ἐρμίου Λαμ[πτρε]ύς, ephebos in 123/2, 24 (11 111)
- Α. Νούμιος Μη[ν]ις Φαληρεύς, archon between 138/9 and 150/1, 37 (22 2-4)
- Νο[ν]φράδης Καλλιιάδου Ἀθμονεύς, ephebos of Kekropis in 246/5, 6 42
- Ξε[νοκλ]ῆς (ἐκ Κεραμέων), *ca.* 266 B.C., father of Ἰσαρχος, 6 36
- Ξένων Κυ[δ]αθη(ναεύς), *saec.* III *a.*, father of Τιμ[---], 48 (46)
- [Οἰ]νόφιλος, archon in 64/3 (?), 30 (14 2); [Οἰνόφιλ]ος, 30 (14 8)
- Ὀλυμπίων (Κριωεύς), councillor in 140/39, 19 (9 109)
- Ὀνασο[ς] (Ἀγγεληθεν), *aet. imp. Rom.*, father of [...]nos, 46 (38)
- Ὀνήσιμος, *ante med. saec.* IV *a.*, 35 (19)
- [Ὀν]ητορί[δης], on a funerary monument *ca.* 450 B.C., 45 (37 8). See also [Κλ]ειτορί[δης]
- Παισίμαχος, *fin. saec.* III *a.*, father of [Τε]λέστης, 40 (28 2)
- Παράμυθος Δημοχάρο[ν]ς ----], ephebos of Antigonis in 246/5, 6 34
- Π[α]τρο[κλ]ῆς ----], *aet. imp. Rom.*, father of [---]ώτιον, 48 (45)
- Πάτρων (Ἀλωπεκεύς), councillor in 140/39, 19 (9 90)
- Πολεμαῖος (Συπαλήττιος), *ca.* 128 B.C., father of Ἀριαράθης, 26 (12 46); [Π.] (Σ.), father of [Ἀ.], 26 (12 52)
- Πολύδωρος Ῥόδωνος Θυμαίτ[α]δης, ephebos of Hippothontis in 246/5, 6 45
- Πολύεικτος Ἀ[ντιφών]τος Φηγαιεύ(ς), ephebos in 246/5, 6 43
- Πολυκτῆμων Εὐκτιμένου Εὐπυρίδης, secretary in 244/3, 3 (3 3); [Π. Εὐ. Εὐπυρί]δης, 4 (*Chr.* 2-3); [Π. Εὐκτι]μένου Εὐ[πυρίδης], 5 2
- [Πολ]ύμν[η]στος Διομνή[σ]του, *init. saec.* II *a.*, 40 (28 1)
- Προξενίδης, archon in 203/2, 15 (6 30)
- Πρόξενος Χαλκ[ιδέως] Χαλ[κεάτης], proxenos *ca.* 411/0, 57 1-2; [Πρόξ]ενος ὁ [Χαλκεάτης], 57 4-5
- [Π]ρωτομένης Εἰταῖος, assistant secretary in 203/2, 16 (6 46); Π. Εἰ., 16 (6 68-70)
- Πυθόδωρος, *fin. saec.* III *a.*, father of [Φ]ορύσκος, 40 (28 4)
- Πύρρος (Κριωεύς), councillor in 140/39, 19 (9 112)
- Ῥόδων (Θυμαϊτάδης), *ca.* 266 B.C., father of Πολύδωρος, 6 45
- [Σ]αμίας Χαρικλέους, *init. saec.* II *a.*, 40 (28 5)
- [Σαρ]απ[ί]ων Παιανιεύς, treasurer of the prytaneis of Pandionis *ca.* 80 B.C., 29 (13 5)
- Σατυρίων (Παλληγεύς), councillor in 140/39, 19 (9 74)
- Σάτυρος, *saec.* IV *a.*, 53 (63)
- Σάτυρος (Ἀμφιτροπαιεύς), councillor in 140/39, 19 (9 96)
- [Σ]θενοκλῆς Γ[----] (Μυρρινούσιος), councillor in 279/8, 2 (1 25)
- Σίδων Λακ[ιδάδης], ἐπὶ τὸ ἀπόρρητον in 95/4, 26 (12 60-61)
- Στέφανος (Κηφισιεύς), *ca.* 143 B.C., father of Ἀντιφ[...], 24 (11 114)
- Στησίχορος, *ca.* 223 B.C., father of [. . ? .]ίας, 17 (8 5)
- [Σ]τρατ[----] (Γαργήττιος), *saec.* III/II *a.*, father of [Δι]ονύ[σιος], 47 (43)
- Στράτιππος Ῥαμνούσιος, secretary of the Council and Demos in 140/39, 18 (9 48); [Σ. Ῥ.], 19 (9 118-119)
- Σωκράτης Θεμιστίων Φαληρεύς, ephebos of Aiantis in 246/5, 6 47
- [Σ]ωκρά[της] (Φυλάσιος), *ca.* 156 B.C., father of Διονύσιο[ς], 23 (11 92); Σ. (Φ.), father of Δ., 24 (11 101-104, four times)
- Σώσιππος [Φλυεύς], secretary of the Council and Demos in 203/2, 16 (6 45-46); Σώ[σιπ]πος [Φλ]υεύς, 16 (6 62-64)
- [Σ]ώφρων[ν] .]τη[----], *init. saec.* II *a.*, 40 (28 7)
- Ταραγ[τ]εῖνος Νεκίου Αἰγ[υλιεύς], secretary in 64/3 (?), 30 (14 3)

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[Τε]λέστης Παισιμάχου, *init. saec. II a.*, 40 (28 2)

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Τιμοκ[ρ]άτης Τιμοκρά[τους ---], ephebos of Antigonis in 246/5, 6 33

Τιμοκρά[της] (Ἀντιγονίδος), *ca.* 266 B.C., father of Τιμοκ[ρ]άτης, 6 33

Τιμόστρατος (Ἐρτιάδης), councillor in 140/39, 19 (9 114)

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Φανόκριτος (Παλληγεύς), councillor in 140/39, 19 (9 75)

Φιλιστίδης (Ὅθθεν), *ca.* 236 B.C., father of [Κάλλιππος], 16 (6 41)

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Φιλόδημος (Ἀλωπεκεύς), councillor in 140/39, 19 (9 86)

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Φιλο[κ]λῆς (Εὐωνυμεύς), *ca.* 279 B.C., father of [ . . .<sup>ca. 10</sup>. . . ], 6 13; [Φιλο]κλῆς (Εὐωνυμεύς), father of [ . . .<sup>ca. 10</sup>. . . ], 6 27-29

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[Φι]λοξενί[δης], on a funerary monument *ca.* 450 B.C., 45 (37 9)

Φιλόστρατος, *ca.* 128 B.C., father of Διόδοτος, 25 (12 5)

[Φιλ]όστρατος Φιλοδήμου Ἀλαιεύς, ephebos of Kekropis in 246/5, 6 40

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Φ[ίλ]ων (ἐκ Κολωνοῦ), *ca.* 266 B.C., father of Δημαίνετος, 6 42

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[Φ]ορύσκος Πυθοδώρου, *init. saec. II a.*, 40 (28 4)

Φωκιάδης (Ἐλευσίνιος), *ca.* 266 B.C., father of Τεισίας, 6 44

Φωκῖνος (Δημητριάδος), *ca.* 266 B.C., father of [Εὐα]λκος, 6 36

Χα[---] Με[-----], secretary of the prytaneis of Pandionis in 279/8, 2 (1 49-51)

Χαιρητίδης Κορυδαλλεύς, assistant secretary in 140/39, 18 (9 49); [X. K.], 19 (9 121-122)

Χαιριγένης Κτησικλ[-----], ephebos of Antigonis in 246/5, 6 32

Χαλκ[ιδεύς] (Χαλκεάτης), *ca.* 444 B.C., father of Πρόξενος, 57 1

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Χαρικλῆς, *fin. saec. III a.*, father of [X]αριταῖος, 40 (28 3), and of [Ξ]αμμίας, 40 (28 5)

Χαρίξενος (Θορίκιος), *ca.* 173 B.C., father of Μενεκράτης, 18 (9 37); [X.] (Θ.), father of [M.], 17 (9 2)

Χαρίσανδ[ρος ---] Ἀλιμούσιος, *hoplomachos* in 246/5, 6 18; [Χαρίσανδρ]ος [Ἀλιμούσι]ος, 7 51-52

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[.]κων, on a funerary monument *ca.* 450 B.C., 45 (37 16)

[.]νος Ὀνάσο[ν Ἀγ]γελῆθεν, *act. imp. Rom.*, 46 (38)

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[...]λλι[ . . .<sup>ca. 14</sup>. . . ] Ἰη]λύσι[ος], *proxenos ca.* 394 B.C., 54 (65 2-4)

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- [.?.?]ίας Στησιχόρου [----], orator *ca.* 190 B.C., 17 (85)
- [....]ιος (Παλληνεύς), councillor in 140/39, 19 (979)
- [.?.?]ων [.?.]εύς, treasurer of the Council *ca.* 200 B.C., 16 (7)
- [.5....]ος (Παλληνεύς), councillor in 140/39, 19 (980)
- [.5....]ς (Εἰτεαῖος), councillor in 140/39, 19 (959)
- [...8....]ίδης Νίκωνος Εἰτεαῖος], secretary in 279/8, 1 (12)
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- [-----]κρά[τους Φρ]εάρριος, ephebos of Leontis in 246/5, 647
- [-----]λων (Παμβωτάδης), *ca.* 266 B.C., 639
- [---ca.15---]λωνος Παμβωτάδ[ης], ephebos of Erechtheis in 246/5, 639
- [---ca.10---] Νικάνορος Μυρρινούσιος, proedros in 140/39, 17 (94)
- [-----]ος Διογένου ἐκ Κολων[οῦ], ephebos in 123/2, 24 (1117)
- [-----]ος (Ξυπεταιών), councillor in 95/4, 26 (1277)
- [-----]ος Φ[....]φρον[ος], *saec.* II *p.*, 42 (32)
- [-----]όστρατ[ος] (Δημητριάδος), *ca.* 266 B.C., 637
- [---ca.10---]οστράτ[ου -----], ephebos of Demetrias in 246/5, 637
- [---ca.17---]ον Παιανιεύς, secretary in 95/4, 25 (122); [---ca.10---] Παιανιεύς], 26 (1260)
- [---ca.20---] Πλ[ωθε]ύς], treasurer of the prytaneis of Aigeis in 64/3 (?), 30 (1410)
- [-----] ἄρως (ἐκ Κηδών), *ca.* 143 B.C., father of Χαρίδημος, 24 (1109)
- [-----]ς (Ξυπεταιών), councillor in 95/4, 26 (1276)
- [---ca.15---]ν Παιανιεύς, secretary of the Council and Demos in 95/4, 26 (1254)
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- [---ca.7---] Φ[αλά]νθ[ου] Ἀγρυλῆθεν, ephebos of Erechtheis in 246/5, 640
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Ῥαμνούσιος, 50 (52); Ῥαμνούσιον, 18 (9 48); [Ῥαμνούσιον], 19 (9 119)

Σημαχίδης, 19 (9 116); [Σημαχίδαι], 19 (9 60)

Σμύρνα: [τὰ ἐν] Σμύρνα (sic) [κ]οινὰ [Ῥασίας], 44 (35 h)

Σουნი[εύς], 3 (2 2); Σουνία, 19 (9 51, [131])

Συπαλήτ(τιος), 6 41; Συπαλήττιον, 26 (12 46); Συπαλή[ττιον], 7 58; [Συπα]λήττιον, 26 (12 52); [Συπαλήττιον], 6 17, 26 (12 28-29); [Συπαλήττιοι], 26 (12 66)

[Σ]φήττιος, 6 35

Τρινεμεεύς: Τρινεμεέα, 18-19 (9 49-50); [Τρινεμεέα], 19 (9 125)

Τύριος: Τυρία, 50 (53)

Υπ[ω]ρειεύς ?, 11 2

Φαληρεύς, 6 47; Φαληρέως, 37 (22 3-4); [ἐκ Φα]ληρέων, 50 (54)

Φηγαιεύ(ς), 6 43

Φηγούσιος, 24 (11 113)

Φιλαίδ[ης], 24 (11 116)

Φλυεύς, 51 (55); Φλυέα, 41 (29); [Φλ]υέα, 16 (6 64); [Φλυέα], 16 (6 46)

[Φρ]εάρριος, 6 47

[Φυλά]σιος, 23 (11 92); Φυλάσιον, 24 (11 103, 104 thrice)

Φωσφόριον: Φωσφορίωι, 18 (9 39)

Χαλ[κεάτης], 57 2; [Χαλκεάτην], 57 5

Χερρονησίτης: Χε[ρρονησίται] ἀπ' [Ῥαγοῤῥας], 31 (15 18-19)

[Χολ]αργεύς, 6 34

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No. 1. Detail



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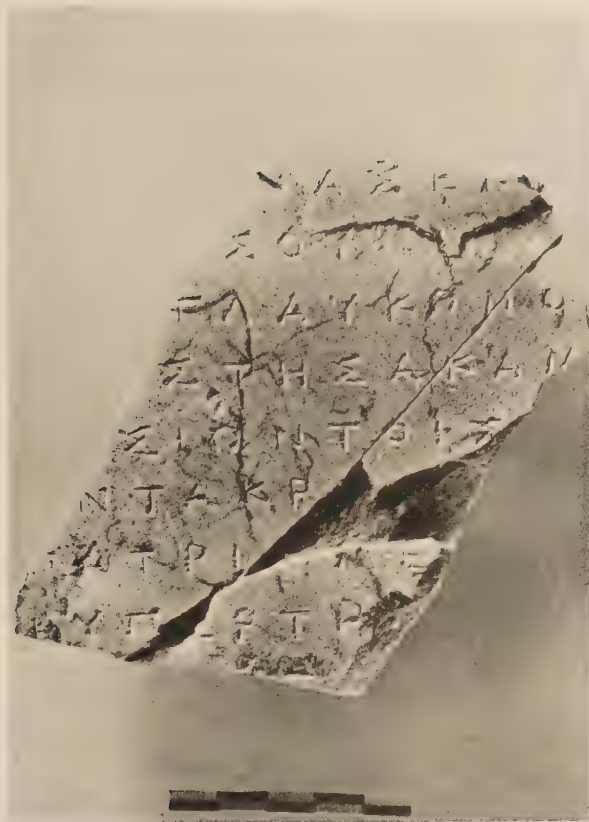
MERITT: GREEK INSCRIPTIONS



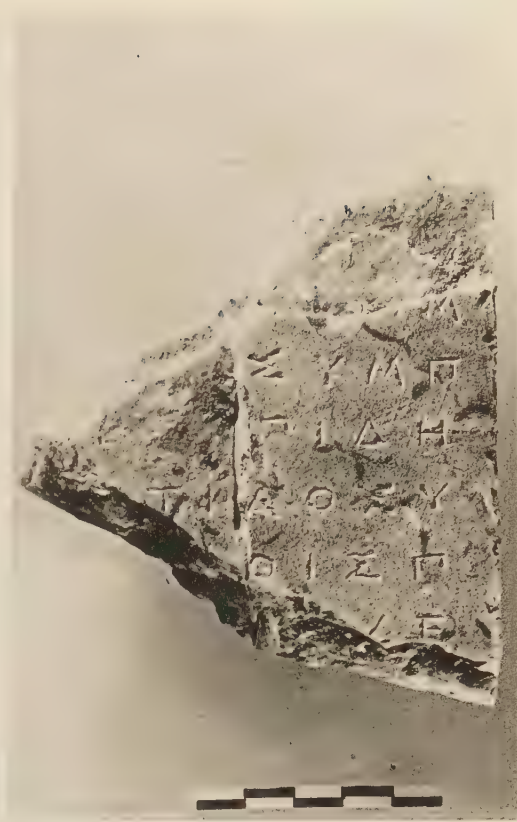
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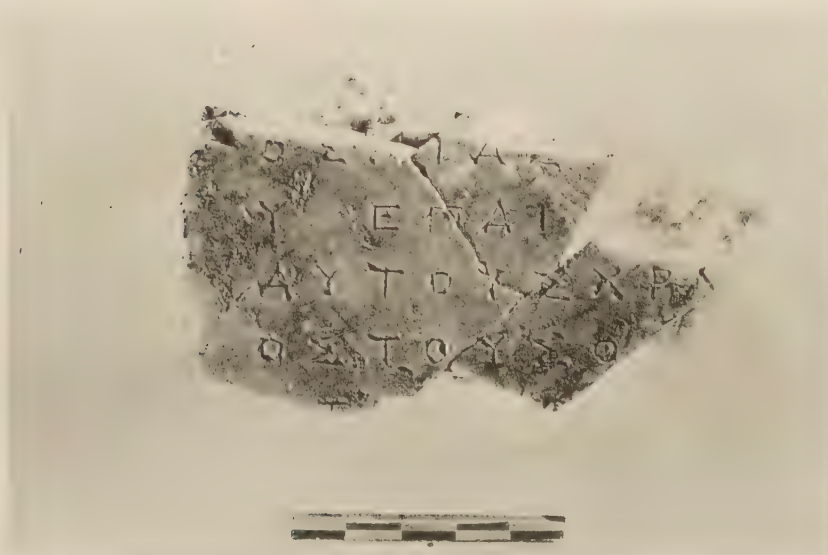
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*a*



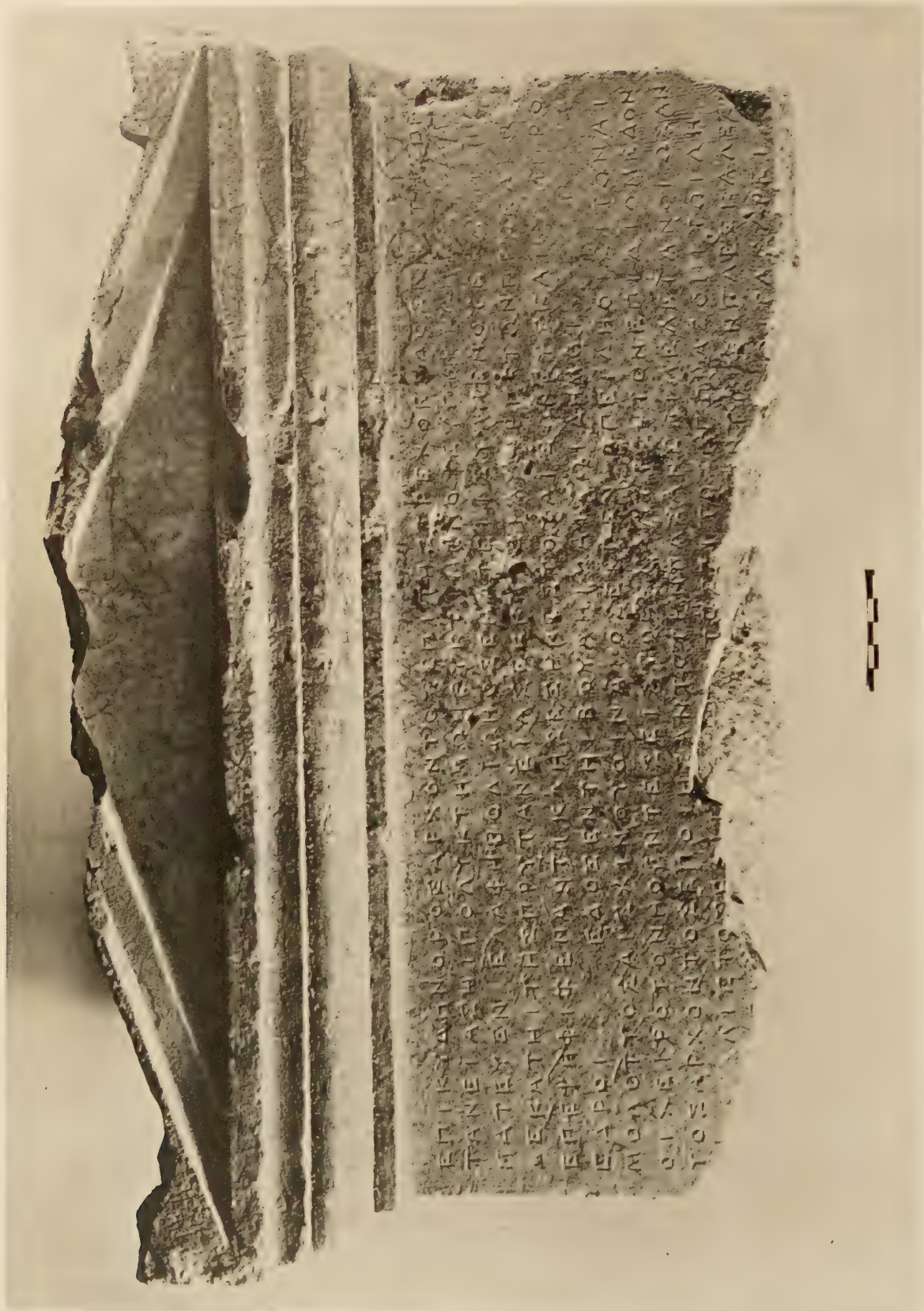
*b*



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No. 2

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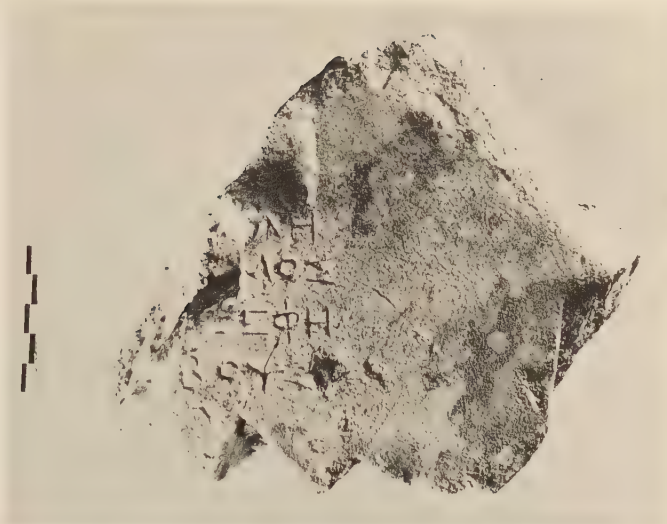


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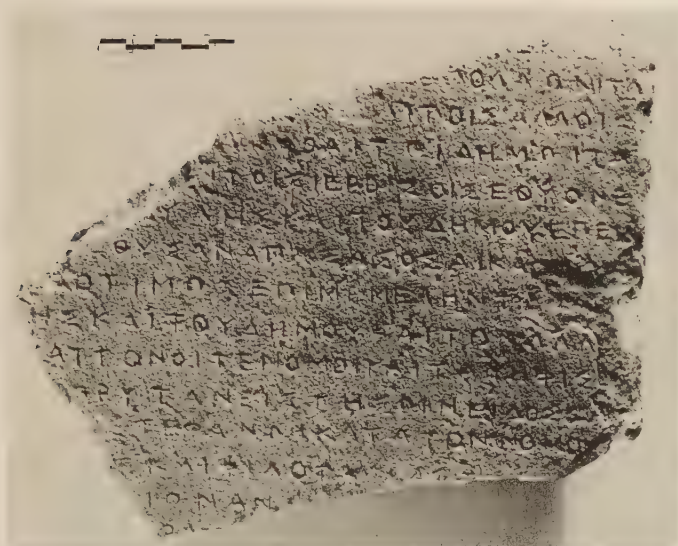
MERITT: GREEK INSCRIPTIONS



I 4162. See No. 3



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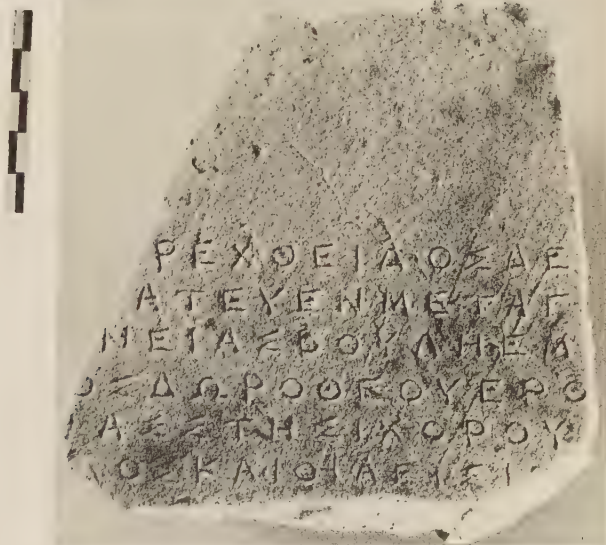
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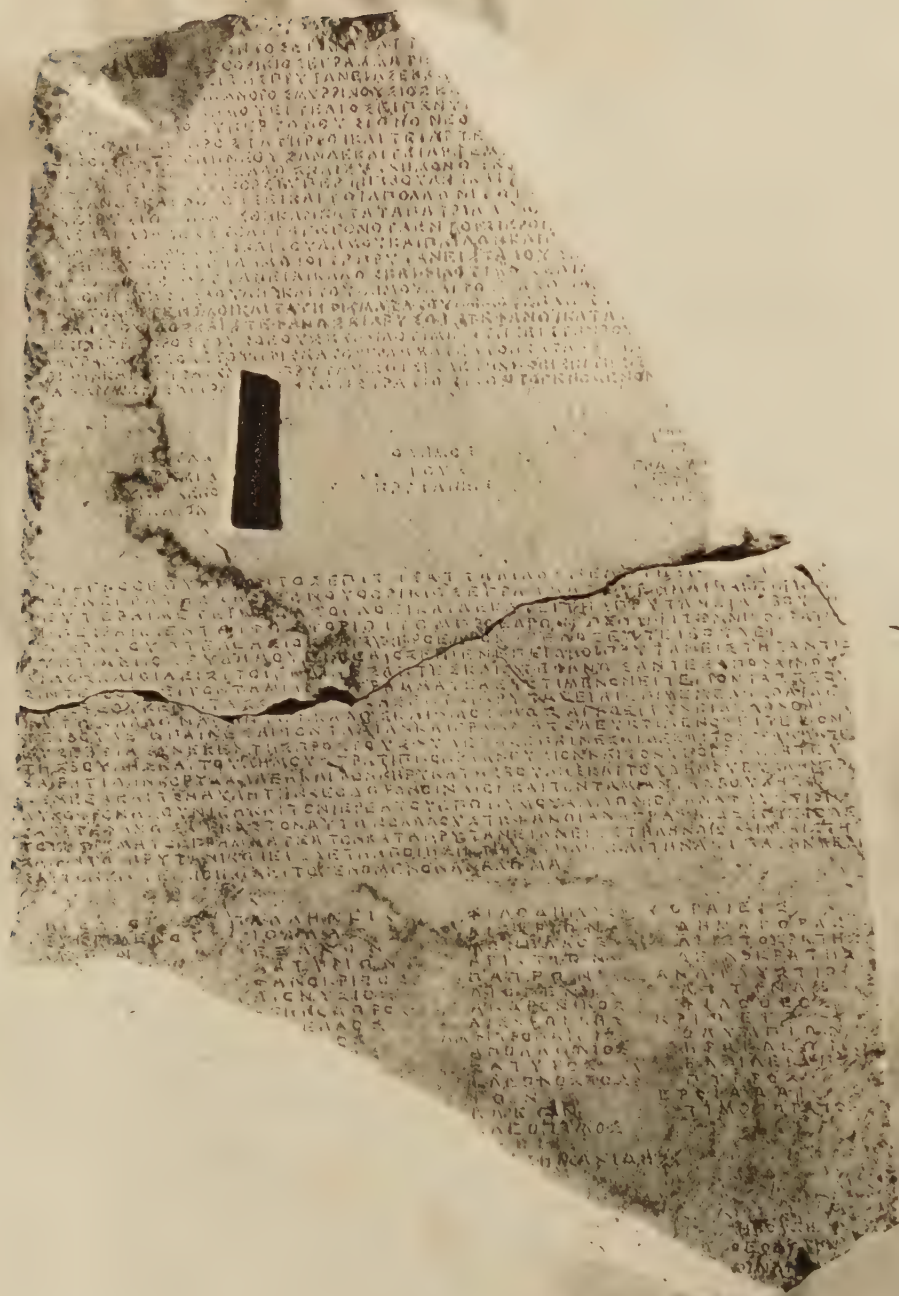
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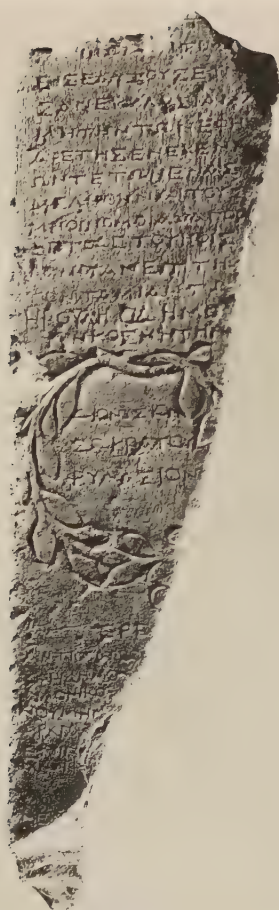


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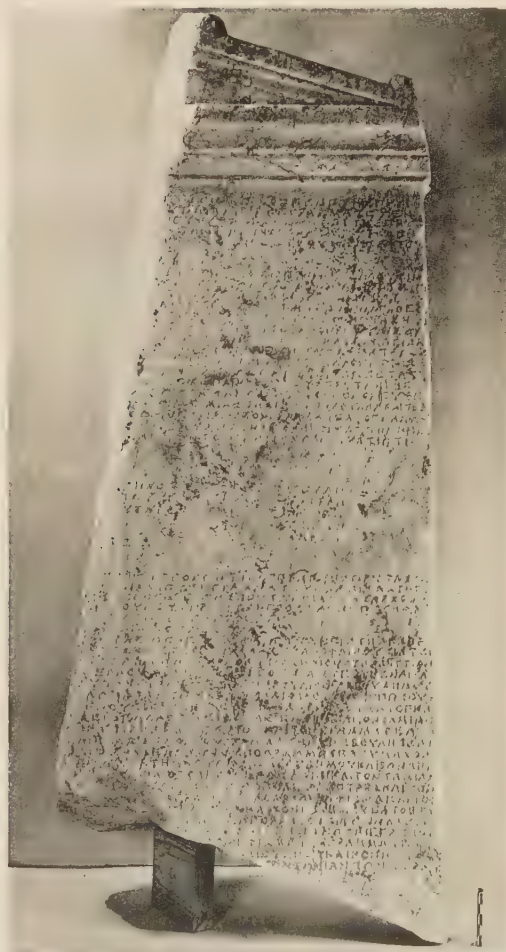




No. 10



No. 11



No. 12

PLATE 8



No. 13



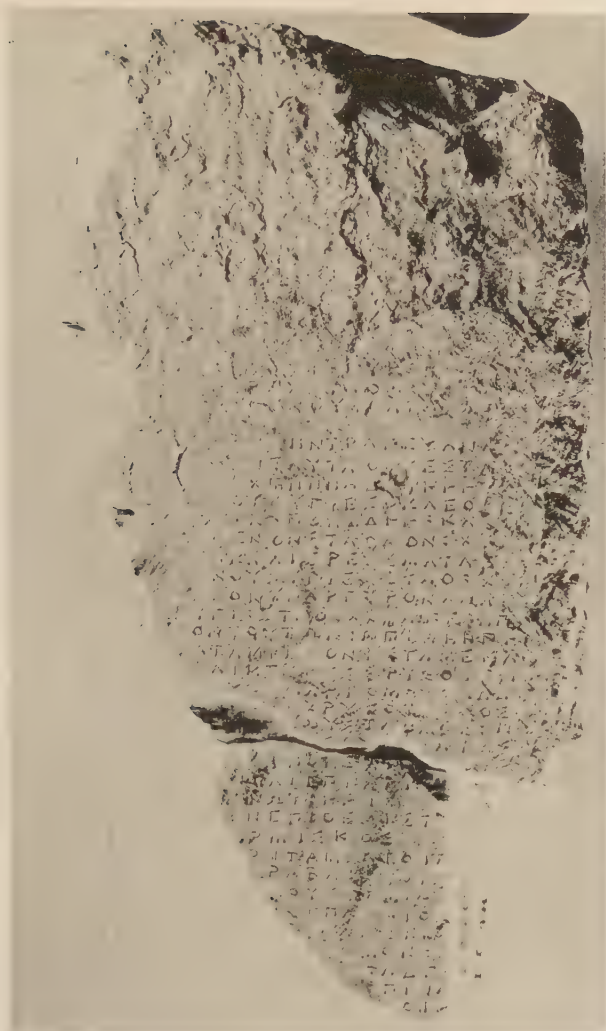
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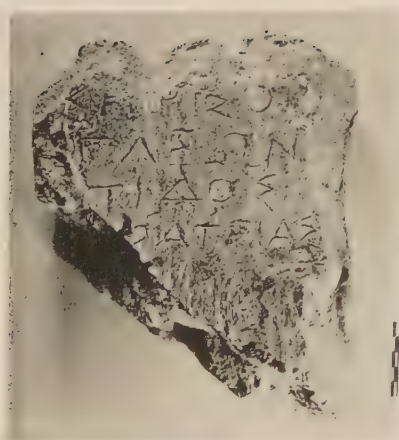
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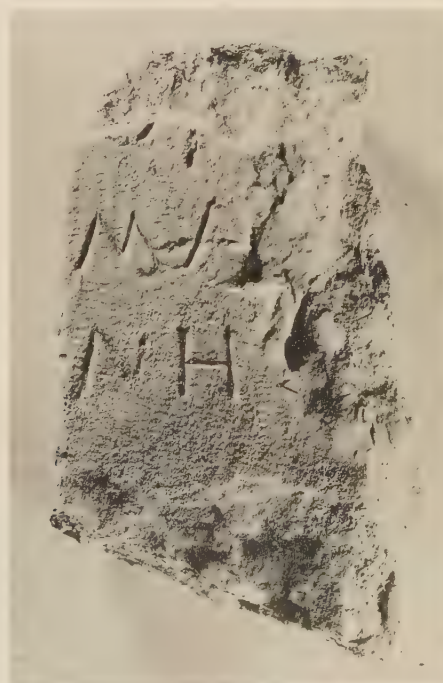
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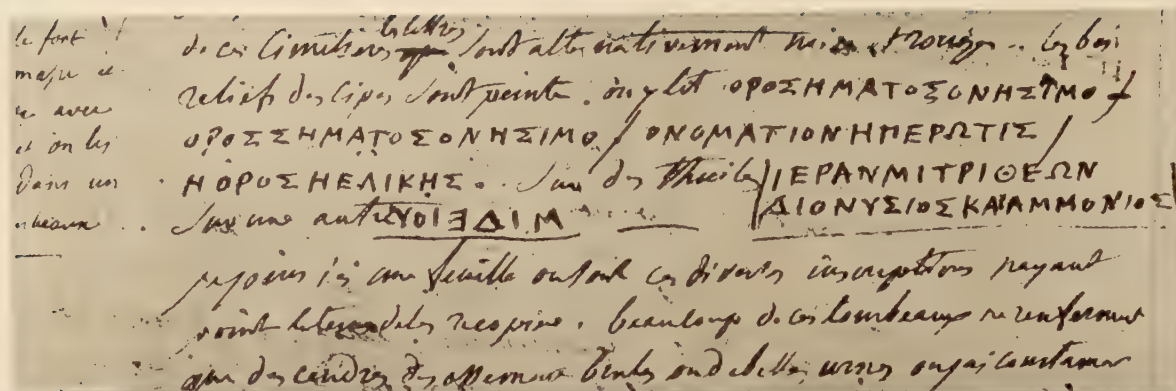
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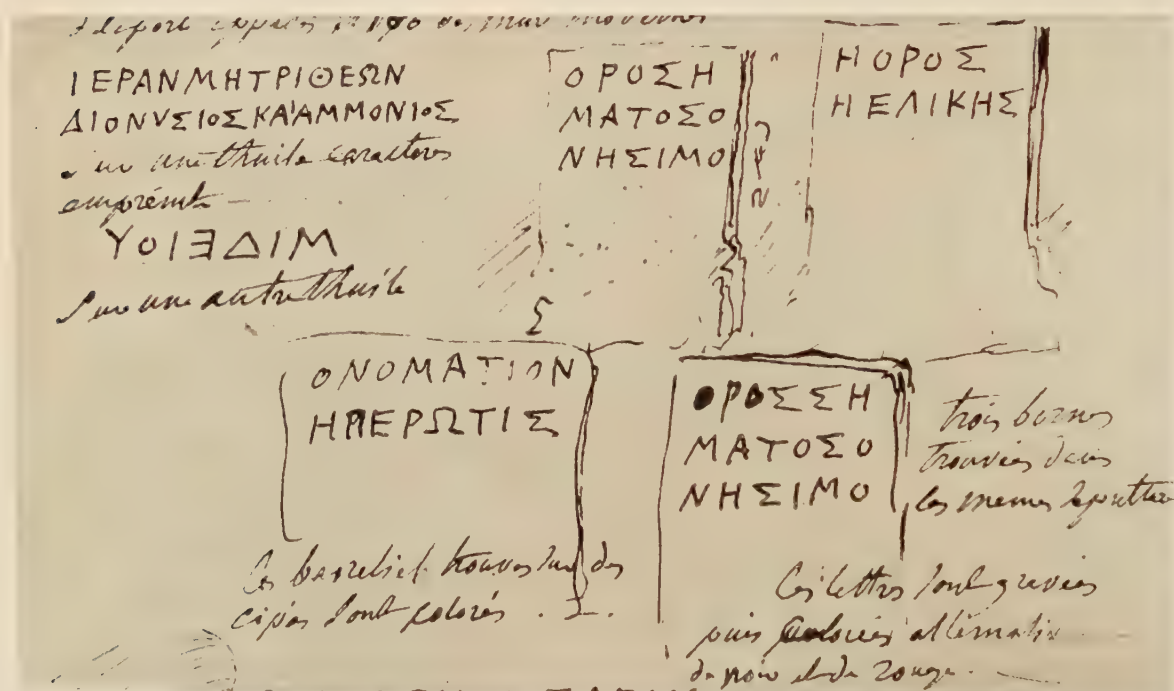
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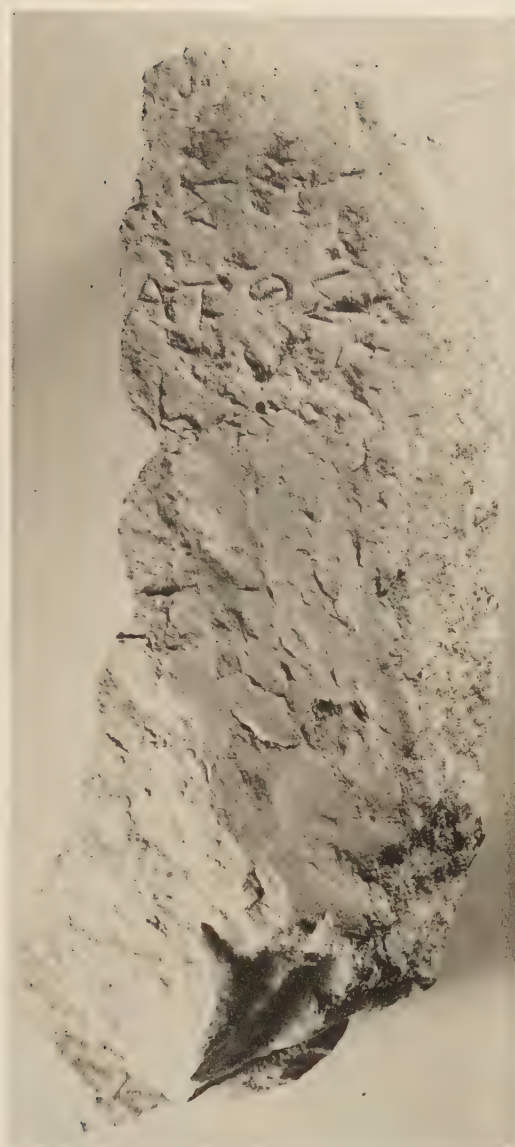
See No. 19. Part of the draft of Fauvel's letter of April 4, 1811, to M. Barbié du Bocage, differing somewhat from the text as published in *Magasin Encyclopédique*, XVII, 1812, II, pp. 91 ff. [Gennadios Library, Athens, manuscript No. 134, p. 41 verso (part)]



See No. 19. From a sheet attached to the draft of Fauvel's letter of April 4, 1811, to M. Barbié du Bocage, showing copies of I. G., II<sup>2</sup>, 4870; 2581a (the present No. 19); I. G., I<sup>2</sup>, 864; C. I. G., 542a; I. G., II<sup>2</sup>, 8541; 2581b. See also *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 77-79. [Gennadios Library, Athens, manuscript No. 134, p. 49 recto (part)]



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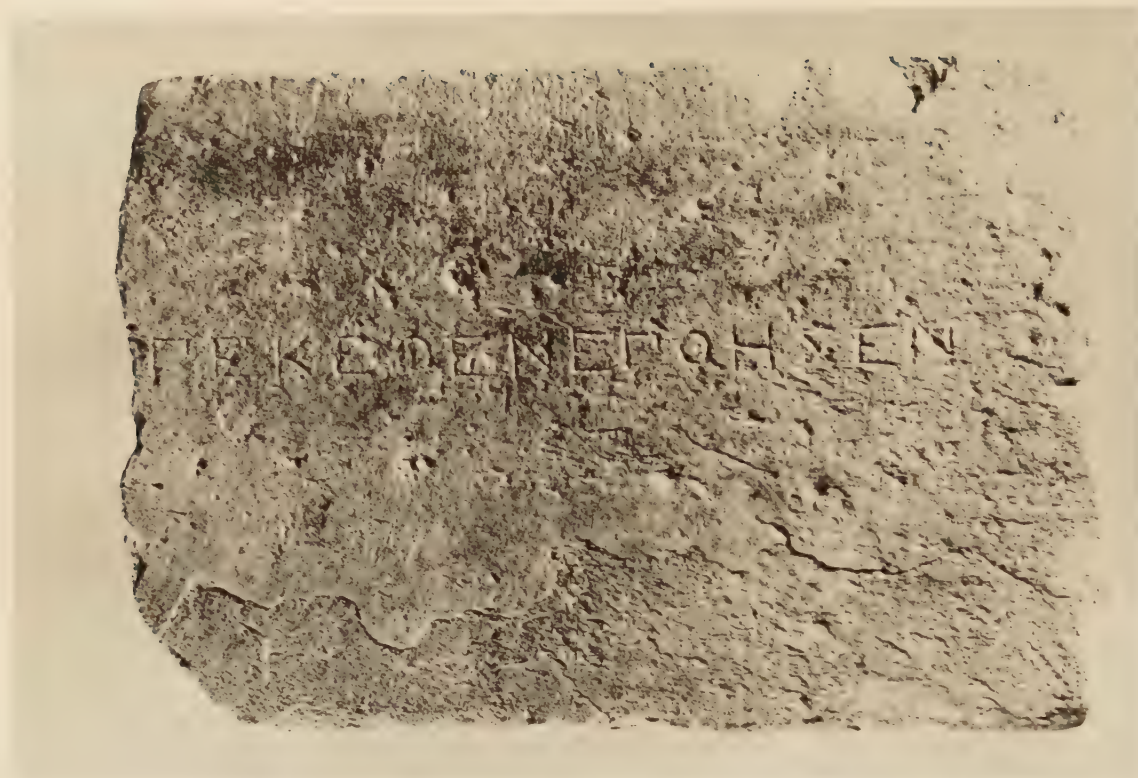
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No. 22



No. 23



No. 24



No. 25



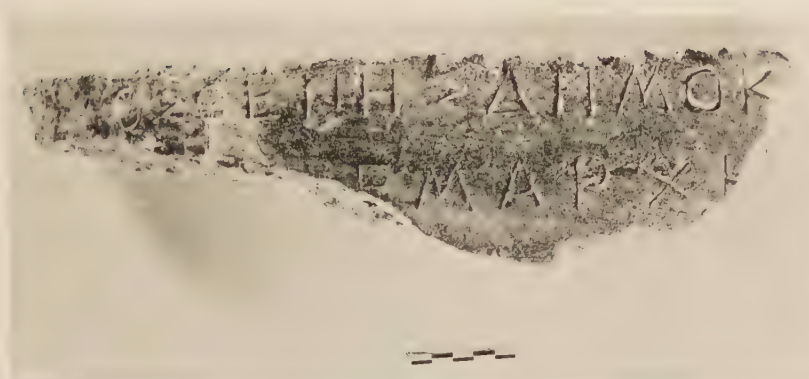
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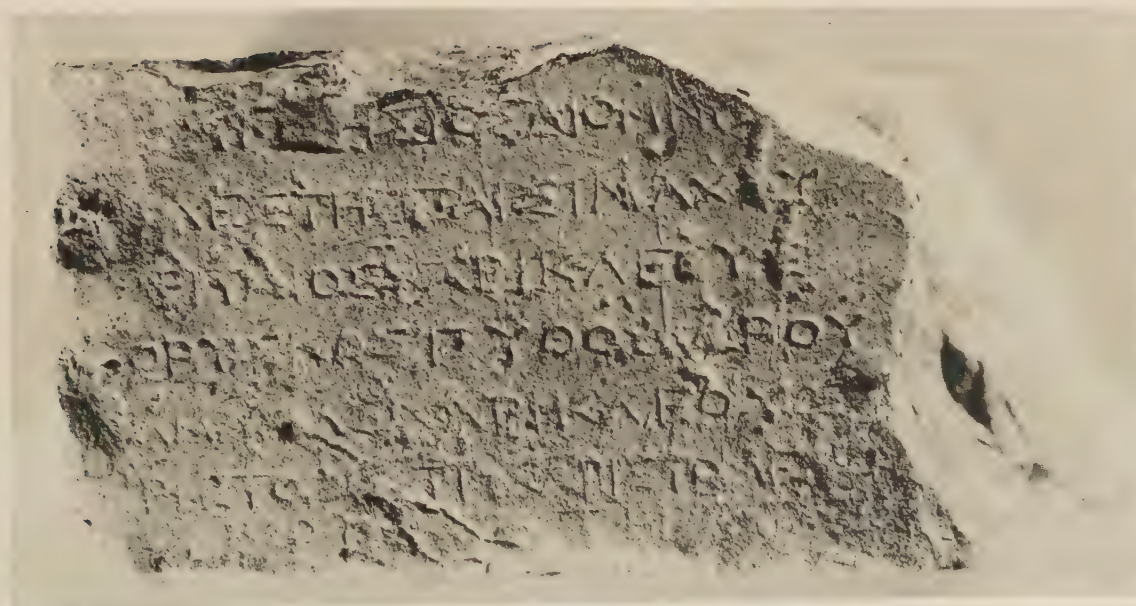
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No. 27 *c*



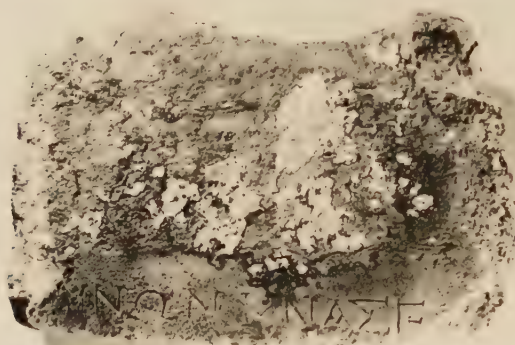
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No. 28



No. 29, Photograph of a Mirror Image



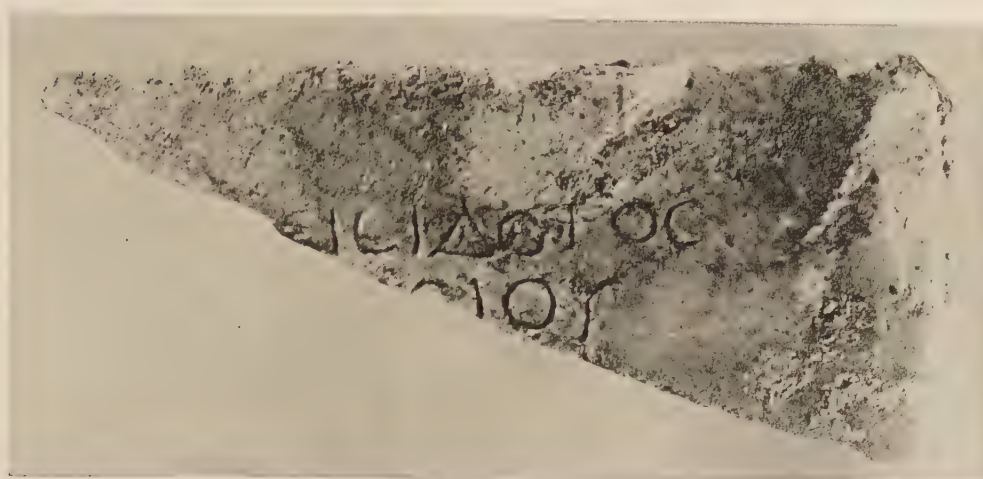
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No. 30



No. 32



No. 33



No. 34



No. 35 a



No. 35 *b*



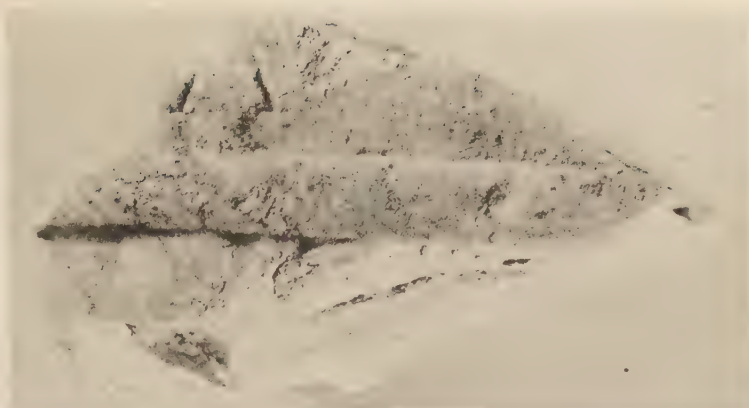
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No. 35 *d*



No. 35 *e*



No. 35 *f*



No. 35 *g*



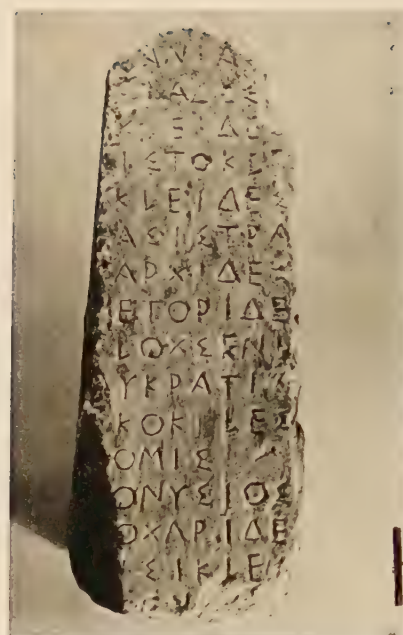
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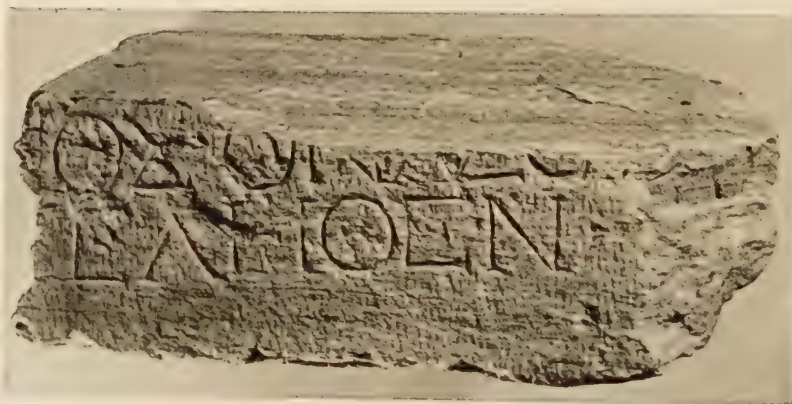
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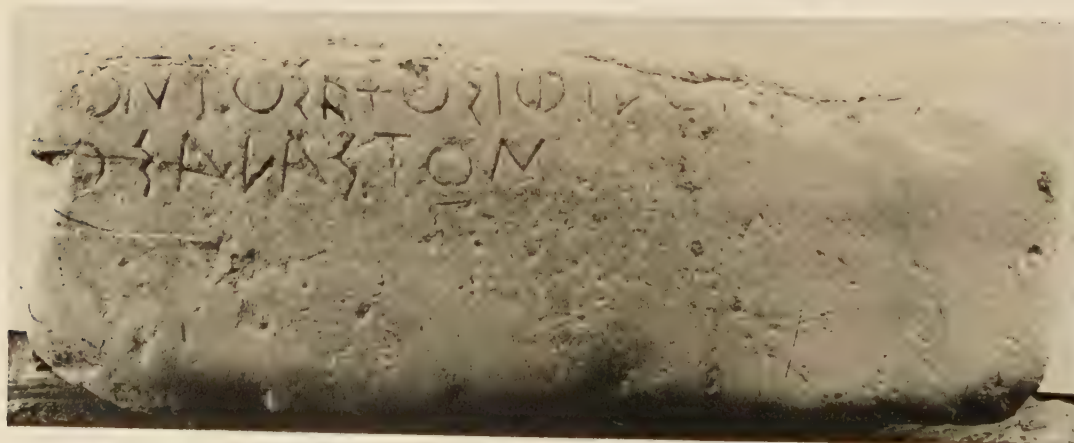
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No. 37



No. 38



No. 36



No. 39



No. 40



No. 41 *a*



No. 42



No. 41 *b*



No. 43



No. 45



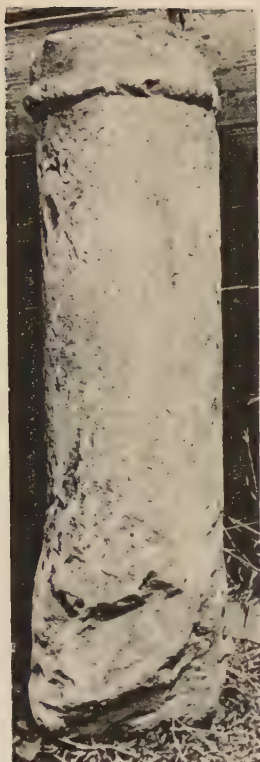
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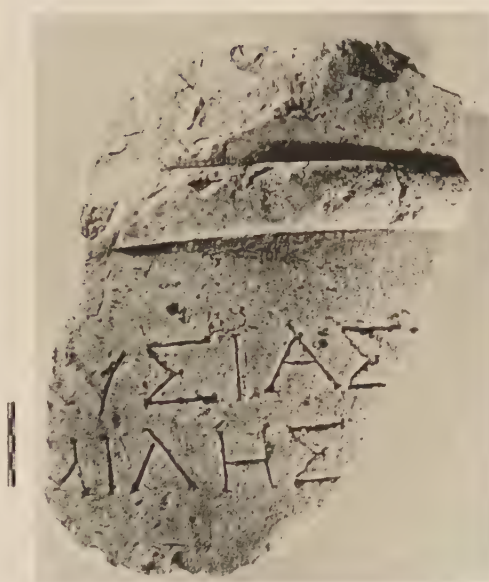
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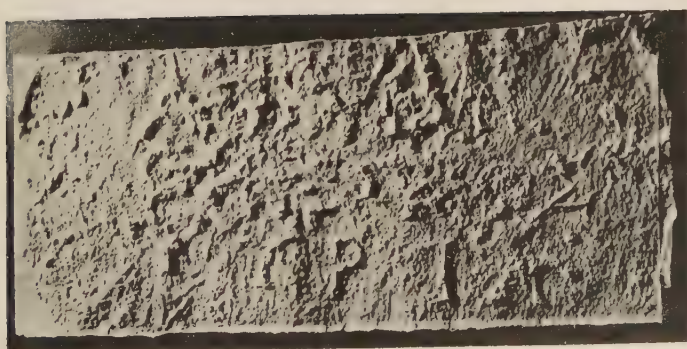
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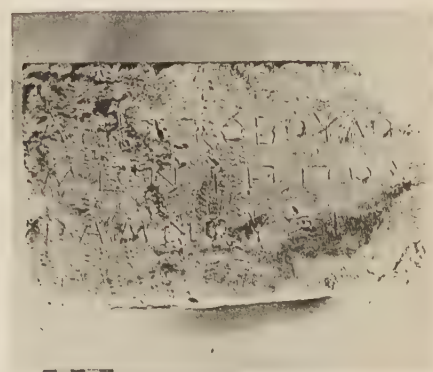
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No. 51



No. 53



No. 52



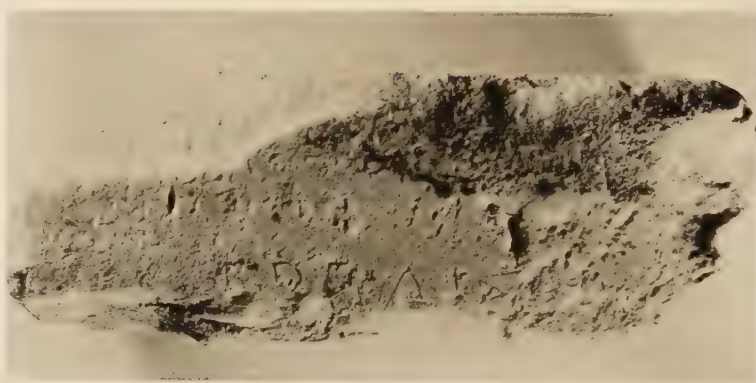
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No. 56



No. 55



No. 57



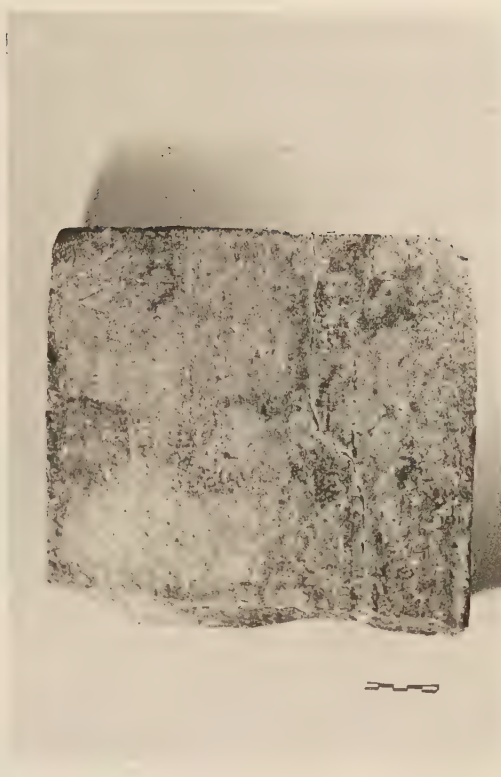
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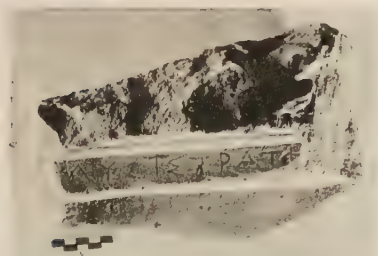
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No. 60



No. 61



No. 62



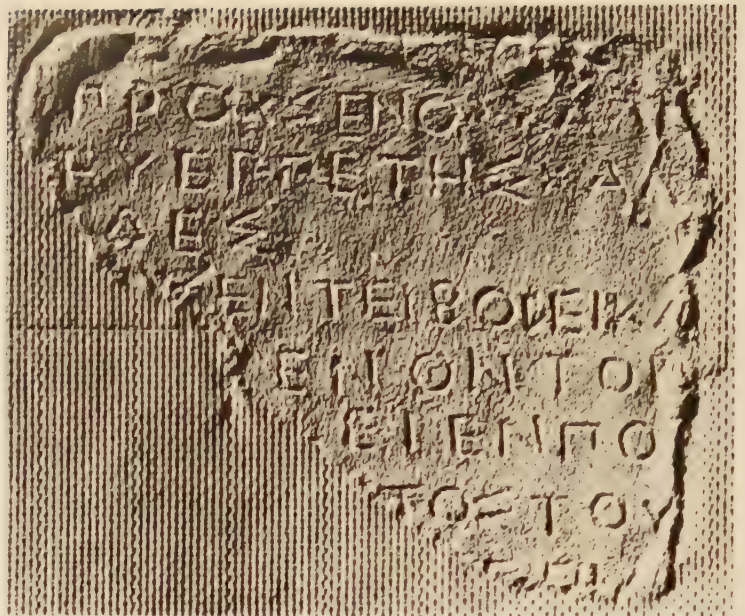
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No. 64



No. 65



I. G., I<sup>2</sup>, 146



I. G., I<sup>2</sup>, 19

# GREEK SCULPTURE AND SOME FESTIVAL COINS<sup>1</sup>

(PLATES 25-28)

IT IS NOW over thirty years since I began the publication of a study, completed in 1921,<sup>2</sup> of the coinage associated with Olympic Festivals, and my interest in these issues has never since then flagged, neither has the desire to add something on the subject of their aesthetic value. But so far I have been deterred by a certain hesitation born perhaps of surprise both at the good luck which accompanied the work of an immature author, and at the unconscious impudence of his venture. Now the discovery<sup>3</sup> of an Elean coin tucked away among Colonel Leake's coppers of Asia Minor in the Fitzwilliam Museum has given an opportunity for contributing something to an aesthetic appreciation of the coins of the Eleans. I am grateful to Mr. Louis Clarke, the Director, and to Mr. Grose, Honorary Keeper of the Coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum, for allowing me to publish the newly discovered coin.

## I. THE MASTER OF OLYMPIA

First, however, there are certain appreciations of the fifth-century Olympic issues to be recorded. Since the original study was published a number of hoards containing Elean silver didrachms has come to light<sup>4</sup> revealing several dies not known in 1921, and several fresh die-combinations then unrecorded. But nothing has emerged either to alter the arrangement of groups and series which I established, or to upset the conclusion that between 420 and 324 B.C. two separate mints, which never exchanged dies, operated concurrently. This is merely stated to explain the fact that I do not wish, except in one small detail (III below) to alter the sequence and the rough chronology which was originally adopted.

It is a tribute to the overwhelming power of the art of the Master of Olympia that it strongly influenced the die-engravers who worked for the Eleans. The temple was built and its sculpture completed by the 81st olympiad, 456 B.C. Four didrachms minted, I think, between 448 and 436 B.C. show the engravers' debt to the Master.

<sup>1</sup> This paper repeats, with some alterations, a lecture which I gave at a meeting of the Hellenic Society in London on May 5th, 1942. I take this opportunity of expressing my thanks to Dr. Jocelyn Toynbee and Dr. F. Heichelheim for helpful suggestions.

<sup>2</sup> Begun in *Nomisma*, VIII, 1913; final publication, *The Temple Coins of Olympia*, Cambridge, Bowes and Bowes, 1921.

<sup>3</sup> By Dr. F. Heichelheim at work on a second part of *Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum*, vol. IV.

<sup>4</sup> S. P. Noe, *A Bibliography of Greek Coin Hoards*,<sup>2</sup> *Numis. Notes and Monographs*, 78, New York, 1937: No. 49 Andritsaena 1923 (x coins), No. 384 Elis 1929 (6 + coins), No. 593 Kyparissia 1936 (7 coins), No. 732 Naupactus 1936 (10 coins), No. 754 Olympia 1923 (6 coins), No. 844 Pyrgos 1929 (9 + coins): total number of didrachms in six hoards, well over 38—probably nearer 50.

One of his characteristics is his forceful method of presenting drapery, shown at its strongest in the western pediment where the heavy robes of the women look like the boles of pine and olive growing in the Altis. Beside photographs of two of these figures<sup>5</sup> we may set the enlarged pictures of two Nike didrachms,<sup>6</sup> struck about olympiad 83, 448 B.C., in order to appreciate the engravers' debt (Plate 25, 1-4). If these Nikes were brought to their knees their garments would assume folds like those of the Lapith women. Indeed the scarf which one of them (Plate 25, 2) wears, wound round her left arm and encircling her waist, has the firm folds of the chlamys worn by Apollo himself. A dozen years later, perhaps for the 86th olympiad, two other Nike didrachm-dies were made<sup>7</sup> which are indebted to figures of Athena in two of the metopes. They are shown—the standing Nike beside the standing Athena of the Augean metope, the seated Nike beside the seated Athena of the Stymphalian metope (Plate 25, 5-8).<sup>8</sup> In both cases the proportions, the feeling, the balance are akin to the work of the Master.

It is far otherwise with the famous Nike on the steps,<sup>9</sup> made about eight years later, which I would like to assign to the 88th olympiad, 428 B.C. She owes no debt to the temple; indeed no debt to sculpture or relief, but rather to painting. Firstly the fore-shortening of the left leg is the work of an engraver interested in drawing and painting; secondly her chiton does not seem to be of wool like the Olympic raiment, but of some finer, more diaphanous stuff such as Attic art was now favouring. We are reminded, distantly perhaps, of painting on Attic vases by artists like the Lykaon and Eretria painters who worked between 440 and 420 B.C.<sup>10</sup> It is not implied that our engraver was an Athenian, but only that he was touched by Attic art and insensitive to the Master of Olympia's mood. By the time this die was made a decade had passed since the Athenian Pheidias, his Zeus completed, had become a citizen of Elis, and his brother Panainos, had painted the pictures on the screens of the throne of Zeus.<sup>11</sup> Nevertheless the power of the Temple style was still to dominate the festival coinage for some while longer under the hands of two of the greatest Greek engravers who have left us at least their initials, ΔΑ... and Λ.... The evidence for assigning both the earliest coins with the head of Zeus, and the beginning of the Hera coinage

<sup>5</sup> W. Hege and G. Rodenwaldt, trans. R. P. Hinks, *Olympia*, London, 1936, pls. 60, 62.

<sup>6</sup> C. T. Seltman, *Temple Coins of Olympia*, 1921, pl. III, βθ, Brit. Mus., and pl. IV, βι, Brit. Mus. These and all the coins in Plates 25, 26, 27 (top half), are enlarged two diameters.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.*, pl. IV, γα and γβ, both in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

<sup>8</sup> Hege and Rodenwaldt, *op. cit.*, pls. 75, 67.

<sup>9</sup> Seltman, *op. cit.*, pl. IV, γε, in Berlin and Brit. Mus. This Nike was copied for the Waterloo Victory medal.

<sup>10</sup> For fine perspective see, e. g., J. D. Beazley, *Greek Vases in Poland*, Oxford, 1928, pl. 25, by the Lykaon painter; E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, III, Munich, 1923, fig. 560, Eretria painter. Others abound in this period.

<sup>11</sup> A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II, p. 757, 8 date of Pheidias' move to Elis; *ibid.*, III, p. 956 for Panainos.

to the 90th olympiad, 420 B.C., has in no way been upset, and remains one of the strongest *points d'appui* for dating Elean money. When the Greeks, enjoying the temporary blessings of peace, assembled for the ninetieth festival, a coinage worthy of the occasion was ready for their use. Though thirty-six years had passed since the temple was finished its style still dominated Olympia, just as the Parthenon's style dominated the art of Athens for three or four decades and was echoed afresh in the work of those monumental artist-masons who carved the best classical Attic stelai.

The engraver ΔΑ . . . made two dies with a head of Zeus. His signature appears on the reverse beneath the thunderbolt on the die which belongs to the earlier and finer of the two heads.<sup>12</sup> There is no coin in all the festival issues which is more closely related than this to the temple metopes. It has only to be seen beside the heads of Herakles on the Atlas and on the Stymphalian metopes to make this clear (Plate 26, 1-3),<sup>13</sup> nor is it unworthy of its great models.

Two heads of Hera which Α . . . engraved about the same time for use in the other mint<sup>14</sup> are as clearly dependent on the temple metopes, and are shown beside two heads of Athena from the Atlas and Augean panels (Plate 26, 4-7).<sup>15</sup> The modelling of brow, eye, nose, mouth, and chin are the work of a man inspired by the Master. The noses are rather big like those which survive complete on the temple sculptures.

The manner, once established, was continued for a long while at the Hera mint at which engravers still drew their inspiration from the main source of Olympic art.<sup>16</sup> This temple-style is so pervading that, were classification not controlled by interlocking dies, confusion would result from any attempt to arrange the coins solely by stylistic criteria. There were of course second-rate engravers who made poor dies, but they do not here concern us.

That gifted engraver ΔΑ . . . was the creator of several pieces. About the 89th olympiad, 424 B.C., he made and signed the die<sup>17</sup> with an eagle standing upon and biting a snake, and about the 90th—besides the two heads of Zeus—a famous signed die with an eagle's head. Two of the best surviving specimens are shown in Plate 26,

<sup>12</sup> Seltman, *op. cit.*, pl. V, BQ, in the collection of the late E. T. Newell, formerly Pozzi collection. The Berlin specimen, though worn, is well illustrated by K. Regling, *Die Antike Münze als Kunstwerk*, Berlin, 1924, pl. XXI, 462, and by H. Schrader, "Zur Chronologie der Elisischen Münzen" in *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς*, 1937, p. 210, fig. 2. Schrader's attempt at redating and jumbling the Olympian issues is neither necessary nor advisable. See further, footnote 32 below.

<sup>13</sup> Hege and Rodenwaldt, *op. cit.*, pls. 78, 71.

<sup>14</sup> Seltman, *op. cit.*, pl. IX, EA, ED; Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, and Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. The second of these dies may have been made four years after the first. I think it was used for the 91st olympiad.

<sup>15</sup> Hege and Rodenwaldt, *op. cit.*, pls. 76, 77.

<sup>16</sup> For example, Seltman *op. cit.*, pl. IX, EH, pl. X, ES, both British Museum. They are perhaps of about the 94th and 102nd olympiads. J. Jongkees' attempt (*Jahrb. d. Arch. Inst.*, 1939, pp. 219 ff.) to reshuffle certain Hera mint coins is unsatisfactory.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. IV, BN.

8, 10<sup>18</sup> partly to complete the picture of his style, partly to make another point which has a religious rather than an aesthetic bearing. In my catalogue I followed B. V. Head and others in describing the leaf beneath the bird's head as ivy. E. Babelon<sup>19</sup> called it an oak-leaf. It is probably neither, but a leaf of the white poplar.<sup>20</sup> Neither the ivy of Dionysos nor the oak of Dodonaean Zeus has any place at Olympia; the white poplar, introduced from the north by Herakles, has. Logs of this tree and of no other, says Pausanias, were used for sacrifices to Zeus<sup>21</sup> and they were likewise employed for the cult of Pelops.<sup>22</sup> A fresh white poplar leaf shown beside the coins (Plate 26, 9) seems to carry conviction.<sup>23</sup>

## II. PHEIDIAS

Pheidias made the gold and ivory statue of Zeus at Olympia after he left Athens. We know a great deal about its general appearance, for the evidence of every kind has been marshalled in a fashion that can only be called masterly by A. B. Cook in the third and final volume of *Zeus*.<sup>24</sup> His manner of setting the "cons" of some ancient writers against the "pros" of the majority may confirm our belief in the glory of the original. But if we admire it, this is by an act of faith, not of judgment, since we cannot see the statue which Dion of Prusa saw.

The second century of our era has, however, left us the picture of the Pheidian Zeus' head upon a bronze coin which is as admirable in its simple way as the trumpery Varvakeion copy of his Athena is abominable. A second specimen of this coin has now come to light.<sup>25</sup> The first, in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, has long been famous and many times illustrated, though all reproductions have omitted the obverse of the coin,<sup>26</sup> an omission which must now be set right, if only in justice to Hadrian.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. V, BS; Jameson Collection, Paris, and Berlin; also H. Schrader, *loc. cit.*, p. 208 f., fig. 1.

<sup>19</sup> B. V. Head, *Hist. Num.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 421; E. Babelon, *Traité*, III, Col. 725, no. 1079.

<sup>20</sup> This acute observation was first made by Madame Delepierre, in Paris, who drew my attention to the leaf some years ago.

<sup>21</sup> Pausanias, V, 14, 2.

<sup>22</sup> See A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II, pp. 467 to 472 where the evidence is set out in detail.

<sup>23</sup> Other coins, Seltman, *op. cit.*, pl. IV, βψ, and pl. XII, 15, have a similar leaf, but on so small a scale that it cannot be accurately presented.

<sup>24</sup> *Zeus*, III, pp. 954 ff. An intaglio from Samsoun in Berlin is not, as claimed by T. Wiegand (*Stephanos*, Berlin, 1924, pp. 7, 11), a copy of the Pheidian Zeus but of some Hellenistic type influenced indirectly by the Pheidian style. I mention it because it is not referred to in *Zeus*.

<sup>25</sup> Leake Collection, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. When Colonel Leake published the catalogue of his collection (*Numismata Hellenica*, Asiatic Greece, p. 68) in 1856 he attributed this piece to Hydrela in Phrygia, apparently interpreting the inscription as [Υδ]ρηλει[τῶν]. This alias proved a perfect disguise until Dr. Heichelheim unmasked it in June, 1941. See also *The Illustrated London News*, 199 (1941), p. 392.

<sup>26</sup> For the bibliography of its publication see A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, III, pp. 958 f., footnote 4, and add the following: P. Gardner, *Num. Chron.*, 1879, p. 272, pl. XVI, 3; P. Gardner and Imhoof-Blumer, "Pausanias," *J.H.S.*, VII, 1886, p. 75, pl. P, xxiii; K. Regling, *Antike Münze*<sup>3</sup>, 1929, p. 71.

The Cambridge and Paris coins are shown together on Plate 28, 1 and 2; the former has the obverse legend *ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ—ΤΩΡ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΣ*, the latter has the two words separated; but apart from this they are almost identical. The head of the Pheidian Zeus to right wreathed with olive upon the reverse of each is from a single die which the two coins share, and if any minute differences appear these are due to the fact that no. 2, the Paris coin, seems to have been subjected to a little tooling.<sup>27</sup> This pair of coins is further discussed in its numismatic context below.

Meanwhile it may be noted that there is no record of the place where either of these coins was found, but there are other copper coins of Hadrianic date with Zeus-types<sup>28</sup> which were found in the Altis at Olympia; not in the city of Elis. Wherever these coins may have been minted it was apparently at Olympia that they were issued and used.

The engraver of these dies was a very gifted man. There are few heads or busts of Hadrian in the great series of his medallions and coins with Latin inscriptions<sup>29</sup> which have quite the nobility of these imperial heads. This increases our confidence in the engraver's version of the head of the Pheidian Zeus on the Cambridge and Paris coins, which seen together help to form the picture in a satisfactory fashion. Yet relying, as I think we may, on these two for an impression of that head, it is surprising to observe that not a single Elean didrachm of the fifth or later centuries B.C.<sup>30</sup> is in any way closely influenced by the art of Pheidias. The almost scanty locks of hair which partly cover the back of his neck are either absent from the earlier coins or are replaced by heavier tresses.

### III. PRAXITELES

This popular and fashionable modeller seems to have left a passing imprint of his style upon the Olympic festival coinage, for at least three dies were made by an engraver who was an ardent admirer of Praxiteles.

A year after the publication of my monograph the late Dr. K. Regling wrote an interesting article entitled "Die schönste Münze von Elis."<sup>31</sup> In this paper he took exception to my arrangement of the coins with Zeus' head and the reverse type of an eagle on my sixth plate, proposing to lift a pair of coins<sup>32</sup> out of their context and to

<sup>27</sup> The illustration is taken from an electrotype. Mr. E. S. G. Robinson of the British Museum has kindly supplied casts of various electrotype copies in the Museum taken from originals in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Florence, and Berlin.

<sup>28</sup> Summarily discussed by R. Weil, *Zeitschr. f. Num.*, XXIX, 1912, pp. 263 ff., and some of them in detail below.

<sup>29</sup> See F. Gnechi, *I Medaglioni Romani*, 3 vols. 1912, *passim* under Hadrian; H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, III, 1936, pls. 46 to 98.

<sup>30</sup> Seltman, *op. cit.*, pl. V, BQ, BR; and pls. VI to VIII.

<sup>31</sup> In *Festschrift für H. Buchenau*, 1922, pp. 50 ff.

<sup>32</sup> My pl. VI CH  $\epsilon\beta$ , CJ  $\epsilon\beta$ , in Paris and Berlin respectively, then both unique. Another specimen of CJ  $\epsilon\beta$  has now been published, *Collection R. Jameson*, Tome IV, Paris, 1932, pl. CXXXIII, 2508. H. Schrader (*loc. cit.* footnote 12 above) follows Regling's error of judgment about these coins. His whole article is invalidated if I am right in thinking their style to be Praxitelean.

place them about half a century earlier, before the 104th olympiad, or 364 B.C. This was unwise, for you may shift coins round within a series, but you must not lift them right out. His paper did, however, cause me to reconsider the arrangement of the didrachms *within* the series of my sixth plate, and for this I was duly grateful. But the result fell out in the very opposite sense of that which Regling desired. I had arranged Group G Series XXI as follows:

- (i) two coins with initials of magistrates, KP, ΔΙ,
- (ii) a pair of coins—the two in question—with the letters AP, followed by
- (iii) two more with the letters AP. After these I had set
- (iv) Six coins without magisterial initials but with a little thunderbolt by the eagle on each coin.

On reflection it seems far wiser to place (iv) in front of (i), because Series XXII, which follows, also bears the initials of magistrates, which having once been introduced are thenceforth continued on all the Zeus-head didrachms until the mint ceased to strike them. In consequence I should now prefer to place what Regling called “die schönste Münze” near the end of Series XXI and to date it about the 110th olympiad, or 340 B.C.

This is an opinion formed many years ago, which I have no wish to revise, and which has been confirmed by an observation made in the course of preparing these notes; for it requires no more than a glance at Plate 27, 1 to recognise this head of Zeus as designed under strong Praxitelean influence.<sup>33</sup> If the Hermes of Olympia were to be fitted with a moustache and beard his head would closely resemble the head on the coin. The setting of the eye,<sup>34</sup> the shape of the forehead, the profile, the effective contrast between flesh and hair for which Praxiteles was famed are clear.

The Hermes is generally held<sup>35</sup> to have been set up in Olympia precisely in 343 B.C., in the second year of olympiad 109. I must emphasize the fact that I held the coin, Plate 27, 1, to be of about the 110th olympiad long before I observed its similarity to the head of the marble statue. Mature reflection has rather moderated my former enthusiasm<sup>36</sup> for this coin, but it may be called charming, competent, and carefully struck. A third die (Plate 27, 3) from the hand of the same artist, whom we might venture to name “the Praxiteles engraver,” was made about one olympiad after the other two. It heads my Series XXII, and I think it is of about 336 B.C.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>33</sup> The head of the Hermes is after Hege and Rodenwaldt, *op. cit.*, pl. 86.

<sup>34</sup> The lower eye-lid, evanescent in the Hermes, is emphasized on the coin; but this is due to the character of the engraver's technique.

<sup>35</sup> A. W. Lawrence, *Classical Sculpture*, pp. 247 and 251.

<sup>36</sup> Seltman, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

<sup>37</sup> *Op. cit.*, pl. VII, CP α in Brussels. There is also Praxitelean influence on a Hera coin (Seltman, *op. cit.*, pl. XI, series XXX, FG, *circa* olympiad 111); compare the Petworth head (Lawrence, *op. cit.*, pl. 83 and p. 253). This may be by Praxiteles, or a contemporary original. See J. Chittenden and C. Seltman, *Greek Art Commem. Catal.*, 1946, p. 17.

## IV. SKOPAS

This sculptor ranked in the estimation of later critics as second only to his contemporary, Praxiteles. There is no written record of a work from his hand in the Altis, but he made a bronze statue of Aphrodite Pandemos which Pausanias<sup>38</sup> saw in Elis. He was popular; and his style affected that of certain didrachms made, I think, about olympiad 112, 332 B.C. It is possible to assess his style because some originals, battered though they be, exist to guide us, these being the well-known heads from the temple of Athena Alea at Tegea, which he made about 350 B.C. One of these extremely "pathetic" male heads<sup>39</sup> is set in Plate 27, 5 beside a festival didrachm (Plate 27, 4)<sup>40</sup> which shows Scopæic influence. In both the eye is deeply sunk under the brows, the forehead is bumpy, the cheek hollow, the hair rough.

After this the heads of Zeus degenerate towards the depressing "Otricoli" type,<sup>41</sup> which is generally held to be the copy of something from the school of Lysippus.

## V. ANTONIANOS

Antonianos, floruit *circa* A.D. 134, was a member of that active and finished school of artists from Aphrodisias in Caria which included such names as Aristéas, Papias, the two Zenos, Menestheus, Kornelios, Polyneikes, and Attikianis.<sup>42</sup> There is one surviving marble signed by Antonianos, a relief 4 feet 8 inches high, now in Rome, found at Lanuvium representing Antinoös as Silvanus with an altar in front of him inscribed Ἀντωνιανὸς Ἀφροδισιεὺς ἐποίησεν.<sup>43</sup> The head and shoulders of this relief of Antinoös are shown in Plate 27, 7.<sup>44</sup> Beside this, Plate 27, 6, are a black sard and, Plate 27, 8, a Peloponnesian bronze medallion coin of Antinoös<sup>45</sup> which are both so

<sup>38</sup> VI, 25, 1.

<sup>39</sup> Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 256, pl. 85.

<sup>40</sup> Seltman, *op. cit.*, pl. VII CT, in Cambridge, Leake Collection.

<sup>41</sup> Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

<sup>42</sup> J. Overbeck, *Die antiken Schriftquellen*, 1868, nos. 2286-2291; E. Löwy, *Inschriften griech. Bildhauer*, 1885, nos. 364-375.

<sup>43</sup> R. Delbrück, *Antike Porträts*, 1912, pl. 44 and p. li, f., where is a full description and bibliography.

<sup>44</sup> After Delbrück, *op. cit.*, pl. 44.

<sup>45</sup> Formerly in the Marlborough and Newton-Robinson Collections; see the latter's Sale Catalogue, Christie's, June, 1909, lot 66; A. Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, pl. LXV, 50; C. W. King, *Handbook of Engraved Gems*, 1885, pl. 84, 1; Mrs. A. Strong, *Burlington Fine Arts Club Exhibition of Greek Art*, 1904, pl. CX, 087. The fullest description is in the last-named publication. This intaglio is broken, mended, and partly repaired in gold. Our illustrations (Plates 27, 6 and 28, 20), which are about one-sixth above actual size, show the gem without the modern gold addition. Behind the shoulder are letters: Furtwängler gives ANTI, Newton-Robinson ANT., Mrs. Strong ANT. The fourth broken letter cannot well be anything but a rather angular ω; so this could be completed as ANTΩNIANOC ἐποίησεν. The letters have small *serifs* like the letters on the Lanuvium relief by Antonianos and on a number of the coins on Pl. 28; they are therefore contemporary with the engraving. For the coin see No. 15 below.

closely related to the marble relief that they must be the work of the same school, if not of the same hand. This is set down as an introduction to certain important Elean, Achaean and Arcadian medallic coins of the reign of Hadrian illustrated on Plate 28.

Though Hadrian is known to have visited Olympia there is no evidence to show that he was present at any of the olympiads which occurred during his reign; therefore the Elean medallic coins with his head cannot be connected with a particular olympiad, though, as will presently appear, they were associated with a festival of a different type. The remark has been made above that the two coins with the head of Hadrian and the head of the Pheidian Zeus are not only distinctive but also of exceptionally fine work. Not only are they better than almost anything with a Latin inscription of the Hadrianic age, but they are also better than any coin or medal of the reign struck in the eastern half of the empire outside Peloponnesus.

Accordingly it is worth setting them in that context of quasi-medallic bronze coins, all closely associated and made in honour of Hadrian, Zeus, and Olympia, to which they belong. A description of these pieces, comprising eight different die-combinations, follows.

1. 32 mm. AVTOKPA TΩPAΔPIANOC. Bust of Hadrian right cuirassed, head bare. Border of dots.

Rev: ΗΛΕΙ. Head of Pheidian Zeus r. wreathed with olive. Border of dots.

Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge [Pl. 28, 1].<sup>46</sup>

2. 32 mm. AVTOKPATΩP AΔPIA[NO]C.

Similar to No. 1.

Rev: Same die as No. 1.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris [Pl. 28, 2];<sup>47</sup> apparently somewhat tooled on both sides.

3. 31.5 mm. Same as No. 2; probably same die.

Rev: ΗΛΕΙΩΝ (in exergue). The river-god Alpheios reclining towards left (in an attitude like that of the same deity in the east gable of the Zeus temple), his head having a resemblance to certain heads of Antinoös; he holds a wreath in his raised r. hand, and reeds in his

left. Waves are below him, a tall urn in front of him.

Ex-Rhousopoulos Sale, Munich, May, 1905, no. 2587 [Pl. 28, 3].

4. 23 mm. AVTOKPA . . . . . Bust of Hadrian closely resembling those of Nos. 1, 2, 3.

Rev: ΗΛΕΙ. The statue of Pheidian Zeus to r. showing the right side of the figure.

(a) Berlin [Pl. 28, 4].<sup>48</sup> (b) Athens, found at Olympia.<sup>49</sup>

5. 30 mm. ΔΙC AVTOKPATΩP AΔPIANOC. Bust of Hadrian l. draped, head bare. Border of dots.

Rev: ΗΛΕΙ ΩΝ. The statue of Pheidian Zeus to l. showing left side of figure. Border of dots.

(a) Florence, since 1684 [Pl. 28, 5].<sup>50</sup>

(b) Formerly Queen Christina of Sweden Collection; lost.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Leake Collection; see footnote 25 above.

<sup>47</sup> See A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, III, pp. 958, note 4, and 959, note 1 for bibliography; and see our note 26.

<sup>48</sup> *Loc. cit.*; R. Weil, *loc. cit.*, p. 370, pl. X 4 (reverse only).

<sup>49</sup> *Loc. cit.*, pl. X, 4a (reverse only).

<sup>50</sup> See A. B. Cook, *loc. cit.* The word *δῆς* appears to be a last-minute addition to the die, for it cuts into the drapery.

<sup>51</sup> R. Weil, *loc. cit.*, pp. 367 f.

6. 23 mm. Same die as No. 5.

Rev: Similar to No. 5; different die.

Berlin, found at Olympia.<sup>52</sup>

7. 23 mm. Same die as Nos. 5 and 6.

Rev: ΗΛΕΙΩΝ. The same statue three-quarter face towards left.

Berlin [Pl. 28, 7].<sup>53</sup>

8. 27 mm. Same die as Nos. 5, 6, 7.

Rev: ΗΛΕΙΩΝ. The nymph Olympia in Doric chiton standing, facing, holding an eagle in right hand and olive-branch in left. At her feet recline two naked river-gods, Alpheios and Kladeos. One holds a sprig of reeds, the other a wreath; waves below them.

Berlin [Pl. 28, 8].<sup>54</sup>

These eight coins fall into two groups distinguished by their obverses. Nos. 1 to 4 have the emperor's bust to right, nos. 5 to 8, to the left, and for the latter group a single obverse die has been used with four different reverse dies. This head-die bears an interesting inscription<sup>55</sup>—*δῖς αὐτοκράτωρ Ἀδριανός*—which fortunately provides a *terminus post quem* for these coins, because the earliest record of Hadrian's second *imperium*, with which he was acclaimed after the Jewish war, lies between April and December 135;<sup>56</sup> therefore these four coins appear to belong to the second half of A.D. 135, or, at latest, to the first months of 136.

There are three head-dies for Nos. 1 to 4—Nos. 2 and 3 being almost certainly struck from the same obverse—all so closely related that the same hub may have been used to make them all. The coins, 4, 6 and 7 are smaller than the others but are struck from dies intended for the making of large coins. In the second group one obverse-die had to do duty for larger and smaller coins, a practice which was probably not uncommon at this time.<sup>57</sup>

It would be superfluous to attempt to add anything about the reverses with the whole figure of Pheidian Zeus, since these have all been discussed effectively by A. B. Cook in the third volume of *Zeus*. They are included here merely to display their association with other dies.

<sup>52</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 368, pl. X, 3a (reverse only).

<sup>53</sup> *Loc. cit.*, pl. X, 5; A. B. Cook, *op. cit.* The left arm has, I think, here been raised by the engraver to avoid such excessive foreshortening as precise and faithful copying would have demanded.

<sup>54</sup> H. Dressel, *Zeitschr. f. Num.*, XXIV, 1904, p. 61, pl. III, 1.

<sup>55</sup> There is no K after Hadrian's name, and R. Weil, *loc. cit.*, p. 371 was mistaken in inserting one. The *δῖς*, however, seems to have been added afterwards to the die.

<sup>56</sup> W. Weber, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus*, 1907, pp. 180 and 276; P. L. Strack, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung des zweiten Jahrhunderts*, Vol. II, *die Reichsprägung zur Zeit des Hadrian*, Stuttgart, 1933, pp. 25 f., 31 f., 136 note 301; H. Mattingly, *B. M. C. Roman Coins*, III, 1936, pp. cxi, cxviii, cxxii f., cxlii f.; H. Nesselhauf, *C.I.L.*, XVI (1936), nos. 79-82. The evidence for the date of the second *imperium* is summarised in a note kindly supplied by Dr. Heichelheim and added at the end of this paper.

<sup>57</sup> There are earlier cases of large dies being employed for ancient coins of smaller denominations, e. g., Lydia, stater and third from same die (Seltman, *Greek Coins*, p. 25); Cyme in Aeolis, stater and half (*Catal. Naville I* = Pozzi Sale, Lucerne, 1920, 2292, 2293); Phaistos, stater and half (J. N. Svoronos, *Numis. de la Crète ancienne*, 1890, pl. XXIII, 18, 19); Segesta, tetradrachm and didrachm (P. Lederer, *Die Tetradrachmenprägung von Segesta*, 1910, p. 39).

The river-gods on Nos. 3 and 8 are interesting and must be studied together, although the die of No. 8 is not the work of the excellent artist who engraved the rest of these coins, but from an inferior's hand. The deity on No. 3 must be the Alpheios, and he seems to be a free adaptation of the figure made by the Master of Olympia to fill the south angle of the east pediment of the Zeus temple.<sup>58</sup> On the coin the need for pictorial effect and for a profile head has caused a twisting upwards of the body, but he still rests upon his left elbow, and his legs below the knees are indistinct because the legs of the marble statue are hidden in drapery. The vase in front of him appears to apologise for this indefinite tapering off of the figure. The wreath and reeds in his hands are attributes either of which, probably made of bronze, the original marble Alpheios of the pediment may have held in the missing right hand.<sup>59</sup>

It must, however, be noted that only the body is an adaptation of the fifth-century figure; the head is of quite different style and bears a very close resemblance to the head of Hadrian's favourite, Antinoös, figured on Plate 28, 9 to 18—a point to which I return below.

The reverse of No. 8 is inferior, and its engraver will have copied the wreath-holding river-god on the right from the Alpheios of No. 3 with no great success. The other deity, back view, is then Kladeos, who recalls nothing of the splendid north angle pedimental figure save the shape of his smooth head. The design is clumsy but interesting on account of the central female figure. A head of this nymph, Olympia, first made its appearance in both Elean mints on the silver festival Coinage of the 105th olympiad (360 B.C.) in association with the head of Zeus, the eagle, and the wreath of wild olive.<sup>60</sup> The whole figure here, holding eagle and olive-branch, must represent the same nymph, placed as she is between two reclining river-gods.

The autumn of A.D. 134 is probably the earliest date possible for the issue of the coins with the head to right. Four years previously, apparently in the month of October, 130, Hadrian's favourite, Antinoös, was drowned in the Nile in Upper Egypt.<sup>61</sup> The cult of the heroized Antinoös was speedily established, spreading from Egypt to the Greek half of the empire, and in A.D. 134, four years after his death, numbers of medallion coins were issued in the near East with his portrait.<sup>62</sup> The variety and uneven quality of these pieces is sufficiently remarkable, but among the various styles which appear there is one style of outstanding merit which is actually confined to Peloponnesus, and the dies for this small group of coins are obviously the work of a single *atelier*—probably, indeed, of a single engraver. A description follows:

<sup>58</sup> Hege and Rodenwaldt, *op. cit.*, pl. 38.

<sup>59</sup> There was another statue of Alpheios in the Altis at Olympia, Pausanias V, 24, 7, the appearance of which is unknown. We cannot guess whether or no this coin type owes anything to that other figure.

<sup>60</sup> Seltman, *The Temple Coins of Olympia*, no. 175, pl. VI, CA δλ; no. 305 f., pl. X, EV, EW θσ-θν.

<sup>61</sup> H. J. Bell in *C.A.H.*, XI, p. 650.

<sup>62</sup> G. Blum, "Numismatique d'Antinoös," *Journal International d'Archéologie Numismatique*, XVI, 1914, pp. 33 ff., pls. I to V.

"MEDALLIONS" <sup>63</sup>

9. 43.8 mm. [MAP]ΚΕΛΛΟΟΙΕ ΠΕΥCΤΟVΑΝ ΤΙΝΟΟV. Bust of Antinoös 1., waves beneath. Border of dots.

Rev.: ΚΟΡΙΝΘΙ ΟΙΚΑΝ. Antinoös r. as Dionysos, his legs draped, holding thyrsos and leaning on a bearded, ithyphallic Herm to r. before which is a large krater; behind him is a stele surmounted by a rectangular tablet. Border of dots.

Ex-Prince Wied Collection [Pl. 28, 9].<sup>64</sup>

10. 40 mm. Same die as No. 9.

Rev.: A male figure standing r.; damaged. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris [Pl. 28, 10, obverse only].<sup>65</sup>

11. 41 mm. ΟCΤΙΑ|ΟCΜΑΡΚΕΛΛΟCΙΕΡΕVCTΟV ΑΝΤΙΝΟΟV. Head of flat style, quite different from last, to right, draped.

Rev.: ΤΟΙCΑΧΑΙΟΙC ΑΝΘΗΚΕΝ. Antinoös as on reverse of no. 9, but as Hermes, naked but for short cloak; he holds a caduceus and leans on a bearded, ithyphallic Herm to r. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris [Pl. 28, 11, reverse only].<sup>66</sup>

12. 38 mm. ΒΕΤΟΥ ΠΙΟC. Bust of Antinoös r.

Rev.: [ΤΟΙC] ΑΡΚΑCΙ. Race-horse r., right foreleg raised.

A. B. Cook collection, Cambridge [Pl. 28, 12] thick.<sup>67</sup>

## "SESTERTII"

13. 34 mm. As last. Border of dots.

Rev.: As last. Border of dots.

(a) London [Pl. 28, 13].<sup>68</sup> (b) Ex-Prowe collection; uniface.<sup>69</sup>

14. 33 mm. Same die as No. 13.

Rev.: ΤΟΙC ΑΡΚΑCΙ. As last.

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

15. 36 mm. As before; but bust to 1., the l. shoulder and half of the back shown.

Rev.: Same reverse-die as No. 13.

Berlin [Pl. 28, 15]<sup>70</sup> = our Plate 27, 8 above.

16. 33 mm. Same die as No. 15.

Rev.: Similar.

(a) Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. (b) Vienna.<sup>71</sup>

## "DUPONDII"

17. 26 mm. ΒΕ ΤΟΥΠΙΟC. Similar bust, but r., lightly draped, head of Caduceus behind neck.

Rev.: Similar to last.

(a) McClean Collection, Cambridge.<sup>72</sup> (b-c) Berlin. (d) Paris. (e) Copenhagen. (f) Ex-Anderson Collection.<sup>73</sup>

18. 26 mm. as last, but bust l. like that of No. 9; no waves visible.

Rev.: same reverse-die as No. 17.

(a) London [Pl. 28, 18].<sup>74</sup> (b) Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. (c) Berlin. (d-f) Athens. (g) Ex-Prowe Collection.<sup>75</sup>

19. 26 mm. ΒΕΤΟΥ ΠΙΟC. Similar; waves beneath bust.

Rev.: Similar.

Jameson Collection, Paris. [Pl. 28, 19].<sup>76</sup>

<sup>63</sup> The words "Medallions," "Sestertii," "Dupondii" are here used to equate the sizes with those of contemporary Roman *aes* but not to indicate an exact correspondence of values.

<sup>64</sup> Sale Bâle, March, 1935, pl. 22, 454.

<sup>65</sup> G. Blum, *loc. cit.*, p. 36, 2 has been mounted.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 35, 1.

<sup>67</sup> Has been hammered around edge and mounted as No. 10 was.

<sup>68</sup> *B.M.C. Peloponnesus*, p. 177, pl. XXXIII, 1.

<sup>69</sup> Prowe Sale, Vienna, May, 1912, pl. XX, 1153; three small mounting holes.

<sup>70</sup> G. Blum, *loc. cit.*, p. 37, 2.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37, 3.

<sup>72</sup> S. W. Grose, *Catalogue of the McClean Collection*, Cambridge, 1926, Vol. II, 6956.

<sup>73</sup> G. Blum, *loc. cit.*, p. 37, 6.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38, 7; not in *B. M. C. Peloponnesus*.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38, 7.

Here are eleven pieces, having a truly remarkable uniformity of style, which may surely be attributed to the hand of a single engraver. The damaged reverse of No. 10 is not by him, as far as one can see, and the dull obverse of No. 11 is not his work either. Let him be named "the Alpheios engraver" from the fine coin, No. 3, made for the Eleans, with that reclining river-god whose head is the head of Antinoös. On our Plate 28 the following seem to me the work of this artist: the Emperor's heads on 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, the reverse of 3, all the busts of Antinoös shown, and the reverses of 9 and 11. He probably also made the famous Zeus-head die of 1, 2, and the statue dies of 5 and 7 as well as the fine horses of 12, 13, 15 and 18; but not, I think, the clumsy horse of 19, nor the awkward group of No. 8.

All these dies must have been made within a very short period of time which it should be easy to determine. The death of Antinoös occurred in October, 130.<sup>77</sup> The earliest coins struck in Egypt with his head belong to Hadrian's 19th year (134-135), those of Amisos to the end of 134,<sup>78</sup> the fourth year after his death being precisely the time at which the new hero would receive special honour. This is confirmed independently for Mantinea in Arcadia, the city in which Veturius must have paid for the striking of our Nos. 12 to 19 as well as of certain smaller pieces, here omitted because they are not the work of our engraver.<sup>79</sup> Pausanias wrote "The emperor established his [Antinoös'] worship at Mantinea also, and mysteries are celebrated in his honour every year, and games every fourth year."<sup>80</sup>

The first occasion of these "great games" in his honour must also have been the occasion for the issue of these coins, for the race-horse on their reverses is itself enough to indicate their agonistic nature.<sup>81</sup> Had they been made for a later festival it would have been that of October, 138; but by that time Hadrian had already been dead three months; therefore all these coins—Arcadian as well as Achaian—must have been issued in the autumn of A.D. 134. They are, therefore, rather earlier in date

<sup>76</sup> From Sale Vienna, May 1912, pl. XX, 1152 = *Collection R. Jameson*, iii, 1924, pl. XXI, 443. On the same plate is another piece (no. 442) which I omit as I am not sure of the authenticity of the "obverse" of this curious "box-coin."

<sup>77</sup> W. Weber, *op. cit.*, pp. 248 ff.; G. Blum, *loc. cit.*, p. 59.

<sup>78</sup> G. Blum, *loc. cit.*, p. 60.

<sup>79</sup> Among them is one found near Godmanchester, Hunts, and now in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; see *Num. Chron.*, 1908, p. 375. Others, G. Blum, *loc. cit.*, p. 38, 9 to 11.

<sup>80</sup> Pausanias, VIII, 9, 8: *I.G.*, V, 2, no. 313, line 3: cf. also *I.G.*, V, 2, p. 50: Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s. v. Mantinea.

<sup>81</sup> Antinoös himself is on horseback on the series of Alexandria, G. Blum, *loc. cit.*, pl. V. Professor A. B. Cook makes the following comment about the Veturius coins of Arcadia:—"as a hero Antinoös has a horse; the horse is the sacred animal of Mars; cf. the festivals, October Horse (Oct. 15), and *Equirria* (March 14), later called *Mamuralia* when a sacrifice was also offered to Mamurius Veturius, legendary maker of the sacred *ancilia*." No famous Veturii are known after the Second Punic War, and it may be doubted whether this Arcadian Veturius was a true descendant of the ancient House, but he may have claimed descent. Nothing further is known of him.

than the four Elean bronze coins inscribed *δὲς αὐτοκράτωρ Ἀδριανός* since Hadrian received this acclamation at some time between the middle of April and December, 135.

Hadrian, it seems probable, did not stay in Greece after passing through Crete on his way from Palestine to Rome in the spring of 134. But it looks as though Hostilius Marcellus, priest of Antinoös in Corinth, Veturius of Mantinea, and the managers of the Olympic sanctuary all confidently expected the emperor to be present in the following autumn at the first great games held in his late favourite's honour in Arcadia. This agreeable prospect suggested the issue of special coins for the dies of which the services of the finest engraver of the day were procured.

And here I venture to summarise that which I am inclined to deduce about the Alpheios engraver. One die of his can, I believe, be recognized in the Roman series of bronze medallions; it is different from all the others, and better. Hadrian is shown to right with a deep bust and bare shoulder, just like Antinoös on the bronzes of Corinth and Mantinea, his chest covered with the aegis of Zeus whereon the Gorgoneion appears. This obverse die was employed with two different reverses (Plate 27, 9-10)<sup>82</sup> having the types of Victory and of Silvanus; and, since the latter was a purely Italian deity, we may be sure that these large medallions were issued in Rome. The bust of the emperor is unlike that on any other of his coins or medals, and is the work of a brilliant man. We may suggest that the Alpheios engraver appears to have been a member of Hadrian's artistic circle, perhaps both sculptor and gem-engraver;<sup>83</sup> and, as a man familiar with the emperor's Favourite, he could have cut the magnificent Marlborough black sard, Plates 28, 20 and 27, 6, as a memorial of Antinoös. Perhaps before the middle of A.D. 134 he went with his assistants to Peloponnesus since it was hoped that Hadrian himself would leave Italy in the autumn to be present at the first celebration of the games in Arcadian Mantinea in honour of the hero whose cult Hadrian had there established. Olympia, still crowded with the works of famous men, was an art-centre equal to Athens itself, and there he may have settled for a time to make dies; for his rendering of the head of the Zeus of Pheidias appears to have been produced by a man who was studying it with the closest observation. At the same time he made a die with the river-god Alpheios whom he equipped with the head of Antinoös, the youth whose tragic end had befallen in another river. As obverses for

<sup>82</sup> F. Gnechi, *I Medaglioni Romani*, II, pl. 38, 9, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris: *ibid.*, pl. 39, 2, British Museum, H. A. Grueber, *Roman Medallions in the British Museum*, pl. V, 1. This peculiar type of bust recurred twice later, when Marcus Aurelius was Caesar (Gnechi, *op. cit.*, II, pls. 65, 1; 66, 10) and in the reign of Commodus (*op. cit.*, II, pl. 87, 6, 8). Miss Toynbee, to whom I owe various helpful suggestions, concurs in my attribution of the Hadrianic medallions to the Alpheios engraver, and points out that a somewhat similar deep bust occurs on a medallion of Trajan, P. L. Strack, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pl. 7, 403, the obverse of which she believes to be from a die intended for a bronze medallion.

<sup>83</sup> He might have worked for Hadrian as the gem-engraver Dioskourides worked for Augustus; cf. Pliny, *N.H.*, XXXVII, 8; Suetonius, *Aug.*, 50.

these coins he cut dies with the bust of Hadrian to the right in his strong characteristic gem-engraver's manner.<sup>84</sup> These coins suggest the probability that the Eleans were planning a special festival in honour of Zeus-Adrianos and Alpheios-Antinoös.

Meanwhile in expectation of the imperial visit two wealthy persons, Hostilius Marcellus at Corinth and a certain Veturius in Mantinea, paid for the issue of numerous medallic bronze pieces the dies for most of which they commissioned the Alpheios engraver to cut. All these obverse dies had busts of Antinoös, strong and fine like the Elean dies of Hadrian, elegant and sensuous like the black sard intaglio. All were immeasurably superior to any heads or busts of the Favourite upon any other coins. On two dies he put waves under Antinoös like the waves under his Alpheios. Then in the early autumn of 134 Hadrian set out for the East to finish the war in Palestine,<sup>85</sup> and can hardly have failed to pass through Peloponnesus. Indeed the coins make it probable that he stayed first at Olympia, then at Mantinea to witness the first celebration of the games in honour of Antinoös, and thirdly at Corinth, before setting sail from Kenchreai for the final Judaeian campaign. At some date between the middle of April and December of 135<sup>86</sup> he was acclaimed *imperator* for the second time to celebrate the successful end of the war, and he most probably passed through Peloponnesus again stopping at Olympia on his way back to Italy.

The Alpheios engraver had apparently remained in Greece at work on more dies for the Eleans, for he made reverses with the whole figure of the Pheidian Zeus which had the same fineness and quality as his dies of the previous year. To go with these he made one splendid obverse die which struck coins with the emperor's head turned to the left, thereby conforming to what was now the normal official practice in other mints.<sup>87</sup> After he had made this he learnt of Hadrian's second acclamation and found it possible to add the word *δῖς* at the bottom of the bust on the die<sup>88</sup> in a neat and skilful manner.

Let us summarize the work which seems to have come from this artist's *atelier*.

<sup>84</sup> Miss Tonybee has drawn my attention to another coin (there are specimens in Athens and Berlin) almost certainly by the Alpheios engraver, which is not included on our Plate because it is inadequately published in an engraving (R. Weil, *Zeitschr. f. Numis.*, XIII, 1886, p. 384). The head of Hadrian seems to be from the same die as our Nos. 2 and 3. The reverse has a picture of a statue of Dionysos, probably the one made by Praxiteles for his temple at Elis (Pausanias, VI, 26, 1). On the coin the god's features may have resembled those of Antinoös—cf. No. 9 above).

<sup>85</sup> Strack, *op. cit.*, p. 133, points out that on May 5, A.D. 134, Hadrian was certainly in Rome, and is convinced that he set out in the summer or autumn of the same year for the East.

<sup>86</sup> For the evidence see the Appendix below.

<sup>87</sup> Strack, *op. cit.*, pp. 25 f., 31 f., from his very complete catalogue has made the observation for the Imperial and Alexandrian issues that the head of the Emperor is turned to the left with something like regularity from A.D. 134 onwards, but not before.

<sup>88</sup> Though there is no other evidence for these two visits to Olympia the appearance of the two issues, with head to right, and with head to left, and with that particular interval between them suggests something of this kind.

- (i) Hadrianic medallions made in Rome, one with Silvanus as a reverse type.
- (ii) Hadrianic bronzes for the Eleans with (a) head of the Pheidian Zeus, (b) figure of the Zeus, (c) the Alpheios, (d) possibly a Praxitelean Dionysos.
- (iii) Bronzes with bust of Antinoös for (a) Corinth, (b) Mantinea.
- (iv) Antinoös' bust on a black sard signed ANT $\Psi$  . . , the fourth letter apparently part of an  $\omega$ .

But this last stands close to the fine Lanuvium relief of Antinoös as Silvanus with the signature of Antonianos of Aphrodisias. We are therefore left with a strong probability that our Alpheios engraver is Antonianos himself. Skill and elegance of manner mark all the work of this man—the last great engraver to employ that style which we have come to regard as Classical Greek.

## APPENDIX

In the course of a discussion of the artistic quality of certain Elean coins I have chanced on a small pocket of evidence concerning the movements of the Emperor Hadrian in his latter years. The interpretation of this depends on certain epigraphic matter which fixes his second *imperium* between mid-April and December, 135, and a summary of this epigraphic matter, kindly compiled by Dr. Heichelheim, is set out here.

*C.I.L.*, XVI, no. 82 proves that the second acclamation of Hadrian as imperator was later than 14 April, A.D. 135 (not 15 Sept. 134 as had to be assumed from *C.I.L.*, XVI, no. 79 before *C.I.L.*, XVI, nos. 80-82 became known). On the other hand *C.I.L.*, XIV, no. 4235 (possible dates for which are 14, 19, 24 or 29 Dec., 135), the earliest text from Hadrian's XXth trib. pot. which mentions the second acclamation and can be dated by month and year, proves that the acclamation occurred before A.D. 136 (*cf.* for additional texts of A.D. 136 which mention it, Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. Sel.*, 317; *C.I.L.*, VI, 975; Cagnat, *Inscr. graec. ad Res Rom. pert.*, III, no. 896; *Année épigr.*, 1928, no. 193; *Pap. Oslo*, III, 1936, no. 78). Furthermore *I.G.*, XII, *Suppl.* 1939, no. 239 from Syrus—a recently published Greek inscription from Hadrian's XIXth trib. pot.—(probably also *C.I.L.*, II, no. 478 and *C.I.L.*, VI, no. 974, two Latin inscriptions of the same period, the restorations of which are not certain but now appear very attractive) proves with certainty that the second acclamation fell in Hadrian's XIXth trib. pot. Our present knowledge does not allow us to date the beginning and the end of this period with accuracy; but it is safe to say that Hadrian's second acclamation took place between the middle of April and December A.D. 135.

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# THE BOUSTROPHEDON SACRAL INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE AGORA<sup>1</sup>

(PLATES 29-32)

BETWEEN the years 1936 and 1939, the Agora excavations produced a collection of 26 similar fragments of Pentelic marble inscribed boustrophedon, all found within a limited area on the northwest slope of the Akropolis,<sup>2</sup> immediately east and west of the Panathenaic way at the point where it makes a marked bend, preparatory to skirting round the steep northwest angle of the citadel and ending at the Propylaea. Two isolated fragments had been found previously farther to the northwest,<sup>3</sup> bringing the total number found in the Agora to 28. Judged by the circumstances of discovery and the general similarity of material, content and letter-forms, they all appear to belong to a limited number of closely related documents, which from their content, fragmentary though it is, and epigraphical technique are of peculiar interest to all students of early Athenian history.

To summarize briefly the conclusions drawn tentatively below, they belong apparently to two monuments (altars?) erected *ca.* 510-480 B.C. in the precinct defined in inscriptions of the fifth century and later as the Ἐλευσίνιον ἐν ἄστει, or simply the Ἐλευσίνιον;<sup>4</sup> although they are inscribed boustrophedon, the appearance of the letter-forms, coupled with the use of Pentelic marble,<sup>5</sup> indicates a date when this method of writing had already ceased as a normal practice in Attica; in the history of Athenian *leges sacrae*, they form a link approximately midway in time between the lost prototypes of the early sixth century, generally ascribed to Solon, and the comprehensive re-edition of the calendar by Nikomachos in 403-399 B.C.; and finally, they provide at length companionship for the lone fragment of Attic boustrophedon preserved since 1781 in the British Museum (B.M. 74 = *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 839), over the restoration of which there raged a Homeric duel between Boeckh and Hermann in the early nineteenth century.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I wish to express my gratitude to Professor B. D. Meritt for permission to study these fragments and to publish the results here, and to the members of the staff at the Agora, especially E. Vanderpool and Miss L. Talcott, for their kind and unfailing assistance in every problem that arose. I also owe a further debt of gratitude to Professor Meritt, E. Vanderpool, and A. E. Raubitschek for their kind offices in reading this article in MS; their helpful suggestions are acknowledged in the notes, but the responsibility for errors must remain solely my own.

<sup>2</sup> The area shown as Sections AA, BB, ZZ, ΘΘ, and II on the City Plan, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 335, fig. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Nos. 66 *a* and 67 *n*, found in Sections O and II of the same plan.

<sup>4</sup> *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 6, line 129; 313, lines 14, 20; 314, lines 19 (restored), 26; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 204, line 7; 333, line 20; 661, line 32; 1072, line 3; 1078, lines 14 f., 41; 1672, col. I, line 6 (?—at Eleusis?), col. II, lines 162, 166, 167 f., 171, 183, 194-5, 203; Ἐλευσινιακά, A', 1932, p. 177, lines 25-6.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 137 f., note 11.

<sup>6</sup> Boeckh, *C.I.G.*, I, no. 9 and pp. xxv f.; Hermann, *Leips. Lit. Zeitg.*, nos. 238-241; cf. Hicks, *B. M. Inscr.*, I, p. 137.

The exact provenance of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 839 is not known. In the year 1765 Richard Chandler returned to England from a tour of Greece made at the expense of the Society of Dilettanti, bringing back with him for the Society several inscriptions acquired in Athens and the Peiraieus, our fragment being among them. In the first publication of the stone, nine years after its acquisition, Chandler gives only the following account: <sup>7</sup> En! fragmentum βουστροφηδόν inscriptum; in muro repertum; nunc penes Societatem Dilettanti. The wall into which it had evidently been built may have been almost anywhere in the eighteenth-century area of Athens; but, inscribed as it is boustrophedon on Pentelic marble in letters which correspond in size and shape with those of the Agora fragments, and containing subject-matter of the same detailed nature, the probability that it comes from the same monument or group of monuments seems so strong that it is included here with the rest. A cast, made by the technical staff of the British Museum with the kind permission of the Trustees, was brought out to Athens for comparison, but no actual join could be made.

Chandler further reported that he had seen another boustrophedon fragment built into the wall of a house in a square not far from the Capuchin monastery where he was staying,<sup>8</sup> but evidently he made no copy. Another fragment, *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 838, was copied by Ross and first published from his copy by Boeckh in 1835,<sup>9</sup> no provenance being given. This piece, never rediscovered, is known only from Ross' copy, but from the content of the surviving lines it was clearly of the same type as *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 839, as subsequent editors have agreed.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, it appears likely that it joined the left-hand side of one of the Agora fragments (No. 67 *f* below).

A further minute piece (No. 67 *i* below) is preserved in the Epigraphical Museum at Athens. Its original provenance is unknown,<sup>11</sup> but here again a close similarity with the Agora fragments seemed to justify its inclusion with them, although no join could be made.

This provides us with three more additions to the series from the Agora, and raises the total number of fragments attributed to the inscriptions to 31.<sup>12</sup> In spite

<sup>7</sup> Chandler, *Inscriptions*, II, 1774, no. 28, pp. xxv and 54.

<sup>8</sup> *Inscriptions*, II, p. xxv: Aliud, sed minutum, vidi in platea non longe a monasterio capuchinorum, in pariete infixum. The monastery occupied the area immediately round the monument of Lysikrates, below the southeast slope of the Akropolis.

<sup>9</sup> Hall, *Allgemein. Lit. Zeitg.*, 1835, 3-5, p. 18, no. 36. It may possibly have been the one seen by Chandler, but can hardly have merited the description "minutum."

<sup>10</sup> Franz, *Elementa Ep. Graec.*, 1840, p. 99; Kirchhoff, *I.G.*, I, 532.

<sup>11</sup> E.M. 101. For permission to publish it here, I am indebted to M. Mitsos, Ephor of the Epigraphical Museum. G. Stamires, who kindly verified the details of its acquisition for me, tells me that it was presented by C. G. Oikonomopoulos, with no further recorded information except that it came from the estate of A. Postolakis.

<sup>12</sup> I was unable to find the fragmentary inscription *I.G.*, I, 529 (not published in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>) in the Epigraphical Museum, and cannot venture a reading from the *I.G.* illustration. It is said, however, to be inscribed boustrophedon on Pentelic marble, and to have been found in Athens, so that there may be a connection here.

of this, only ten certain<sup>13</sup> and three probable<sup>14</sup> joins have been made, which leads to the conclusion that the main parts of the monuments may still be scattered below the built-over site adjoining the excavated area in question on the east and northeast sides.

This area was first identified as the site of the Eleusinion in 1938,<sup>15</sup> a conclusion which has since been confirmed by further discoveries, though the limits of the precinct are still unknown.<sup>16</sup> The boustrophedon fragments bring further proof, since No. 66 mentions the Greater (and Lesser?) Mysteries, and also one of the officials of the Eleusinian cult, the *φαιδωντής* (see below, pp. 92 f.). No. 67 *n* mentions *μύστο-*, and other references to *μύστης* or *μυστήρια* can be tentatively restored on No. 67 *b* and *d*.

In the list of fragments which follows, some explanation is needed for the method of grouping adopted. No. 66, Frags. *a-d* evidently belong to a single stone (Block I), of which only parts of one wide and one narrow face are preserved, the wide containing the end of the inscription with a *vacat* of 0.155 m. below, while the narrow, as far as it remains, is blank. These fragments are distinguished from the rest by the lettering, which is appreciably larger and more deeply cut, being mostly 0.02 m. high, with an occasional diminution to 0.015 m. Apart from this diminution, the appearance of the letters on the fragments of No. 66 is fairly uniform; the most characteristic is the acute-angled rho, which on *a* is ϱ until the penultimate line, which has ϱ̄ (compare 67 *c*, where the variants ϱ and ϱ̄ are both used). No. 66 *c* also has ϱ̄. In general, the letters agree with those on certain public monuments usually dated in the late sixth or early fifth century (see below, p. 102); it may well be that the same stonemason was responsible for them all. The punctuation : is used between phrases. To hazard any reconstruction of its original proportions from the present measurements of its lower left-hand corner, which is all that is left to us apart from three small floaters, is hardly profitable. On an average, 8 letters occupy *ca.* 0.22 m., and the fragmentary readings suggest that at least another 8, and probably more, are missing; so that the existing width (0.24 m.) may represent only half, or less, of the original front face. Among the other fragments, it may be noted that the combined width of Nos. 67 *f-h*, if they indeed belong together, gives a restored front face at least 0.54 m. wide (pp. 97, Fig. 2, and 102, Fig. 3).

The remaining fragments show certain minor differences in the letter-forms. They also vary in the way in which they have split away from the main core. They may be all from a single block, inscribed on three of its faces, the fourth face being

<sup>13</sup> Nos. 66 *a* (3 fragments), 67 *a* (2 fragments), 67 *j* (3 fragments) and 67 *p* (2 fragments).

<sup>14</sup> Nos. 67 *f* + *g* + *h*.

<sup>15</sup> *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 207 ff.

<sup>16</sup> *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 97 ff., and 268; X, 1941, p. 258; XI, 1942, pp. 251 and 260 ff.; XIV, 1945, pp. 81 and 89. For earlier theories as to its position, cf. Judeich, *Topographie v. Athen*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 287 ff.

still blank when the stone was broken. In view of this, the fragments are listed in three groups A, B, and C, tentatively assigned to the three inscribed faces of a hypothetical Block II (see Fig. 3); but it must be stressed at the outset that this arrangement is in no sense suggested as final, since the discovery of further fragments, or a better interpretation of these, may well result in a different restoration. We know definitely from the corner fragments 67 *n* and *o* that there was at least one block inscribed on at least two faces, and from the corner fragments 67 *c* and *d* that there was at least one block with at least one blank face; and of these alternatives, either to postulate an unknown number of similarly inscribed monuments all from this area, or to attribute all the fragments to a single monument, the latter course has been adopted here, the grouping being as follows.

No. 67 *a-e* (Face A) have all broken away irregularly at the back. The letter-forms are neat, somewhat shallowly cut, and fairly closely spaced; the forms **P** and **X** of rho and chi are used, except on 67 *c*, where they change halfway down to **P** and **+** (cf. No. 66 *a*, with **P** and **ⱥ**; also 67 *q*, which has **P** at the top and **X** lower down, indicating that here too the lettering changed as on 67 *c*). No. 67, Frags. *a* and *b* are badly discoloured, *c* is also dark, *d* has a good colour still. The latter pair, both right-hand corner fragments, show a blank adjacent face, and as *d* also preserves part of the top; it follows that this whole face of the stone was uninscribed. Face A was therefore one of the wide faces, since the mason would begin his cutting on one of the wide sides, and, whether he continued onto the adjacent narrow face and thence round to the other wide face, or whether he inscribed both wide faces before resorting to the narrow, the face left uninscribed at the end would still be one of the narrow ones.

No. 67 *f-o* will then be from the other wide face (B), since the conjectural restoration *f + g + h* gives a minimum width of 0.54 m. for the original face. These fragments have split off smoothly from the core, in flat slabs whose width exceeds their thickness, the straight-sliced breaks resembling the right-hand break of Frag. *q* (Face C). Because of this, the first attempt at restoration put C on the left-hand side of B. No joins, however, could be made, and this disposition of the faces was given up; firstly, because if the flat backs of the B fragments were indeed to be laid against the right-hand side of *q*, it would follow that *q* must be very close to the right-hand edge of Face C, with only a few letters missing from the line-endings—which is evidently not the case (see below, p. 101); secondly, because the corner fragment *d* cannot belong to B, according to the present restoration (Fig. 2, *f + g + h*)—as it would have to, if the face between A's right side and B's left were inscribed; and thirdly, because the lettering of *c* and *d* seemed closer to the A than to the B fragments, and that of the wider faces of *n* and *o* closer to the B fragments. The third reason can hardly be pressed, however, since such judgments, based only on the general appearance of lettering on fragments whose surfaces vary greatly in their state of preservation, are bound to be open to question. The polished surface of most of these

fragments is preserved, but the actual grooves of the letters, which are more deeply and widely cut than those of A and C, are considerably corroded. The exceptions are *f*, *g*, *i*, and *o*, whose surfaces are much more worn. The letters are slightly larger and more widely spaced than those of A and C, and the forms of rho and chi are **P** and +; the epsilon has a small tail; *k* preserves part of a one-line *vacat* about halfway down it (cf. also *s*), after which the lettering begins again in the same direction (R. to L.) as the last line above it. Three lines from the bottom of *k*, the lettering becomes noticeably smaller and neater, though no less deeply cut, as though towards the bottom of the face the mason was trying to fit in as much as possible. No. 67 *n* and *o*, the two right-hand corner fragments preserving part of the adjacent Face C, show the same characteristics in the few remaining letters of their C sides. The most noticeable is the neat epsilon, with its vertical bar tall in proportion to the horizontal crossbars.

The same epsilon occurs on the next and last group, *p-t*, attributed to Face C. Most of this latter group have broken away in tall, narrow slivers whose thickness sometimes exceeds their width; the most obvious example is *q*, with a width of 0.095 m., which extends back to a depth of 0.22 m. The letters are slightly more crowded than those of the other faces, and smaller than those of B. The form **P** of rho is used on *p*, **P** on *q* and *r*, and **X** for chi on *q* and *s*; the mason was evidently using the variant types at will.

One last but important point must be raised in this preliminary survey: that is, the nature of these two blocks. It will be observed that in both cases the lines are restored as running horizontally, whereas one might rather expect them to run vertically, like the lettering on the two contemporary secular documents known to us;<sup>17</sup> particularly since it appears probable that the lines, on the two wider faces at least, were of considerable length. In the case of Block I it seems most unlikely that it should be read vertically (the blank face being then the top), with so large a *vacat* between the last line and the left-hand edge; it is, however, not impossible. But in the case of Block II, the evidence of the four corner fragments makes it impossible for the inscriptions to be read in any way but horizontally.

The full width of Block I must remain conjectural, but may have been at least 0.48 m., or more. The minimum restored width of Block II (Face B) would be 0.54 m. (pp. 88 and 102); it may well have been much wider, since 0.54 m. would leave only

<sup>17</sup> Salamis decree, *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 1 (for latest literature, cf. Wade-Gery, *Cl. Qu.*, XL, 1946, pp. 101 ff.); legal text from Marathon, side A (Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 329 ff.). Horizontally cut inscriptions occur on stelai of the archaic period in other States; cf. one side of the Chios "kurbis" (Tod, *G.H.I.*<sup>2</sup>, no. 1), the stele from the precinct of Herakles at Miletos (*Milet*, I, 3, pp. 276 f., no. 132), and two sides of the "hymn to Athena" from the Akropolis at Sparta (*B.S.A.*, XXIX, 1927, pp. 45 ff., no. 69).

room for a six-letter word, e.g., *χρηθόν*, to precede the [*ἡμ*] *ιεκτέα* of line 1, and so abrupt an opening seems unlikely, unless of course B were a direct continuation of A. The thickness of Block I (incomplete) is 0.235 m.; that of Block II (incomplete) is 0.185 m. In short, if these blocks are stelai, they are abnormally thick (Block I) and wide (Block II).<sup>18</sup> It is therefore suggested that they are, in fact, not stelai but altars,<sup>19</sup> consisting each of a squared block of Pentelic marble, probably mounted on a low step or steps, and bearing ritual instructions cut on their vertical faces. The closest parallel would be the contemporary example at Eleusis, *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 5; this is best interpreted as the top slab of a plain altar, which has no architectural crowning feature, but only three hollows, a rectangular between two circular, cut in the top,<sup>20</sup> and ritual instructions, headed by a preamble, cut horizontally in five long lines from L. to R. across the wide vertical face, which has a restored length of 1.509 m. Similar cuttings appear on the tops of both fragments of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 596, which likewise formed the top slab of an altar.<sup>21</sup> No traces of cuttings are visible on the preserved top fragments of Block II (67 *d* and *f*); but as little more than the edge remains, this is hardly to be expected.

Only in this way, I venture to think, can we account satisfactorily for the abnormal length of line indicated by the restoration of Block II. One further point may strengthen the case. If the lower edge of 66 *a* is original, as it appears to be (see Plate 29), the smoothing of the inscribed surface right down to the bottom indicates that the stone was not bedded into a base or into the ground, as a stele would be, but set directly on the ground or on another stone.

I know of no other certain examples of an altar containing such long and detailed instructions on its vertical faces; but the Eleusis altar shows that the idea at least existed, and there are several later examples bearing shorter inscriptions, from Athens

<sup>18</sup> The proportions of the contemporary stelai are: Marathon stele: width (original), 0.44 m.; thickness, 0.20 m.; height, 1.20 m. Salamis decree: width (average), 0.22 m.; thickness, 0.135 m.; height (existing), 0.54 m. (*ca.* 1.00 m. as restored by Meritt, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 305, fig. 1). The famous decree concerning the Mysteries, *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 6 + 9 (Meritt, *Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, pp. 61 ff., and XV, 1946, pp. 249 ff.) has width, 0.32 m.; thickness, 0.20 m.; height (existing), 0.85 m.

<sup>19</sup> For archaic altars, cf. the literature in Reisch, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, I, *s.v.* Altar, 1640 ff.; inscribed altars, Stengel, *Griech. Kultusalt.*, 1898, p. 15; Reisch, *loc. cit.*, 1681 f.; Welter, *A.A.*, 1939, 23 ff.

<sup>20</sup> Described as the lowest slab in the publication by Prott, *A.M.*, XXIV, 1899, pp. 241 ff., the cuttings being interpreted as for supports for a top slab; but it seems more likely that they have some connection with the ritual offerings made on the top of the altar. Professor Meritt notes: "The two altars in the Eleusinion at Athens remind one that there were also two altars at Eleusis, *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 5 being a doublet of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 818 (Raubitschek). The number is undoubtedly significant, and related to the worship of the 'Goddesses'." Cf. *Ἐλευσινιακά*, A', p. 177, lines 16-17 (*ὁμόσαντας μεταχρὸν τοῖν βομοῖν Ἐλευσίνι*), and p. 179.

<sup>21</sup> To be published, with Agora I 5220, as no. 331 in Raubitschek's forthcoming work on the archaic dedications from the Athenian Akropolis.

and elsewhere;<sup>22</sup> and, if detailed written instructions are demanded at all, it is undeniably a reasonable place on which to inscribe them.<sup>23</sup>

# 66. BLOCK I.

*a* (Plate 29). Agora I 2470 *a* + *b*. *a*: two joining fragments, found 21 February, 1935, in modern fill, Section O, and 13 October, 1938, in house, Section BB. *b*: found 22 February, 1939, in modern wall, Section BB. Maximum<sup>24</sup> width, 0.24 m.; height, 0.52 m.; thickness, 0.235 m.; height of letters, 0.02 m. Height of *vacat* at bottom 0.155 m. Broken at top, right side, and back; part of left side preserved (uninscribed); the bottom edge appears to be original, since it is parallel to the lowest line of letters, the underside roughly finished; but the stone was evidently re-used later (cf. socket near lower edge), and might have been recut then.

-----  
 1 ---] .I . . ←  
       κας: δ[--- →  
       --- μυστερίον: τὸν με-  
       ζόνον [---  
 5 --- χριθὸν με-  
       μέδμ[ον? ---  
       ---] γ: ηετέρον  
       μεμέδμ[νον? ---  
       ---] ενίον μεκ-  
 10 [τ]εύς: το φε[---  
       ---] ρας: μυσ[τε-  
       ρίο] γ: τὸν [---  
       --- τὸν h]ιέρε[α] γ [καὶ  
       τὸν] φαίδυ[ντὸν τοῖν θεοῖν ---  
       *vacat*

Line 1. Nothing is visible but the tip of a vertical stroke above the sigma in line 2.

Line 2. The first letter may be Κ or Ρ; Κ is perhaps more likely, since the next two rhos are tailless. Perhaps [Κ]έ[ρυν]|κας: δ[έ].

Lines 3-4. For the comparative form μέζων in early Attic, instead of the later μέζων (derived by analogy from ὀλείζων), cf. *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 22, line 65. In *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 6, lines 93-5, the spellings are reversed, to μείζοσι and ὀλέζοσι; cf. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, pp. 66 f.

Lines 5-6. Or μεμέδμ[να τρία]? Cf. the sacral inscription from Kos, Herzog, *Heilige Gesetze*, no. 3, line 11: κριθᾶν τρία ἡμέδμνα καὶ σπυρῶν τρεῖς τεταρτῆς. On the amounts of grain mentioned, see below, p. 105, note 52.

Line 12. After the ν of τὸν I thought I could see the left side of a curved letter just visible in the break, ῥ[λειζόνον]; but this is very uncertain.

Line 13. Part of a slanting stroke is visible above the phi of line 14, which prevents the otherwise possible restoration here: [τὸν ἐπὶ τοῖ βομῶι h]ιερέ[α] κ[αὶ τὸν] φαιδυντὸν τοῖν θεοῖν, as in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 6, lines 130 f. (restored).

Line 14. The restoration of the φαιδυντῆς here and in 66 *b*, line 3, refutes the theory first advanced by Robert in connection with the φαιδυντῆς of Zeus at Olympia (*Hermes*, XXIII, 1889, pp. 452 ff.), and maintained by Hanell (Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, XIX, s. v. Phaidryntes, 1559 f.), that the title, both at Olympia and in

<sup>22</sup> Athens, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4986-8; Paros, *I.G.*, XII, 5, 1027; Thasos, *I.G.*, XII, 8, 358. The fourth-century ritual calendar of Kos (Herzog, *Heil. Gesetze*, nos. 1-4, pp. 5 ff.) was inscribed on four (originally twelve) slabs of marble, which Herzog suggests (*op. cit.*, p. 5) may be from either a "Tempelwand oder Altarsockel," pointing out that one or other would be the most suitable place for an official calendar of offerings.

<sup>23</sup> I would suggest further that the corner fragment from Corinth, inscribed horizontally with part of a sacral inscription, may be from a similar altar of poros (*Corinth*, VIII, 1, no. 1; *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, pp. 69 ff.); also the archaic inscribed blocks with peculiar cuttings from Phleious (*Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 235 ff.), containing apparently instructions for oaths, may be from a large altar to Apollo, rededicated in the Augustan period.

<sup>24</sup> The width and height in all cases are those of the fragment as a whole, not of the inscribed face alone.

the Eleusinian cult, is a late creation of the Imperial period. The Eleusinian official is mentioned without detail in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1092, line 29, and in the decree passed *ca.* 220 A.D. for the restitution of the ancient Eleusinian ritual, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1078, lines 16 ff.: 'Ο φαιδυντής τοῖν θε[οῖν] ἀγγέλλει κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τῇ ἱερείᾳ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ὡς [ἔχει τὰ] ἱερὰ καὶ ἡ παραπέμπονσα στρατιά. The use of the phrase κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, to which Hanell maintained that little importance need be attached, is thus vindicated. For the general duties of the φαιδυντής, cf. Foucart, *Les Mystères d'Eleusis*, 1914, pp. 206 ff., and Toepffer, *Att. Geneal.*, 1889, p. 159.

*b* (Plate 29). Agora I 4724. Found 16 April, 1937, in surface fill, Section @@. Maximum width, 0.073 m.; height, 0.10 m.; thickness, 0.055 m.; height of letters, 0.02 m. Broken on all sides.

1 ---]α[--- ←  
 ---]ν: κ[--- →  
 ---]φαιδ[υντές? ---  
 ---]ἡο. [---  
 5 ---]στ[---  
 ---

Line 1. The end of a vertical is visible, followed by two slanting strokes, as for alpha or gamma.

Line 3. Cf. 66 *a*, line 14.

Line 4. There are traces of a slanting stroke in the right-hand break.

*c* (Plate 29). Agora I 2470 *c*. Found 20 March, 1939, in a modern house, Section BB. Maximum width, 0.135 m.; height, 0.19 m.; thickness, 0.105 m.; height of letters, 0.02 m. Broken on all sides.

1 ---]γ[--- ←  
 ---]: πα[--- →  
 ---]ν: εὔ[---  
 ---]ρια κα[---  
 5 ---]ον ἀρχ[---  
 ---]νισκο[---  
 ---]γκι[---  
 ---

Line 1. The letter might also be gamma.

Line 3. Εὐ[μολπιδ-]?

Line 7. The strokes of the γ are cramped together, as if the mason were trying to correct an error here.

*d* (Plate 29). Agora I 4721 *c*. Found 17 April, 1937, in surface fill, Section @@. Maximum width, 0.045 m.; height, 0.085 m.; thickness, 0.065 m.; height of letters, 0.018 m. Height of *vacat* at bottom, 0.04 m. Broken on all sides.

---]ι[--- →  
*vacat*

The fragment is assigned to Block I because the punctuation-dots and letter-stroke are more widely and deeply cut than those of Block II.

## 67. BLOCK II.

### FACE A.

*a* (Plate 30). Agora I 4721 *j*. Two joining fragments; upper found 14 March, 1939, in modern wall, Section BB; lower found 23 May, 1938, in east wall of Hypapanti church, Section II. Maximum width, 0.16 m.; height, 0.35 m.; thickness, 0.125 m.; height of letters, 0.013-0.015 m. Broken on all sides.

1 ---]ω[--- →  
 --- πέν]τε χ[οίνικες? --- ←  
 --- ἀλ]φίτο[ν: h? ---  
 --- οἷ]νο τε[τάρτε? ---  
 5 ---]ν: : : κορ[οτρόφοι? ---  
 ---]ἡιερῆαι[---  
 --- ο]ἷνο τετ[άρτε? ---  
 ---] ἔτνος ι[---  
 --- ἀλ]φίτον: h[---  
 10 ---]ρτε ἡε[---  
 ---]ν πέντ[ε ---  
 ---]: χριθῶ[ν ---  
 ---? βασι]λεύσι: ν[---  
 ---]λυτρο[---  
 15 ---]ει: δι[---  
 ---]: : : ε[---  
 ---

Line 1. The final letter starts with a stroke, slanting at the angle of the nu as elsewhere written.

Line 3. Cf. line 9. The amount of barley-meal may have been one (or more) ἡμικτέον (= 4 χοίνικες), ἡμιτεταρτέον (= 6 χοίνικες), or ἐκτεύς (= 8 χοίνικες);<sup>25</sup> for ἀλφίτων ἐκτεύς, cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1358 b, lines 45 ff.

Line 4. Cf. line 7, where the amount of wine must be one or more τέταρται. The τετάρτη (= 3 χόες) was  $\frac{1}{4}$  of a μετρητής or ἀμφορεύς. It is not attested elsewhere as an Attic measure, but it was used in the Doric states of Thera (*I.G.*, XII, 3, 450, line 18, οἶνο τετά[ρτ--]), Kos (*Heil. Gesetze*, p. 10, no. 2, lines 18 and 25, οἶνου τετάρτα), and Lakonia, where the wine offered in sacrifice by a Spartan king was a τετάρτη Λακωνική (Herod., VI, 57); the qualifying Λακωνική here indicates that there was a τετάρτη of a different standard elsewhere. The Peloponnesian measure was probably  $1\frac{1}{2}$  times the Attic (cf. Johnston, *J.H.S.*, LIV, 1934, p. 181).

Line 5. The triple punctuation is evidently used throughout to mark the beginning of a new clause (for paragraphing, see p. 99 below), and from the evidence of No. 67 b and c it appears likely that we should restore the name of a deity here. Κόρ[ε] is equally possible. Traces of the bottom of a vertical stroke occur after the omikron, so that the rho, though not certain, seems reasonably likely. On the connection of Kourotrophos with Demeter, cf. Prehn, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, XI, s. v. Kurotrophos, 2215, and Kern, *R.E.*, IV, s. v. Demeter, 2737 f. She received a sacrifice, with other minor deities, before the Skira (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1358 b, lines 30 ff., 51 ff.; cf. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, pp. 40 ff.), and possibly also before the Mysteries (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1358 b, lines 5-6); she was also connected with the Thesmophoria (Ar., *Thesm.*, 296 ff.; Prott-Ziehen, *Leges Graecorum Sacrae*, II, p. 8); cf. also Herzog, *Heil. Gesetze*, p. 22, no. 8,

III B, lines 24-5, where the priestess of Demeter (?) performs the ritual to Kourotrophos in cases of pollution of sacred ground.

Line 6. The final letter appears to be a vertical stroke, but is uncertain.

Line 8. The ἔτνος was a thick pulse soup, an everyday form of diet (Ar., *Acharn.*, 246; *Batrach.*, 62, 506; *Hipp.*, 1171); but it could also be offered to a deity, since it formed the offering which gave its name to the festival Puanopsia in honour of Apollo (Photius, s. νν. Πνανοψία, Πνανεψίων).

Line 13. The only possible restoration here seems to be [φυλοβασι]λεῦσι or [βασι]λεῦσι; the simple term seems to have been used for the compound in the archaic period (Plutarch, *Solon*, 19, 4; Andokides, *Περὶ τῶν Μυστ.*, 78; cf. Arist., *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 8, 3, ed. Sandys, 1893, pp. 31 ff.). For the duties of the φυλοβασιλεῖς, cf. Arist., *Pol.*, VI, 8, 20; Pollux, VIII, 111 and 120; Prott-Ziehen, *L.G.S.*, II, pp. 63 ff.; Dittenberger, *S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup>, no. 111 (= *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 115), line 12; Oliver, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 26. As they had no specific connection with the Eleusinion, the reference here may be to the γέρα or perquisites to be given to some other officials [ὅσα τοῖς βασι]λεῦσι.

Line 14. No satisfactory restoration can be offered. In a late fifth-century list of accounts of the Eleusinian deities (Hondius, *Nov. Inscr. Att.*, 1925, pp. 91 ff., no. XIII; cf. *S.E.G.*, III, 35, and Raubitschek, *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 34 ff.), one of the items is [δεκάτε] λύτρον, which Hondius suggests may be from the ransom of captives in the Peloponnesian war; but whether there was a custom of apportioning one-tenth of all ransoms to the Eleusinian goddesses, and, if so, whether it dates back as far as the early fifth century, and so could be referred to here, is pure conjecture. The final letter might possibly be alpha, not omikron; the stone is damaged at this point.

<sup>25</sup> On the subject of dry and liquid measures, cf. Hultsch, *Gr. u. Röm. Metrologie*<sup>2</sup>, 1882, pp. 99 ff.; Segre, *Metrologia*, 1928, pp. 130 ff.; Broneer, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 222 ff.; S. Young, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 278 ff.

Line 16. Here presumably was the name of another deity, now lost but for the initial E---.

b (Plate 30). Agora I 4721 h. Found 26 February, 1938, in modern wall south of Hypapanti church, Section II. Maximum width, 0.13 m.; height, 0.245 m.; thickness, 0.095 m.; height of letters, 0.015 m. Broken on all sides.

---  
 1 ---]ο[--- ←  
 ---]α: [--- →  
 ---]στ[---  
 ---]:: 'Ερε[χθεῖ? ---  
 5 ---] vacat οἰν[---  
 ---]εντ[---  
 ---]οιν[---  
 ---

Line 3. Faint traces of a slanting stroke appear in the break before the ζ; [μ]στ[---? Cf. 67 d and n.

Line 4. Although the cult of Erechtheus belongs properly to the Akropolis, he appears to have had a certain connection with the Eleusinian deities. Thus the Eleusinian rites were, according to one tradition, established during his reign (*Marmor Parium*, lines 28-9; Escher, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, VI, s.v. Erechtheus, 408 f.); and in the Skira the priest of Erechtheus, or Poseidon-Erechtheus, took part in the procession (Schol. Ar., *Ekk.*, 18; cf. Deubner, *Att. Feste*, pp. 45, note 6, and 46, note 13).

Line 5. The unoccupied space here may be only an oversight by the mason, if (e.g.) he left his spaces for punctuation to be filled in subsequently with the punch, and overlooked this.

c (Plate 30). Brit. Mus. 74. Purchased in Athens, exact provenance in the city unknown. Maximum width, 0.07 m.; height, 0.285 m.; thickness, 0.185 m.; height of letters, 0.015 m. Broken at top, bottom, back and left side; the right edge is preserved, with part of the ad-

joining face (uninscribed).<sup>28</sup> Width of right margin, 0.013 m.

Chandler, *Inscriptions*, II, 1774, no. 28, pp. 54 and xxv; Boeckh, *C.I.G.*, I, no. 9, pp. 22 ff.; Rose, *Inscr. Graec.*, 1825, p. 22, pl. III, 3; Franz, *El. Ep. Graec.*, 1840, pp. 98 f.; *I.G.*, I, 531; Hicks, *B.M. Inscr.*, I, no. lxxiv, pp. 136 ff.; *I.G.*, I suppl., p. 53; Mommsen, *Feste*, 1898, pp. 512, note 1, and 521, note 1; *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 839; Deubner, *Att. Feste*, 1932, p. 162; S. Young, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 279, note 34.

---  
 1 .ια[--- ←  
 ---]χρ- →  
 ιθ[ὄν ---  
 --- ημε[κτ-  
 5 έο[ν ---  
 ---]οιν-  
 ιοι[---  
 ]: κα-  
 ι τδι[---  
 10 --- βο]τύπ-  
 οι: χ[---  
 ---]α: : Δ-  
 ι Πολ[ιει ---  
 ---]τρίς χ-  
 15 οἶν[κες ---  
 ---]ε: μ-  
 ---

Lines 4-5. The forms *ἡμέκτων* and *ἡμεκτεῖον* were both used in the fourth century and later; cf. Meisterhans-Schwyzer, *Grammatik*<sup>3</sup>, p. 128, 15 and note 1146; Dittenberger, *S.I.G.*<sup>3</sup>, no. 83, p. 105, note 3; Michon, *Mém. Acad. Inscr.*, XIII, 1923, p. 6. The form *ἡμεκτέον* is used, however, in Ar., *Neph.*, 643, 645. Cf. also *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 76, line 7, and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1184, lines 8-9.

Lines 5-6. As Hicks suggested (*op. cit.*, p. 137), this may be a reference to the Proarktouria (= Proerosia; Deubner, *op. cit.*, pp. 68 f.) which, as a pre-sowing festival, had particular reference to Demeter and Kore.

<sup>28</sup> In the top break of this side are visible the marks ·Λ·, which at first sight suggested to me the remains of a final line of letters; but they are more shallow than the decisive chisel-strokes of the inscribed face, and similar in general appearance to the other casual scratches on this side. The photograph on Plate 30 is by kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Lines 10-11. I leave Hicks' acute restoration here, because I cannot suggest a better one; but one would expect to find the *βουτύπος*, as an official of the Dipolieia, following the reference to the latter deity, rather than in the preceding clause.

Lines 12-13. Δὲ Πολιέῃ is restored here in preference to Διπολιείοις (Hicks, *op. cit.*, p. 137), because the other two similar clause-openings (67 *a* and *b*) suggest the names of deities rather than festivals. For the old dative form Δί, cf. Hicks, *op. cit.*, p. 138, and Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

Lines 14-15. The form *τρῖς*, usually taken as an accusative *τρῖς*, is restored here and *passim*

as the nominative form; cf. Boisacq, *Dict. Etym.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 981, *s.v.* *τρῖς*.

If this fragment is indeed to be connected with the others, the inclusion of Zeus Polieus in any Eleusinian list of sacrifices seems curious. It can only be suggested that, as members of the Kerykes clan undoubtedly took part in the Dipolieia (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 843; Deubner, *op. cit.*, p. 166; Ferguson, *Studies presented to E. Carrs*, 1936, p. 148, note 20), they may have made an offering to Zeus Polieus on that account in the Eleusinion as well. Even if the fragment should prove finally to belong to another contemporary monument, it would still be necessary to reject Hicks' restoration of it as part of the narrow side of a stele, with only 2-3 letters lost in each line:

---]χρ|θ[ὄν|ηε|μ|ηε|κτ|έο[ν, Προ|αρκτ|ουρ|ίσι[ς (?) ...|...]: κα|ὶ τῶι [β|ο|τύπ|οι:  
χ[σῶ|λ]α :: Δ|ιπολ|ίσι[σι or -ιέ|οις], τρῖς, χ|οίσι[κες|πέντ]ε: μ|---

Not only is the sense dubious, but the spacing of the letters would be impossible, since we should then have a length of line varying between 4 letters (lines 9 or 10) and 7 (lines 5 or 6, 13 or 14, 15 or 16).

*d* (Plate 30). Agora I 4721 m. Found 29 April, 1939, in Byzantine fill, Section BB. Maximum width, 0.105 m.; height, 0.245 m.; thickness, 0.13 m.; height of letters, 0.013 m.-0.015 m. Broken at left side, back, and bottom; top and right edges preserved, with part of adjacent face (uninscribed). Width of right margin, 0.01 m. Inscribed face and right side very much worn. The fragment has the appearance of tapering slightly towards the top, but this may be due to the battered state of the top right-hand corner.

? *vacat*  
1 ---] .ca. 4. →  
          .ca. 5. ←  
          .ca. 5-6.  
---] .ca. 6. [---  
          .ca. 4-5. τρ-  
5 ---] φ. .ca. 6-7. [---  
          .ἐλαί-  
          ο

          :τρετ[---  
          .v:  
10     λεῖ[---  
      μ]ύστ-  
      ε[ς? ---  
      ]ν-  
      ε[---  
15     ---

The topmost line here is restored as a *vacat* (height 0.016 m.) on the analogy of the similar *vacat* at the top of fragment *f*, lines 11-12. For the restoration *μύστε* here, cf. fragments *b* and *n*.

*e* (Plate 31). Agora I 4721 e. Found 23 April, 1937, in late wall, Section ΘΘ. Maximum width, 0.025 m.; height, 0.05 m.; thickness, 0.015 m.; height of letters, 0.013-0.015 m. Broken on all sides.

          ---  
1 ---] ρο[--- →  
      : ο[--- ←  
      αλ[---  
      ελ[---  
5 ---] στ[---  
      ---

## FACE B.

*f* + *g* + *h*. Agora I 5318 *c* + Agora I 4721 *f* + *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 838 (lost).

*f* (Plate 31). Found 19 November, 1938, in modern house, Section BB. Maximum width, 0.095 m.; height, 0.12 m.; thickness, 0.025 m.; height of letters, 0.013-0.015 m. Broken at both sides, bottom, and back: top edge preserved, with part of top surface (uninscribed), extending back 0.025 m. Height of margin at top 0.016 m.

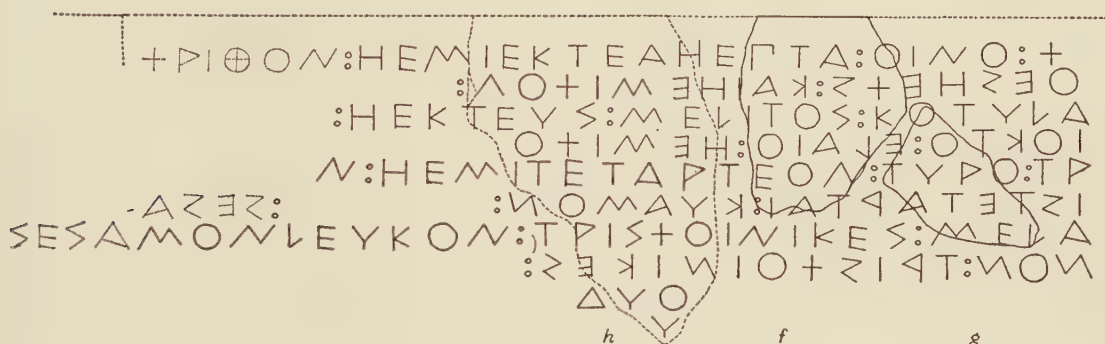
*g* (Plate 31). Found 12 May, 1937, in modern fill, Section ΘΘ. Maximum width, 0.11 m.; height, 0.11 m.; thickness, 0.04 m.; height of letters, 0.013-0.015 m. Broken on all sides.

*h* (Fig. 1). Seen by Ross in Athens (exact spot unknown) before 1835, built into a wall. All subsequent publications are based on Boeckh's transcription of the copy in Ross' notebook, which is given in majuscule type in *I.G.*, I, 532

IEKIEAP  
ΛΟ+ΙΜΕ  
ΤΕΥΣ:ΜΕ  
Ο+ΙΜΕΗ  
ΙΤΕΤΑΡ  
ΟΜΑΥ  
ΥΙΣ+Ο  
ΕΚΙΥ  
ΥΟ  
Υ

Fig. 1. Frag. *h*

(Fig. 1). Boeckh, *Hall. Allgemein. Lit. Zeitg.*, 1835, 3-5, p. 18, no. 36 (= *Kleine Schriften*, VI, 1872, xix, p. 431); Franz, *El. Ep. Graec.*, 1840, p. 99; *I.G.*, I, 532; Meisterhans-Schwyzler, *Grammatik*<sup>3</sup>, p. 127, note 1137; *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 838; Peek, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXVI, 1941, p. 176, note 3. Maximum width (of combined three), 0.32 m.; height (= of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 838, as restored here), 0.185 m.; thickness unknown.

Fig. 2. Frags. *f*, *g*, *h*

- vacat*
- 1 χριθόν? : *h*εμ]ιεκτέα *h*[ε]πτά : ο[ίνο : χ —————>  
           όες *h*έ]χς : κα[ι *h*]εμίχον[ : --- ←  
 --- *h*εκ]τεύς : μέ[λ]ιτος : κο[τύλα-  
           ι *δ*κ]τό : ἐλαίο[ : ] *h*εμίχο[ν? ---  
 5 --- ν : *h*εμ]ιτεταρ[τ]έον [ : ] τυρό [τρ-  
           ίς] τέτα[ρ]ται : [κ]νάμο[ν --- σεσά-  
           μον λευκόν : τ]ρίς χο[ίνικες : ] μελ[ά-  
           νον : τρίς χοί]νικε[ς ---  
           --- δ]ύο[ca. 11-12  
 10       ca. 11-12]υ[---  
           ---

As Plate 31 shows, the join of Frags. *f* (I 5318 *c*) and *g* (4721 *f*) is not certain; the break at the back is not continuous, *g* being the thicker of the two. Nor is there any direct evidence that the top edge of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 838 was preserved; it seems reasonably likely, however, from the fact that no traces of any letters were copied by Ross above his first line, although the line is 7 letters long; also, it is described by Kirchhoff in *I.G.*, I, 532 (quoting from Boeckh or Ross) as "Frustulum tabulae marmoreae," and the existence of a top edge might account for

the use of the word "tabula." The hypothesis of the triple join rests mainly on the similarity of the lines as restored to those of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1184, a decree of the fourth century B.C. defining the amounts to be contributed to the priestess for the sacrifices at the Thesmophoria by the two women chosen to be the ἄρχουσai from the deme Cholargos (lines 3 ff.): Τὰς δὲ ἀρχούσας κοινεῖ ἀμφοτέρας διδόναι τῆς ἱερείας (sic) εἰς τὴν ἐορτὴν καὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῶν Θεσμοφορίων ἡμικτεῖον κριθῶν, ἡμικτεῖον πιρῶν, ἡμικτεῖον ἀλφίτων, ἡμικτεῖον ἀλ[ε]ύρων, ἰσχάδων ἡμικτεῖον, χοᾶ οἴνου, ἡμίχον ἐλαίου, δύο κοτύλας μέλιτος, σπυρίων λευκῶν χοίνικα, μελάνων χοίνικα, [μ]ήκωνος χοίνικα, πυροῦ δύο τροφαλίδας μὴ ἐλαττον ἢ στατηρια[ι]αν ἑκατέραν καὶ σκόρδων δύο στατήρας καὶ δαῖδ[α] μὴ ἐλάττονος ἢ δυεῖν ὀβολοῖν, καὶ ἀργυρίου ΗΗΗ δραχμάς.

Line 1. If we restore (e.g.) χριθῶν before [ημ]ικτέα, this would give a minimum width of 0.54 m. for the whole face; but there may be considerably more missing from the left-hand side (see above, pp. 90 f.). H is restored for the 7th letter instead of Ross' P, on the assumption that the break cut across the letter (Fig. 2). Three and a half ἐκτεῖς (= 28 χοίνικες) is a larger amount than any identifiable on the rest of these fragments; the same applies to the amounts of the other offerings as restored here—6 (or 6½?) χόες of wine, 8 κοτύλαι of honey, 3 τέταρται of cheese, 6 χοίνικες of sesame seeds. They may perhaps represent a sum total of smaller amounts; but whether they are to be connected specifically with the Thesmophoria is uncertain.

Line 5. The ἡμιτεταρτέον (for accent cf. ἡμικτεῖον) occurs *passim* in the fifth-century *lex sacra* from the deme Paiania (cf. Peek, *loc. cit.*, where the restoration ημ[ι]τεταρ[τ]εον is suggested independently for *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 838).

Line 6. Cheese is usually specified by weight (cf. Michon, *Mém. Acad. Inscr.*, XIII, 1923, pp. 12 ff.; Kroll, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, X, s. v. Käse, 1489 ff., esp. 1494). The Liddell, Scott, Jones, and McKenzie, *Greek-English Lexicon*, s. v. τετάρτη quotes only a late source (*Pap. Mag. Leyd.*, V, 6, 24) for an example of the word used for a weight.

i (Plate 31) E.M. 101. Provenance unknown; presented to the Epigraphical Museum by C. G. Oikonomopoulos. Maximum width, 0.04 m.; height, 0.095 m.; thickness, 0.03 m.; height of letters, 0.015 m. Broken on all sides.

---  
 ---]δ[--- →  
 ---]ρα[--- ←  
 ---]ον[---  
 ---]ε[---  
 ---

j (Plate 31) Agora I 5318 b. Joined from three fragments, found 6 and 11 October, 1938, in modern houses, Section BB. Maximum width, 0.11 m.; height, 0.24 m.; thickness, 0.025 m.; height of letters, 0.013-0.015 m. Broken on all sides.

---  
 1 ---]ρα[--- →  
 ---]δ[βελ[--- ←  
 ---]ν: ηε[---  
 ---]κτε[---  
 5 ---]αρτ[---  
 ---]κα[---  
 ---]ον[---  
 ---]ι[---  
 ---]ο[---  
 10 --- ἀλ]φί[τον ---  
 ---]χρ[---  
 ---]χ[---  
 ---]δ[---  
 ---]ο[---  
 ---

Line 2. [δ]βελ-, if correct, may refer either to a money payment, as in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 6, lines 88 and 95, or to the price of one of the requisites, as the torch for the Thesmophoria in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1184, lines 13-14; or it may refer simply to a spit or spits, as in the provisions for the Antheia and Pr(o)erosia, in the Paianian *lex sacra*, Peek, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXVI, 1941, p. 174.

k (Plate 31). Agora I 4721 l. Found 20 March, 1939, in Turkish fill, Section BB. Maximum width, 0.12 m.; height, 0.295 m.; thickness, 0.05 m.; height of letters, 0.014-0.016 m. (lines

1-13), 0.012-0.014 m. (lines 14-16). Height of *vacat* in centre 0.02 m. Broken on all sides.

1      ---]ν[---      ←  
       ---]ετ[---      →  
       ---]ελ[---  
       ---]υσ[---  
 5      ---]α:[---  
       ---]ιπ[---  
       ---]: ηε[---  
       ---]κοτ]υλα[---  
       ---] ηεμικ[ότυλα? ---      ←  
           *vacat*  
 10     ---]οτολ[---      ←  
       ---]ν: π[---      →  
       ---]νο:[---  
       ---] ελα[ίο ---  
       ---]ς: το[---  
 15     ---]ε: ελ[---  
       ---]ριψ[---  
       ---

This is one of the key-fragments, showing as it does how the cutting changes on the same face from the coarser appearance, as on Frags. *f-g*, *i-j*, to the smaller, finer lettering typical of the right-hand adjacent Face C (see above, p. 90).

Line 8. For *ηεμικ[ότυλα]*, cf. the commentary on *ο*, Face B, lines 2-3. Whether the *vacat* is part- or whole-line is uncertain (cf. *s*, where the line below, as here, runs in the same direction as that above). In boustrophedon inscriptions of any considerable length, where the sense requires that there shall be a pause, e. g., between a preamble and a following paragraph, or between two paragraphs, the mason would complete the first sentence, and then begin again in the same direction as the line above, to denote the beginning of a fresh point. For examples of this practice, cf. the Dreros laws, *B.C.H.*, LXI, 1937, pp. 333 ff. and *Rev. Phil.*, XX, 2, 1946, pp. 131 ff.; the Gortyn laws, *Mon. Ant.*, III, 1893, pp. 1 ff.; the Eltynia law, *I.C.*, I, x, pp. 90 ff., no. 2 (unless the top line here is to be interpreted as an omission, rectified by insertion at the top); the sacral law-fragment

from Miletos, *Milet*, I, 3, pp. 276 ff., no. 132; the temple-accounts from Ephesos, Hogarth, *Excav. at Ephesus*, pp. 120 ff.

*l* (Plate 32). Agora I 4390. Found 17 January, 1936, in modern house, Section ΘΘ. Maximum width, 0.10 m.; height, 0.14 m.; thickness, 0.095 m.; height of letters, 0.012-0.015 m. Broken on all sides.

1      ---]ν[---      →  
       ---]ρε[---      ←  
       ---? χρυ]θδν[---  
       ---]τε[---  
 5      ---]ια: α[---  
       ---]υσ[---  
       ---]τιδ[---  
       ---]ε[---  
       ---

Line 6. The strokes of the upsilon are curved, as in *m* and *n*. The lettering of this fragment resembles the finer cutting of Face C, but the corrosion of the strokes is similar to that on Face B. It is therefore concluded that it came from the lower part of B, as typified in the last 3 lines of *k*.

*m* (Plate 32). Agora I 4432. Found 26 January, 1937, in débris of modern house, Section ΘΘ. Maximum width, 0.082 m.; height, 0.165 m.; thickness, 0.05 m.; height of letters, 0.013 m. Broken on all sides.

1      ---]..[---      ←  
       ---]...[---      →  
       ---]...[---  
       ---]εδ[---  
 5      ---]δδ[ο ---  
       ---]αλφ]ίτο[ν ---  
       ---]χο[---  
       ---]φ[---  
       ---

The surface is very battered, but the deep cutting and small size of the letters indicate that it may belong, like *l*, to the lower part of B.

Line 5. The strokes of the upsilon are curved as in *l* and *n*.

*n* (Plate 32). Agora I 2253. Found 22 December, 1934, in modern house, Section II. Broken at top, left side, back, and bottom; right edge preserved, with part of adjoining Face C (inscribed). Maximum width, 0.085 m.; height, 0.125 m.; thickness, 0.03 m.; height of letters of B, 0.015-0.017 m., and of C, 0.012-0.014 m. Width of right margin of B, 0.014 m., and of left margin of C, 0.01 m.

Frag. *n*

	B		C
	---		---
→	--- ηεμ]ιτ-	1	---
←	ετα[ρτέον? ---		ο[---
	---]τεο-		---]ι
	ς: οἷ[νο ? ---		---
	---]ο: μύ-	5	---

Frag. *o*

	B
	---
←	ε. ι[---
→	--- ηεμ]κότυ-
	λα: η[επτά? ---
	--- ἀ]λφίτ-
	ον: [---
	---]: σν-
	---

B, lines 2-3. The form *ἡμικότυλον* is not otherwise attested; later writers give *ἡμικοτύλη* and *ἡμικοτύλιον*. There is no doubt about the reading here, however; hence in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 842, a sacral inscription of the first half of the fifth century, the readings of faces A, line 2, and D, line 4 should probably be *τριημικότυλ[ον* and *τριημικότυλ[ον*. The reading of D, line 4 as *τριημικοτύλι-* in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, is incorrect; it should be *τριημικότυλ-*, as given in *I.G.*, I suppl., p. 5, and confirmed by an examination of the stone itself in the British Museum.

C, line 3. If the last letter is gamma, there may be a reference here to *γοῦρος*, an archaic word for a form of cake flavoured with lentils, which occurs in Solon's verse (Athen., XIV, 645 f.; Diehl, *Anth. Lyr.*, I, p. 38, no. 6).

#### FACE C.

*p* (Plate 32). Agora 4721 b + d. b: found 16 April, 1937, in surface fill, Section @@. d: found 20 April, 1937, in sand fill, Section @@.

	στο[---	---
---	]οτ.-	
	...ϛ[---	
	---	

B, lines 5-6. The reference is undoubtedly to a *mystes* or *mystai*, but in what connection it is impossible to say. For the curved upsilon, cf. *l* and *m*.

*o* (Plate 32). Agora I 5318 *a*. Found 14 March, 1938, in east wall of Hypapanti church, Section II. Broken at top, left side, back, and bottom; right edge preserved, with part of adjoining Face C (inscribed). Maximum width, 0.104 m.; height, 0.12 m.; thickness, 0.06 m.; height of letters of B, 0.015 m., and of C, 0.011-0.015 m. Width of right margin of B, 0.015 m., and of left margin of C, 0.01-0.015 m.

	B		C
	---		---
1	---	1	---]..
			εϛ[---
			---]ς: γ-
			ορ[---
5	---	5	---]π.
			---

Combined maximum width, 0.08 m.; height, 0.22 m.; thickness, 0.12 m.; height of letters, 0.013-0.015 m. Broken on all sides.

	---
1	---]ελ[---
	---]τε[---
	---]: το   [---
	---]ς: ελ[---
5	---]αν[---
	---]γερο[---
	---]μο[---
	---]εανδ[---
	---]αλογ[---
10	---? κέρ]υκα[---
	---]απ---
	---

*q* (Plate 32). Agora I 5033. Found 3 November, 1937, in modern house, Section AA. Maximum width, 0.095 m.; height, 0.32 m.; thickness, 0.22 m.; height of letters, 0.014 m. Broken on all sides, the break on the left side

being slightly irregular, that on the right almost flat.

1    ---]as: π[---    ←  
      ---]ιασ[---    →  
      ---]ρϵ[---  
      ---]ν: θ[---  
 5    ---]νγϵ[---  
      ---]τοσα[---  
      ---]ηϵμ]ιεκτ[έον? ---  
      ---]ο: χο[---  
      ---]οκο[---  
 10   ---]εκ[---  
      ---

The height and narrow face of this fragment are typical of those grouped under Face C, and in particular its thickness should be noticed. No joins, however, could be made between either its left side and the backs of the B fragments, or its right side and the backs of the A fragments, nor *vice versa*, although the flat backs of the B fragments resemble the break on the right side. This was perhaps to be expected, since, had there been a join, it would have meant that this fragment came from near the left or right edge of C, whereas, as far as one may judge from the remaining letters, there is a good deal of the line missing on either side, indicating that it came from somewhere nearer the centre of C.

Line 3. The use of **π** here, and **χ** in line 8, suggests that the mason varied his letters here as in 67 *c*.

Line 4. The double punctuation here may be an error for the triple.

*r* (Plate 32). Agora I 4721 *k*. Found 24 February, 1939, in Turkish fill, Section BB. Maximum width, 0.05 m.; height, 0.15 m.; thickness, 0.12 m.; height of letters, 0.013-0.015 m. Broken on all sides.

1    ---]ι[---    →  
      ---]σκο[---    ←  
      ---]κασ[---  
      ---]μν[---  
 5    ---]ρὰν[---  
      ---]ατ[---  
      ---]ντ[---

---]: ηι[---  
 ---]εϛ[---  
 ---

*s* (Plate 32). Agora I 4721 *g*. Found 9 February, 1938, in modern fill Section AA. Maximum width, 0.08 m.; height, 0.145 m.; thickness, 0.05 m.; height of letters, 0.013-0.015 m. Height of *vacat* in centre 0.018-0.02 m. Broken on all sides.

1    ---]ηι[---    ←  
      ---]τρ]ις χ[οίνικες? ---    →  
      *vacat*  
      ---]ηε]μικετ[έον? ---    →  
      ---]θvs: σ[---    ←  
 5    ---]εμα[---  
      ---]σπο[---  
      ---]ε[---  
      ---

For the *vacat*, cf. *j*.

*t* (Plate 32). Agora I 4721 *i*. Found 16 April, 1938, in modern fill, Section AA. Maximum width, 0.07 m.; height, 0.10 m.; thickness, 0.045 m.; height of letters, 0.012 m. Height of *vacat* at bottom 0.07 m. Broken on all sides.

---]οβ[---    →  
 ---]α ἐ.[---    ←  
*vacat*

Presumably from the bottom of one of the faces. As far as can be judged, it resembles most the fragments from C.

*u* (Plate 32). Agora I 4721 *a*. Found 15 April, 1937, in surface fill, Section @@. Maximum width, 0.025 m.; height, 0.105 m.; thickness, 0.07 m.; height of letters, 0.014 m. Broken on all sides.

1    ---]α[---    →  
      ---]λο[---    ←  
      ---]φ[---  
      ---]οι[---  
 5    ---]:: [---  
      ---]σ[---  
      ---

This fragment may belong to any of the three inscribed sides.

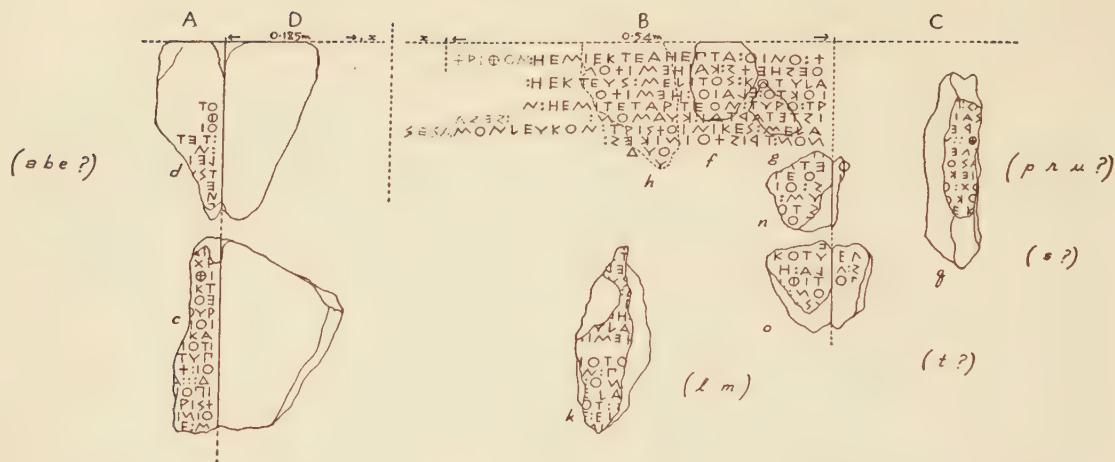


Fig. 3. Block II

The date of these blocks, judged by the letter-forms, falls somewhere at the turn of the sixth and fifth centuries. Material for comparison is provided by: (1) an Agora boundary-stone, dated by the pottery in its bedding to *ca.* 510-480,<sup>27</sup> whose letter-forms, including the rho **Ρ** and epsilon **Ε**, compare well with those of our Block I; (2) the archaic stele from Marathon,<sup>28</sup> of which Vanderpool has shown that side A is probably to be connected with the reforms of Kleisthenes; it also has the **Ρ** and **Ε**; Side B, dated shortly after the battle of Marathon, and cut stoichedon, shows already the theta **Θ**, tailless **Ε**, and alpha with almost horizontal crossbar; (3) the Eleusis altar, *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 5, where the form of the preamble suggests a date shortly after the reforms of Kleisthenes, and the lettering resembles that of Block I; (4) the Salamis decree, *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 1, dated by different authorities as shortly before<sup>29</sup> or shortly<sup>30</sup> after 500, which again resembles Block I; (5) the second epigram for the fallen of Marathon.<sup>31</sup> The first, cut by an unusually gifted mason with a style of his own,<sup>32</sup> cannot be used for comparison, but the second bears a general resemblance to Block II, which itself appears to be slightly later than Block I. On these grounds, a date *ca.* 510-500 is suggested for Block I, and *ca.* 500-480 for Block II. The natural conclusion then would be that they were broken up by the Persians in 480/79.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>27</sup> *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 205 f., fig. 4; H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, pp. 107 ff., esp. p. 110, where a tentative date is suggested as "last decade of the sixth century."

<sup>28</sup> *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 329 ff., figs. 1-4.

<sup>29</sup> Kirchner, *I.L.A.*, no. 12, pl. 6; H. A. Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 110; Wade-Gery, *Cl. Qu.*, XL, 1946, pp. 101 ff.

<sup>30</sup> Raubitschek, *J.H.S.*, LX, 1940, p. 52.

<sup>31</sup> Kirchner, *op. cit.*, no. 18, pl. 9.

<sup>32</sup> His masterpiece, as is well known, is the Hekatompedon pair, *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 3-4. Another fragment, unmistakably from his hand, from the Peiraieus area, is published in *Polemon*, III, 1947, pp. 17 ff.

<sup>33</sup> E. Vanderpool points out to me, however, that none of the fragments were actually found in the Agora "Perserschutt," but all in modern walls or fill.

The main epigraphical peculiarity of these inscriptions is that they were cut boustrophedon, at a time when the practice had ceased to be normal in Attica, though not elsewhere.<sup>34</sup> It is true that the impression given by the older textbooks<sup>35</sup> that Attic boustrophedon had ceased entirely by the middle of the sixth century is exaggerated; thus, in some cases, it was still used even in the last quarter of the century to round off an inscription in which the final line was not full length.<sup>36</sup> But the accumulated evidence of two series of monuments—the Acropolis dedications and the grave-monuments of Attica—makes it clear that by *ca.* 530 the practice of writing in consistent left to right was predominating.

How then are we to account for the use of boustrophedon here? The answer seems to lie in the nature of the monuments. They are religious documents, and so may provide an example of religious conservatism such as would not prevail under the same circumstances for secular matters. They deal with the ritual of one of the oldest sanctuaries of the State, and probably replace earlier documents, dealing with the same matters, which were themselves inscribed boustrophedon. It is even possible that our inscriptions—particularly Block I, which has the air of a homogeneous document—may be literal copies, transcribed from earlier texts on wood or poros. But the continual repetition of similar detail on most of the fragments of Block II, and the division into paragraphs and clauses, suggest that it may rather have formed a compilation of various shorter boustrophedon inscriptions dealing with the different sacrifices to be performed in the temenos; that it is, in fact, an early attempt to synthesize various sacrificial instructions into a sort of code, written boustrophedon from religious conservatism because the inscriptions from which it was made up were written in that way.<sup>37</sup> The *lex sacra* from Paiania (second half of the fifth century) offers a later Attic parallel for this kind of synthesis; here too, although the sanctuary from which it came is not known, there is a lack of cohesion among the cults mentioned, which suggests, as Peek points out,<sup>38</sup> an attempt to compress onto

<sup>34</sup> In Crete, as is well known from the famous Gortyn code, it persisted through the fifth and into the beginning of the fourth century, when the Ionic script had already replaced the epichoric; cf. *Annuario*, III, 1916-20, pp. 196 ff., and VIII-IX, 1925-6, pp. 20 ff. In Lakonia also it appears to have lasted into the fifth century (*I.G.*, V, 2 and 721).

<sup>35</sup> Roberts and Gardner, *Introd. to Greek Epigraphy*, II, p. xii; Larfeld, *Handbuch*, II, p. 401.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 990, where the last line is stoichedon as well as boustrophedon (Raubitschek, *J.H.S.*, LX, 1940, pp. 51 f.); also the grave-stele, Richter, *Archaic Attic Gravestones*, 1944, pp. 109 ff. There is also the RF sherd by Onesimos, *ca.* 480 B.C., showing a school scene with a papyrus roll written boustrophedon and stoichedon (Beazley, *A.R.F.*, p. 222, no. 55); but in the similar scene by Douris, of the same period, the scroll reads normally L. to R. (Kirchner, *I.I.A.*, no. 21, pl. 11).

<sup>37</sup> A parallel case for such conservatism may be cited in the history of English printing, in which the use of Roman type became general soon after the middle of the sixteenth century, but the old black-letter continued to be used in religious and legal works for some time, retaining its ecclesiastical associations even to the present day.

<sup>38</sup> *Ath. Mitt.*, LXVI, 1941, pp. 180 f. Cf. further M. P. Nilsson, *Eranos*, XLII, 1944, pp. 70 ff.

one stele a series of different instructions, without any editing to form a whole. The same haphazard method suggests itself, as we have seen above (p. 96), for Block II. It is a far cry from such early attempts to the officially edited *συγγραφαί* of 410 and 403 (pp. 106 ff. below); nevertheless, one cannot help being impressed by the amount of matter which the officials of the Eleusinion evidently managed to include in their attempt.

It is an interesting point of comparison that in two other States, Miletos and Thera, similar sacral instructions have been found, of about the same date, and both are also written boustrophedon. The Miletos calendar, dated not long before the destruction of 494, was originally inscribed on the wall of a building in the temenos of Apollo Delphinios, in lines which are over 1.855 m. long.<sup>39</sup> The boustrophedon in this case had a practical advantage, since the amount of walking in store for the conscientious reader was thereby reduced by half; but this advantage was probably only coincidental, since we know from the other monuments, both laws and dedications, found at the same site,<sup>40</sup> that the use of boustrophedon here also lasted to a late period, at least for religious matters. Similarly the fragmentary example from Thera,<sup>41</sup> inscribed boustrophedon on an 18-fluted column whose present height is 1.54 m., can hardly antedate the late sixth century, since it is written in a form of Ionic lettering, not in the epichoric.

For any detailed commentary on the subject-matter, I regret that I have little to offer beyond what has been already noted in the line-commentary.<sup>42</sup> No preamble or heading of any kind has survived, but the measures of food specified are all in the nominative,<sup>43</sup> which suggests that they may have been preceded by a short heading, *e. g.*, *τάδε θύεται ἐν τῷ Ἐλευσινίῳ*.<sup>44</sup> The sacrifices seem to have been listed simply by the names of the deities, as far as can be seen from 67 *a*, *b*, and *c*, divided from each

<sup>39</sup> *Milet*, I, 3, nos. 31 a-c, pp. 162 ff., 401 ff.; Rehm, *Handbuch d. Archaeologie*, I, 1939, pp. 217 ff., pl. 28, 1; for an illustration of a complete block, cf. Kern, *Inscr. Graec.*, 1913, no. 8.

<sup>40</sup> Altar to Hekate (stoichedon-boustrophedon), *Milet*, I, 3, pp. 153 f. and 275 ff., no. 129 (Shoe, *Profiles*, 1936, pp. 18 and 51); Herakles stele, *op. cit.*, pp. 276 f., no. 132; part of an oracle, also written on the wall, *op. cit.*, pp. 397 ff., no. 178.

<sup>41</sup> *I.G.*, XII, 3, 450 and suppl. p. 30 (*I.G.*, XII, suppl., 1939, p. 87); cf. also Hiller v. Gaertringen, *Thera*, I, p. 147; Prott-Ziehen, *L.G.S.*, I, no. 19, p. 41. Similar columns inscribed boustrophedon have been found at Naxos (*I.G.*, XII, 5, 40), and Paros (*I.G.*, XII, 5, 105), evidently of earlier date, but too fragmentary for interpretation. Cf. also the column-drum from Mantinea, *I.G.*, V, 2, 261.

<sup>42</sup> For the ritual offerings in the Eleusinian cult generally, cf. Pringsheim, *Arch. Beitr. z. Geschichte d. eleusin. Kults*, 1905, pp. 101 ff.; Ziehen, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, XVIII, s. v. Opfer, 583 (κερνοφορία); Stengel, *Griech. Kultusalt.*, 1898, pp. 160 ff., and *Opferbräuche*, 1910, pp. 108, 111; Deubner, *Att. Feste*, pp. 40 ff.

<sup>43</sup> As in the Miletos inscription, where they are the subjects of the verb *δίδοται*, and in the Paiania inscription, where the heading is lost.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. the headings of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1358 and the great recodification of 403 B.C. (pp. 106 f. below).

other by a triple punctuation-sign.<sup>45</sup> The only (and doubtful) indication of price is the [ὀ]βελ- of 67 j. None of the fragments shows any mention of months or days, though this system of division had been adopted in the Miletos calendar, and probably also in the earlier sixth-century sacral fragment from Corinth.<sup>46</sup> Block I is certainly to be connected with the Mysteries; in Block II, the only surviving consecutive list of offerings, as restored, resembles the contributions for the Thesmophoria by one deme as recorded in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1184. It should be noted also that similar materials—oil, cheese, and barley-meal—occur on a fragmentary sacrificial inscription of the first century A.D. found in the sanctuary of Demeter Eleusinia near Sparta,<sup>47</sup> which is thought to be a copy of an earlier document. The name of the festival concerned has not survived, but an apparent reference to the ceremony of *μύησις* in line 9 (---σα μνει---) suggests the local Mysteries.

As a whole, the quantities mentioned in the fragments of Block II are fairly modest,<sup>48</sup> as might perhaps be expected for a list of recipients who were subsidiary divinities in the Eleusinian cult, or, in some cases, owned sanctuaries themselves elsewhere. The deities and heroes connected with the Eleusinian cult were undoubtedly numerous. Immarados and Daeiros, the sons of Eumolpos, were buried in the Eleusinion.<sup>49</sup> The great recodification of 403 mentions offerings to be made at the Eleusinia to the five legendary princes of Eleusis, as well as to Demeter and Kore.<sup>50</sup> At the Haloa, the vintage-festival, sacrifices were also made to “the other gods to whom tradition decreed it.”<sup>51</sup>

As far as the offerings are identifiable, it is significant that they are all fruits of the earth—barley-corn and -meal,<sup>52</sup> beans, sesame (?), oil, wine, cheese and honey. They were perhaps to be made up into compounds (as the *προκώνια*<sup>53</sup> or *πελανός*<sup>54</sup>)

<sup>45</sup> In the Miletos inscription, the sign :: is used for the divisions between both months and deities. The same method of indicating clause-division by trebling the punctuation sign used for phrase-division is adopted by the Hekatompedon stonemason in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 3-4.

<sup>46</sup> *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, pp. 69 ff.

<sup>47</sup> *I.G.*, V, 1, 1511; for a detailed account, see *B.S.A.*, XVI, 1909-10, pp. 12 ff. and 58 ff., no. 6.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Hicks, *B. M. Inscr.*, I, p. 137.

<sup>49</sup> Clem. Alex., *Protrept.*, p. 13.

<sup>50</sup> *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 26 f. Cf. p. 107 below, note 75.

<sup>51</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 949, lines 7-8 and 1299, lines 9-10: *τῇ τε Δήμητρι καὶ τῇ Κόρῃ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς οἷς πάτριον ἦν*. Cf. further O. Broneer, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, p. 274, for cults in the Eleusinion.

<sup>52</sup> Wheat is not mentioned in the existing fragments, but it figures with barley so consistently in later offerings in the Eleusinian cult that it must have been included here on the lost parts of the inscriptions; as the scarcer cereal (cf. Jasny, *The Wheats of Classical Antiquity*, 1944, p. 14), it was probably offered here with barley at the ratio of 1:2; cf. *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 76, lines 5-7 ( $\frac{1}{2}$ -hekteus of wheat to one of barley); *I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, 1, 40-41, ( $\frac{1}{2}$ -medimnos of wheat to one of barley); Herzog, *Heil. Gesetze*, p. 11, no. 3, lines 11-12 ( $\frac{3}{4}$ -medimnos of wheat to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  medimnoi of barley); Tod, *G.H.I.*<sup>2</sup>, p. 182.

<sup>53</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1672, line 280.

<sup>54</sup> Protz-Ziehen, *L.G.S.*, II, pp. 25 f.; Ziehen, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, XVIII, s.v. Opfer, 584; Ferguson, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 56.

of the type described by Plato<sup>55</sup> as πελανοί . . . καὶ μέλιτι καρποὶ δεδευμένοι καὶ τοιαῦτα ἄλλα ἄγνὰ θύματα.

The chain of evidence on which hang all these conclusions concerning Block II is undeniably scanty, and may well have been stretched too far; but, for what it is worth, it gives us a picture of a block or altar, inscribed with a long series of detailed offerings to be made to various deities, not only those connected definitely with the Eleusinian cult, but also those in whose cult (*c. g.*, that of Zeus Polieus) the clan of the Kerykes had to assist.<sup>56</sup> Block I appears to have been concerned principally with the Mysteries. The *ἱέρεια*, the *φαιδωντής*, and the *βουτύπος* are mentioned (66, 67 *a* and *c*), possibly in connection with the perquisites which they were to receive.

It has already been said that these inscriptions, dating from the turn of the sixth and the early fifth century, stand midway in time between the ancestral religious laws attributed to Solon and the great recodification by Nikomachos at the end of the fifth century. It is now time to examine this statement more closely.

Much new light has been thrown on the subject of Attic *leges sacrae* by the identification of fragments of Nikomachos' code and its immediate predecessor among the inscriptions from the Agora,<sup>57</sup> and their combination with certain similar fragments in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, and II<sup>2</sup>, until then unidentified. The studies in this field of J. H. Oliver,<sup>58</sup> W. S. Ferguson,<sup>59</sup> and S. Dow<sup>60</sup> have illuminated the literary evidence preserved in the speeches of Lysias XXX (*Κατὰ Νικομάχου*) and Andokides I (*Περὶ τῶν μυστηρίων*), so that it is now possible to trace the history of Athenian sacred laws backwards from 399 B.C. to the period before the Persian sack of the city. The results may be thus set forth:

#### 403-399 B.C. NIKOMACHOS' RECODIFICATION.<sup>61</sup>

Existing fragments of religious code: *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 845, II<sup>2</sup>, 1357 *a* and *b*; Agora I 727 (reverse),<sup>62</sup> I 687 + 1026 *a* and *b* (reverse),<sup>63</sup> I 4310,<sup>64</sup> "fragment E,"<sup>65</sup> I 251 (reverse).<sup>66</sup>

<sup>55</sup> *Nomoi*, VI, 782 c.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Toepffer, *Att. Geneal.*, p. 86; Roussel, *Mél. Bidez*, II, p. 823; Ferguson, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 23.

<sup>57</sup> Meritt, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 46, no. 34; Oliver, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 5 ff.; Dow, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 30 ff.

<sup>58</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>59</sup> *Classical Studies presented to E. Capps*, 1936, pp. 144 ff.

<sup>60</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>61</sup> The date when the transcription was finished is not clear from Lysias XXX. In 4, he says that Nikomachos was occupied on it for four years (i. e., 403-399); in 21-2, that in two years (i. e., 401-399) the State had already spent 12 extra talents on additional sacrifices, which suggests that, for practical purposes, the code was already finished in 401 (cf. Ferguson, *loc. cit.*, p. 144).

<sup>62</sup> Oliver, *loc. cit.*, no. 2.

<sup>63</sup> Dow, *loc. cit.*, C (reverse).

<sup>64</sup> Dow, *loc. cit.*, F.

<sup>65</sup> Dow, *loc. cit.*, E (no Agora number).

<sup>66</sup> Meritt, *loc. cit.*, no. 34.

This code was written in post-Euclidean Ionic script on the reverse of a set of stelai which, clamped together to form a wall or walls<sup>67</sup> of varying thickness, were first erected in the Royal Stoa in 410-404, by the nomothetai elected by the people after the fall of the Council of Four Hundred. This post-Euclidean calendar on its back, the work of the ἀναγραφεὺς Nikomachos, was arranged under the headings: (a) annual sacrifices (τάδε ὅσα ἔτη θύεται), (b) trieteric (τάδε τὸ ἕτερον ἔτος θύεται), and possibly (c) penteteric;<sup>68</sup> within these headings, the individual sacrifices were listed in order under the days of each month in sequence, without (so far as the extant fragments show) the name of the festival itself being given.<sup>69</sup> It was for his work on this code that Nikomachos was brought to trial.

410-404 B.C. Αἱ θυσίαι αἱ ἐκ τῶν κύρβεων καὶ τῶν στηλῶν κατὰ τὰς συγγραφάς.

EXISTING FRAGMENTS OF RELIGIOUS CODE: *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 843, 844; Agora, I 251 (obverse), I 687 + 1026 *a* and *b* (obverse), I 591,<sup>70</sup> I 945,<sup>71</sup> I 590.<sup>72</sup>

This code was written in pre-Euclidean Attic script on the obverse of the stelai when they were first erected. Professor Ferguson has shown<sup>73</sup> that in arrangement this calendar followed on after the political code, and also that, in all probability, whereas the political code was completed (since the religious code followed it) and remained valid when the work was begun again in 403 (the decree of Teisamenos which ordered this resumption specifying that the new nomothetai should concern themselves with additions only<sup>74</sup> to the existing code, which was itself still regarded officially as the work of Drakon and Solon, as we know by the wording both of the decree and of *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 115), the whole religious calendar was drafted afresh by Nikomachos and his colleagues, since the existing obverse deals with the annual sacrifice of the Dipolieia offered in the last month of the year, Skirophorion (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 843), and the existing reverse (Agora I 727) with part of the final column of the annual sacrifices, in which the month Skirophorion must have brought up the rear on the lost lower part.<sup>75</sup> Hence the later calendar cannot merely have completed the earlier, but must have repeated it.

<sup>67</sup> Ferguson, *loc. cit.*, pp. 144 and 148, note 19; Dow, *loc. cit.*, p. 31.

<sup>68</sup> Ferguson, *loc. cit.*, p. 151.

<sup>69</sup> E. g., for the Synoikia, 16 Hekatombaion, the entry simply records the requisite sacrifices to Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria on that day (Oliver, *loc. cit.*, p. 26).

<sup>70</sup> Dow, *loc. cit.*, A.

<sup>71</sup> Dow, *loc. cit.*, B.

<sup>72</sup> Dow, *loc. cit.*, D.

<sup>73</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 148.

<sup>74</sup> Ὅπως ἂν προσδέη, Andok., I, 81; Ferguson, *loc. cit.*, pp. 144 f.

<sup>75</sup> Ferguson (*loc. cit.*, p. 155, note 52) and Koerte (*Glotta*, XXV, 1936, pp. 136 ff.) have further identified the sacrifices in col. III of this reverse fragment as belonging to the Eleusinia in Metageitnion; hence the lost lower part of col. II contained the end of Hekatombaion and the beginning of Metageitnion. The last surviving month in col. I has 7 letters lost (according to the spacing employed for the heading ΕΚΑΤΟΜΒΑΙΩΝΟΣ in col. II), i. e., . . . . . ὦρος, which would

Professor Ferguson suggested that the reason for this abandonment of the earlier calendar and complete redrafting may have been because the arrangement of the sacrifices was perhaps by cults, in a way which Nikomachos considered to be unpractical, and also because it was, in any case, unfinished.<sup>76</sup> Since his article appeared, the publication of the new fragments (Dow, *loc. cit.*) has shown that the arrangement can hardly have been by cults, since in one column<sup>77</sup> the sacrifices for Kourotrophos, Leto, and Athena follow immediately under each other, indicating the various sacrifices of one day. Moreover on the stelai *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 840 and 842, both before 450, the sacrifices are listed under the months. If they were thus listed on the stelai from which presumably the nomothetai compiled their *συγγραφαί*, it does not seem probable that they would have rejected this obvious arrangement and embarked on the laborious and unpractical business of re-sorting all the material under cult-headings. In this case, the mention of the Skirophorion sacrifices (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 843) would mean that the annual sacrifices, at least, were completed.<sup>78</sup> It may be further suggested that the whole of the earlier code was, in fact, completed, for practical purposes, and that Nikomachos on his appointment was intended merely to make any further additions required, as for the political code; instead of which, he redrafted the whole thing under annual, trieteric (and penteteric?) headings, and proceeded to alter the existing text. Hence, at his trial in 399, the accuser attacked him<sup>79</sup> for arrogating to himself the rights of a *νομοθέτης* instead of a mere *ἀναγραφεύς*, and tampering with the traditional sacred laws of the *κύρβεις* and *στηλαί*, by erasing certain sacrifices and adding others, thus at the same time both insulting the authority of the traditional laws, and involving the already impoverished State in additional expense. Nikomachos then counter-accused the accuser of impiety, for daring to suggest that these additional sacrifices were unnecessary and should be abolished. The accuser retorted that all he was requiring was that Nikomachos should conform to the code already published (*τοῖς κοινοῖς καὶ κειμένοις*) as stated in a decree previously passed by the people to the effect that the sacrifices made by the State should be "those stated on the kurbeis and stelai, according to the compilation" (*θύειν τὰς θυσίας τὰς ἐκ τῶν κύρβεων καὶ τῶν στηλῶν κατὰ τὰς συγγραφάς*). Since one of the 410-404 code fragments<sup>80</sup> actually mentions these *συγγραφαί*, in what is apparently either a heading or a post-

exclude Skirophorion. If part of the preceding month, and all Skirophorion, were thus contained in the lost part of col. I (and also possibly a subsequent *vacat*, to allow the trieteric sacrifices to begin at the top of col. II), it seems probable that the sacrifices listed in col. I are to be assigned to the latter part of Mounichion, and the first part of Thargelion, which would fit the 7 letters required in the heading.

<sup>76</sup> *Loc. cit.*, p. 147, note 16, and 150.

<sup>77</sup> Dow, *loc. cit.*, frag. B (Agora I 945).

<sup>78</sup> The earlier code seems to have been drawn up, like the later, in narrow columns with the prices added on the left side of each column; Agora I 251 (obverse), I 945, and *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 843, col. II.

<sup>79</sup> Lysias, XXX, 17-25.

<sup>80</sup> *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 844, line 4.

script to the calendar itself, we may conclude that it is to this code that the accuser was referring. The board appointed in 410 drew up a compilation from earlier sacrificial lists, which was approved by the people as being in essence a genuine reproduction of the time-revered laws of the *kurbeis* and *stelai*, and was duly inscribed on the wall of *stelai* erected for the occasion. To the accuser, plainly, it seemed a waste of time, as well as an act of impious arrogance, that Nikomachos should openly condemn this recent and approved compilation as ineffective, by proceeding to draw up the whole calendar afresh under a new system of headings, with such additions and omissions as he himself thought fit.

*ca.* 479(?) - 410 B.C. Αἱ θυσίαι αἱ ἐκ τῶν κύρβεων καὶ τῶν στηλῶν.

EXISTING FRAGMENTS OF RELIGIOUS CODES IN ATHENS: *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 840, 842.

Professor Oliver has shown<sup>81</sup> that in this formula the sacrifices ἐκ τῶν κύρβεων are those of antiquity, traditionally ascribed to Solon, while those ἐκ τῶν στηλῶν are the later additions or changes, erected on marble *stelai* like any other decrees, which the Athenians had to admit to be definitely post-Solonic. The statement of the accuser illustrates this well: "I am surprised," he says, "that he [Nikomachos] does not realize that, when he alleges that I am committing an impiety in saying that we ought to perform the sacrifices as stated on the *kurbeis* and *stelai* according to the compilation, he is in the same breath accusing the State; for that is what you yourselves decreed. And then, [Nikomachos], if you really think that this act is so dreadful, presumably you think that the people in the old days committed a tremendous crime because they used to perform only the sacrifices as stated on the *kurbeis* . . . but you must admit that our ancestors, who sacrificed only according to the *kurbeis*, bequeathed to their descendants a city which was the largest and most prosperous of all in Greece."<sup>82</sup>

In other words, this is the interim period between the good old days of the sacrifices ἐκ τῶν κύρβεων, and the official, State-sponsored *συγγραφαί* ordained in 410. The additions on the *stelai* were increasing rapidly in all the sanctuaries, and doubtless many of them embodied attempts at compilation made by the officials of the sanctuary concerned, as in the case of the deme of Paiania.

The good old days. Αἱ θυσίαι αἱ ἐκ τῶν κύρβεων.

EXISTING FRAGMENTS OF RELIGIOUS CODES IN ATHENS: *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 838, 839; Agora I 2253, 2470 *a-c*, 4390, 4432, 4721 *a-m*, 4724, 5033, 5318 *a-c*; E.M. 101.

The fragments listed above may be dated on epigraphical grounds, as we have seen, to the years *ca.* 510-480 B.C. Had Lysias and his contemporaries seen them,

<sup>81</sup> *Loc. cit.*, pp. 9 ff.

<sup>82</sup> Lysias XXX, 17-8.

one feels that they would certainly have hailed them as relics of Solonic monuments, even as fragments of the famous kurbeis themselves. How far would they have been justified in this? Can we say that they are, in fact, actual copies of any laws of Solon, or that they constitute kurbeis in any of the disputed meanings of the word?

Although the use of boustrophedon suggests that these monuments are either adaptations or even actual copies of older laws, there are no grounds for connecting them in any way with Solon. Plutarch in his *Life of Solon* refers to his laws in the sixteenth axon fixing the prices of *ιερεῖα*,<sup>83</sup> which presumably Plutarch himself quoted from one of the current Treatises on the Axones;<sup>84</sup> and he also mentions certain parts of Solon's code "in which the *ιερά* and *θυσίαι* are contained."<sup>85</sup> From other references also, it is clear that the body of laws attributed to Solon did contain references to various religious matters.<sup>86</sup> From this, two different conclusions may be drawn: (a) that early in the sixth century Solon had already worked out a comprehensive code or calendar of festivals on the same lines as the later calendars, giving the names of festivals, their dates, the nature of the offerings and their prices;<sup>87</sup> this may have been all contained in the sixteenth axon, or have extended over more; (b) that the sixteenth axon specified the prices of things according to his new currency regulations, including prices of offerings with the rest, but may not otherwise have dealt specifically with *leges sacrae*; and that the other references to religious festivals and offerings are taken from different axones (whose context may or may not have directly concerned these matters), and, in the aggregate of quotations, bestow the appearance of a comprehensive religious code upon what was in reality a much more primitive and incomplete affair.<sup>88</sup> But whatever may be the truth concerning the extent of his religious laws, it seems inherently improbable that inscriptions of so detailed a nature as those on our fragments would ever have been drafted by a law-giver whose code had to cover as wide a field as that of Solon. Numerous as were his axones, they would have had to be of incredible size to include such repetitive details as Block II exhibits in dealing with only one sanctuary besides the many others.

<sup>83</sup> *Solon*, 23: "Ἀς γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἐκκαιδεκάτῳ τῶν ἀξόνων ὀρίζει τιμὰς τῶν ἐκκρίτων ἱερείων, εἰκὸς μὲν εἶναι πολλαπλασίας, ἄλλως δὲ καθεῖναι πρὸς τὰ νῦν εὐτελεῖς εἶσιν.

<sup>84</sup> For a list of these, cf. Soudhaus, *De Solonis Legibus*, 1909, pp. 6 f.

<sup>85</sup> *Solon*, 25: "Ἐνιοὶ δὲ φασιν ἰδίως ἐν οἷς ἱερά καὶ θυσίαι περιέχονται κύρβεις, ἄξονας δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους ὀνομάσθαι.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. Pollux, I, 29; Photius, *s.v.* ὀργεῶνες (Soudhaus, *op. cit.*, p. 77); Jacoby, *Cl. Qu.*, XXXVIII, 1944, pp. 65 ff.

<sup>87</sup> For this view, cf. Prott-Ziehen, *L.G.S.*, I, p. 1; Soudhaus, *op. cit.*, pp. 79 f.; Jacoby, *op. cit.*, pp. 68 and 72.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Linforth, *Solon the Liberator*, 1919, pp. 278 ff. and 296, on the difficulty of assessing the true Solonic matter amidst the mass of material attributed to him by the later writers.

To answer the second point satisfactorily, everything would turn on the true meaning of the word *kurbis*, whose etymology has never been satisfactorily explained.<sup>89</sup> Two opposing theories have been advanced: (1) that the word had originally the concrete meaning of a material object on which laws were written<sup>90</sup> (as *ἄξων, στήλη*, our English "charter"), which was undoubtedly the belief of the later Greek writers;<sup>91</sup> and (2) that, whatever its origin, the word had already in the fifth century a purely abstract meaning, the ancient Law of the land; it might sometimes be used to designate the material objects on which the laws were written, but no evidence exists that the word itself ever meant anything but an abstraction, and all the later writers' attempts to describe a material object are the results of confusion with actual objects such as the *axones*.<sup>92</sup>

It cannot be claimed that the Agora fragments offer any help in solving the problem of the actual meaning of the word. The boustrophedon predecessors from which they were taken might have answered it, but even this is doubtful. Whatever may be the true nature—block, stele or altar—of the monuments on which they are written, to identify them as material *kurbeis* without more evidence would be as unjustifiable as to identify the fragmentary stelai of the 410-404 compilation as material *kurbeis* because they do in fact record, as well as all the innovations, the core of the old *ἱερὰ ἐκ τῶν κύρβεων*. It is these last, the plain "sacrifices as specified by the *kurbeis*" before the addenda and corrigenda of the later stelai and *συγγραφαί*, that our inscriptions may fairly be claimed to represent.

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<sup>89</sup> Cf. Boisacq, *Dict. Etym.*,<sup>2</sup> s. v. *καρπός* II, p. 416; Swoboda, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, XII, s. v. *κύρβεις*, 134 ff.

<sup>90</sup> This, the old established view, has been upheld in recent years by M. Guarducci, *Rend. Acc. Pont.*, VII, 1931, pp. 101 ff.; and Holland, *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, pp. 346 ff.

<sup>91</sup> For a chronological list of their various attempts to describe the *kurbeis*, see Holland, *loc. cit.*, pp. 360 ff.

<sup>92</sup> Oliver, *loc. cit.*, pp. 9 ff.; Ferguson, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 67.

# DEMETRIUS POLIORCETES AND THE HELLENIC LEAGUE

(PLATE 33)

## 1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

DURING the six years, 307/6-302/1 B.C., issues were raised and settled which shaped the course of western history for a long time to come. The epoch was alike critical for Athens, Hellas, and the Macedonians. The Macedonians faced squarely during this period the decision whether their world was to be one world or an aggregate of separate kingdoms with conflicting interests, and ill-defined boundaries, preserved by a precarious balance of power and incapable of common action against uprisings of Greek and oriental subjects and the plundering appetites of surrounding barbarians. The champion of unity was King Antigonos the One-Eyed, and his chief lieutenant his brilliant but unstatesmanlike son, King Demetrius the Taker of Cities, a master of siege operations and of naval construction and tactics, more skilled in organizing the land-instruments of warfare than in using them on the battle field. The final campaign between the champions of Macedonian unity and disunity opened in 307 with the liberation of Athens by Demetrius and ended in 301 B.C. with the Battle of the Kings, when Antigonos died in a hail of javelins and Demetrius' cavalry failed to penetrate a corps of 500 Indian elephants in a vain effort to rescue him. Of his four adversaries King Lysimachus and King Kassander left no successors; the other two, Kings Ptolemy of Egypt and Seleucus of Syria, were more fortunate, and they and Demetrius' able son, Antigonos Gonatas, planted the three dynasties with whom the Romans dealt and whom they successively destroyed in wars spread over 44 years. Without the disaster to Macedonian unity at Ipsos who can say whether or not there would have been a Roman Empire?

For Hellas this epoch saw the second attempt to create an United States of Greece. The prime mover was Antigonos the One-Eyed and his model was the Hellenic League created by Philip II in 338/7 B.C. after his victory over the Athenians and Thebans at Chaeronea. Of this organization a stone found at Epidauros and first published in 1918 has preserved for us in considerable part the Articles of Confederation (*I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup> = *Ed. Min.*, IV, 1, 68 and, without the first fragment, *S.E.G.*, I, 75). Careful study has shown that it was a revival and not a new creation. Like Philip, Demetrius was acclaimed hegemon of the Hellenes, and in both the original and the revival a clear distinction was drawn between the war-powers of the hegemon as commander-in-chief of the associated armies and his peace-powers as the highest official of the Hellenic synedrion, or parliament. It was a misfortune that on both occasions the League had no chance to operate on its peace-time basis. We know the revival only as an instrument of use to Demetrius and Antigonos in drafting the forces of its constituents for the campaign which ended at Ipsos in 301 B.C. The Hellenes knew

it only as an agency of Macedonian imperialism, not as a vehicle of inter-Hellenic coöperation with the syndrion in the seat. It went quietly out of existence after Ipsos and there is no evidence that its exit was regretted. Yet taken as they stand its Articles in their peace-time form, if sagaciously administered, had, it would seem, a better chance to bring the Greeks to integrate the claims of liberty and union—a lessened liberty, to be sure, and a lax unity—than anything theretofore formulated. From our point of view their most distinctive feature was that its syndrion, self-organized and with membership proportionate to population and popularly elected, had sovereign power, and its syndroi protection against legal, as distinct from political responsibility to their constituents however displeasing their votes might be to them.

During this period Athens was, as for the past two centuries, the spiritual head of Greece. It was, Antigonos affirmed, "the beacon-tower of the whole world which would speedily flash the fame of their deeds to all mankind" (Plut., *Dem.*, 8, Trans. Perrin). What he desired of it was, he added, "its goodwill." Demetrius was, accordingly, instructed to liberate it. Between 307 and 301 Athens was a free city, but it was also Demetrius' capital. Its goodwill was manifested in a way which seems queer to us, but to the Athenians was fundamentally the superlative expression of their gratitude. What they did was to vote "divine honors" (*ισόθες τιμαί*) to Antigonos and Demetrius. Politically they became Kings, sacrally (some said, sacrilegiously) they became Savior Gods and Eponymous Heroes. The Athenians thus did voluntarily what they had done under pressure while Alexander lived (cf. Hyperides, *Epitaph.*, 21 f.). There can be no question that by giving the cult of rulers their approval and broadcasting facilities the Athenians made what was probably the decisive move towards establishing it as one of the basic institutions of the Hellenistic-Roman world. The Athenians thus took, in this critical time, their stand on a momentous issue, not, I believe, in spite of all that has been said in extenuation, on the side of the angels. For the gods thus to share their honors with living men was to disassociate supernatural efficacy and religious observances. The sincerity of pagan piety was called officially in question.

On recovering their freedom in 403 B.C. the Athenians had denied to Socrates on penalty of death, which, in view of his obduracy, they also inflicted, the right of freedom of speech. This issue was raised anew when they became free in 307/6 B.C. In the belief that the Peripatetics were a nest of traitors they withdrew from them and the Academy the charters under which they had operated; but the question was taken on appeal to the popular courts and the political decision annulled. Athens thus committed itself definitely to upholding its ancient democratic slogan of *parrhesia*, freedom of speech. Epicurus thereupon founded the Garden and Zeno the Stoa; and Athens, the native home of drama, became the chosen home of the philosophers who exercised there, unchallenged for centuries, the right to teach and to write what they pleased.

As I have said, Athens was both a free city and Demetrius' capital. Its status was accordingly ambiguous, and, to work under it with dignity, self-restraint was

needed on both sides. Actually it was lacking on both. The "leader of the demos," Stratokles, through whom Demetrius operated, a resourceful inventor of makeshifts, was uninhibited in catering to the king's outstanding weakness, vanity; and Demetrius was too nonchalantly insolent, too promiscuously licentious, too grossly irreverent to hold the esteem of a proud and sensitive people. The role was cast for an Augustus, not for an Antony. It came to be added that the demos was not the only body in Attica to give voice to extravagant feelings, as the decree to which we now turn demonstrates.

## 2. DECREE OF AKAMANTIS

68 (Plate 33). Fragment of a stele of Pentelic marble found in a cistern in Section NN on April 23, 1947. The marble is of poor quality with bluish streaks; the surface is somewhat stained with rust. The left edge is preserved; the back is rough picked.

Height, 0.27 m.; width, 0.207 m.; thickness, 0.065 m.; height of letters, 0.006 m.  
Inv. No. I 5972.

- 303/2 [ . . . . . ] ΗΙ [ - - - - - ] ΣΤΟΙΧ. 41  
 [ . . . κ ] ἀτὰ θάλ[ατταν - - - - -]  
 [ . . . ] νουσης κα[ - - - - -]  
 [ . το ] ὕ δῆμον τοῦ Ἀ[θηναίων - - - - -]  
 5 [ . . ] ι τῶν Ἑλλήνων π[ - - - - - ]  
 ΛΙ Πλείσταρχον κ ΛΙ [ - - - - - ]  
 αἱ πόλεις Ἑλληνίδα[ς - - - - - ἔ]  
 πὶ δουλείαι λαβὼν κατὰ [τὰς συνθήκας ἐλευθέρως κα]  
 ἰ αὐτονόμους πεπόηκεν· ὁ[κνῶν δ' οὐδαμῶς μὴ οὐ τὰ λοι]  
 10 πὰ συντελῆται ἐπὶ τῷ συ[νεδρίῳ συγχωρεῖ τῷ δῆμ]  
 [ω]ι τῷ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τοῖς [ἄλλοις Ἑλλησι ὅπως ἂν οἱ σ]  
 [τ]ραπευόμενοι σωιζόμεν[οι ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου κατέλθω]  
 [σ]ιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν κρατήσ[αντες· δεδόχθαι τῇ φυλῇ]  
 [β]οῦς θῦσαι τοὺς πρυτάνε[ις τῆς Ἀκαμαντίδος φυλῆς]  
 15 ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας τῶν στ[ραπευομένων φυλετῶν τῇ]  
 Ἀθηνᾷ τῇ Νίκῃ καὶ τῇ Ἀ[θηνᾷ τῇ Πολιάδι καὶ το]  
 ἰς Σωτήρσιν· τὸν δὲ ταμίαν [καὶ τοὺς νῦν ἐπιμελητὰς]  
 μερίσαι αὐτοῖς εἰς τε τὴν [θυσίαν ταύτην καὶ τὸ ἀνά]  
 θημα τῷ ἐπωνύμῳ : ΗΗΗ : [δραχμὰς ἀργυρίου, μερίσα]  
 20 ι δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ εἰς τὸν μέ[γαν ἀγῶνα τῶν Σωτήρων κατ']  
 ἐνιαυτὸν τοῦ Ἐλαφιβο[λιῶνος μηνὸς εἰς τε τὴν θυσί]  
 αν τοῖς Σωτήρσιν κα[ὶ τὴν πομπὴν τῶν Σωτήρων : Η : δρ]  
 αχμὰς ὑπόμνημα τῶν [συγχωρηθέντων ὑπὸ Δημητρίου]  
 ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀκαμαντίδ[ος πρυτανείας· ἐψηφίσθαι δὲ τῇ]  
 25 [φυλῇ]ι τοὺς γραμμ[ατε - - - - -]

This is manifestly a decree of an Athenian phyle and not of the Athenian demos. It has in τῷ ἑπωνύμῳ (line 19) an unmistakable reference to the religious head of a phyle; and no title current in public documents can be found to complete ταμίαν in line 17. In τοὺς γραμμ[ατε (line 25), moreover, a plurality of secretaries is encountered which is readily understandable in the case of a phyle. An Attic phyle had a γραμματεὺς τῆς φυλῆς;<sup>1</sup> and through its relation to its representation in the Council, as is illustrated for example in our decree, it commanded the services of the secretary (and under-secretary) of its prytaneis, and, indeed, of the three public secretaries.<sup>2</sup> In public decrees we have invariably a single secretary. The subject matter of our decree is consonant with the proposed identification. A decree of an Attic phyle could concern itself appropriately with soldiers on service and with an ἐπίθετος θυσία.<sup>3</sup>

Line 16 admits of only one restoration, and by its means, since the inscription was cut stoichedon, we ascertain that we must reckon throughout with forty-one letters to the line. The left margin is preserved and the initial letters of the lines show that we have no need to trouble about syllabification at the ends.

The approximate date of the document can be determined easily: it is after 307/6 B.C., as the cult of the Soteris shows, and it is before mid-summer 302 B.C., as is made clear by the reference in line 6 to Kassander's brother, Pleistarchos. Pleistarchos might be looked for anywhere in the European field of operations till then. Early in 302/1 B.C., however, he went to Asia Minor, and stayed there for some five years, and indeed for the rest of his life so far as we know.<sup>4</sup> Though the name of the person whose merits were extolled is not present in the extant portion of the decree there can be no doubt that he is Demetrius Poliorcetes.

At the point where our segment of the stone yields a text we are clearly in the "whereas" clause usual near the beginning of public, tribal, and collegiate decrees. Ἐπειδὴ Δημήτριος is, accordingly, a certain restoration. What preceded it is governed by conflicting and inconclusive analogies, and would not concern us if it were not for line 13 (see below, p. 116). We have contemporary precedents in tribal decrees for the name of the mover accompanied by his patronymic and demotic and nothing else unless it be the name of the archon (*S.E.G.*, III, 117, 303/2 B.C.; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1159, 303/2 B.C.; 1163, 286/5 B.C.; 1166,—a decree of Akamantis,—300-250 B.C.). We have also a contemporary precedent for ἔδοξεν τῇ — — φυλῇ followed by the full name of the mover (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1160, *ca.* 300 B.C.). As far as I can find we have no tribal precedent for deferring the mover's name to a later point. Hence, attractive though

<sup>1</sup> *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 62; cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1158.

<sup>2</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1155; cf. Dow, *Prytaneis*, *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, pp. 33 ff. et *passim*. See also Index, s. v. φυλῆτης, p. 258.

<sup>3</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1155 and 1146.

<sup>4</sup> Plut., *Dem.*, XXXI f.; cf. Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.*, IV, 2, pp. 317 ff., Tarn, *C.A.H.*, VI, p. 504, VII, p. 78.

it seems, we are debarred by usage from restoring *κρατης* in line 13 as *Κράτης* [— — — *εἶπεν*]. The alternative *κρατήσ[αντες]* I owe to Meritt and I think it is right (cf. below, p. 130). Since the operative part of the motion begins with the infinitive *θῦσαι* in line 14, and *ἐψηφίσθαι* is too long for the space, *δεδόχθαι τῇ φυλῇ* is how line 13 must be completed. Thus we have a normal tribal decree. The name of the phyle is presupposed in line 13. Hence our decree probably began like the synchronous tribal decree *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1160: *ἔδοξεν τῇ Ἀκαμαντίδι φυλῇ ἐπὶ Λεωστράτου ἄρχοντος*· so and so, son of so and so, of such and such a deme *εἶπεν· ἐπειδὴ Δημήτριος, κτλ.*

As it happens, we have recently come to know a decree enacted by the elite corps of the Athenian army, the *ἐθελονταὶ ἐπιλέκτοι*, which participated, as will appear, in the same campaign as the phyletai of Akamantis, and voted at almost the same moment honors to Demetrius even more unrestrained than those appearing in our text. Since it is a parallel document, and will be referred to by me more than once, I introduce it at this point. It was first published by Kyparissis and Peek,<sup>5</sup> and later, with a greatly improved text, by Wilhelm.<sup>6</sup> This decree began as follows: [*ἔδοξε*] *ν τοῖς ἐθελονταῖς ἐπ[ιλέκτοις· ἐπειδὴ πρότερον μὲν Δημήτριος] ὁ μέγας*. As restored, it lacks the name of a mover altogether.<sup>7</sup> The Athenians were not sticklers for precise and immutable forms (cf. W. K. Pritchett, *Hesperia*, XI, p. 242).

Our decree is attached more specifically to Demetrius, and, indeed, to a definite point in his career, by the mention of *τῶι συ[νεδρίῳ]* in line 10. The restoration is due to Meritt, and it must be correct. At any rate I cannot find any alternative. In the phrase which accompanies it, [*τὰ λοι*] *πὰ συντελῆται ἐπὶ*, the subjunctive has

<sup>5</sup> *Athen. Mitt.*, 66, 1941 (printed in 1943); cf. J. and L. Robert, "Bulletin Épigraphique," *Rev. d. Étud. Grec.*, LV, p. 329.

<sup>6</sup> *Oesterr. Jahreshefte*, XXXV (1943), pp. 157 ff. I cannot refrain from saying that I doubt very much if Wilhelm is right in taking its remarkable phrase, *Δημήτριος ὁ μέγας* (line 1), to mean "Demetrius the Big" instead of "Demetrius the Great." This appellation, though unparalleled, may be pardoned to the exuberance of "the picked volunteers" on the eve of their triumphant return from the war in the Peloponnese. The vanity of Demetrius was as remarkable as his ability, and he may very well have fancied a title which related himself to Antigonos as Alexander the Great to Philip II. There is perhaps an echo of this or a similar incident in Plutarch, *Dem.*, XXV, 3. If *ὁ μέγας* was not an isolated and ephemeral bit of flattery, Ipsos put an end to it. I doubt if "the picked volunteers," had in mind or would care for others to remember (as Nock did) the iambs of Archilochus (Hiller-Crusius, *Anth. Lyr.*, Archilochus, 55: *Οὐ φιλέω μέγαν στρατηγὸν οὐδὲ διαπεπλεγμένον, | οὐδὲ βοστρύχοισι γαῦρον οὐδ' ὑπεξηρημένον, | ἀλλὰ μοι σμικρὸς τις εἴη καὶ περὶ κνήμας ἰδεῖν | ῥοικός, ἀσφαλὲς βεβηκὼς ποσσὶ, καρδίας πλέος*).

<sup>7</sup> The concluding lines of this decree should, I think, run as follows: line 18, *ν ὡς σεμνότατα καὶ κάλλιστα· κα[ὶ ἀναιρεῖν τὰς τιμὰς τὰς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐθελοντῶν ἐπιλέκτων τῶι βασιλεῖ δεδ[ομένας ὅπως ἂν καθάπερ αὐτοὶ ἐκ τῶν ἰδί]ων τετιμήκασιν τοὺς εὐεργέ[τας καὶ ἄλλοι αὐτοὺς ἐπιφανεστάταις τι]|μαῖς τιμῶσιν ἐπ[α]κο[λουθο]ύντ[ες]*—Wilhelm's restoration is defective in that he has to assume that, through carelessness, the stone-cutter omitted the word *ἐθελοντῶν* in lines 18/9. The astounding sentence, lines 15 ff.: [*τοὺς δὲ κα]* *θισταμένους ἐπὶ τὰς θυσίας τὰς [συντελουμένας ὑπὲρ Ἀντιγόνου καὶ Δημητρίου καὶ τῶν θεῶν τιμὰς ποιοῦντ' ἀνθρωπίνως*.

the clear implication that the synedrion, which can be only the association of Plutarch,<sup>8</sup> though known, had not yet met. In other words, the date of our document lies between the convocation and the meeting of the synedrion, and this is the case if the reference is not to the original meeting of the synedrion, but to a second meeting, when we assume, without evidence, that there was one. Our record is, however, so spotty that the possibility of a second meeting will have to be considered, seeing that, when the League was at war, Demetrius and the five (?) chairmen of the synedrion, whom he appointed,<sup>9</sup> were authorized to call a meeting when<sup>10</sup> and where<sup>11</sup> they chose.

The primary object of the phyle in enacting our decree was to order a sacrifice "for the safety of the phyletai serving in the field" (line 14). In other words the soldiers of the tribe, and of all the Attic tribes doubtless, had not yet returned, though Demetrius had already decided to let them, and the contingents of the other Greek cities in his army, go home, and had made known his decision to the Athenians.

There are, I think, only two occasions in proximity to a possible meeting of the synedrion when the Hellenic contingents serving in the field with Demetrius can have been permitted by their commander to return home—one at the close of the campaign in the Peloponnese (Diod., XX, 102 f.; Plut., *Dem.*, XXV) in 303/2 B.C., and the other at the close of the campaign in Thessaly in 302/1 B.C. (Diod., XX, 110. Plutarch omits this campaign completely); and of these two the latter is appropriate only if the synedrion met a second time. According to the Marmor Parium<sup>12</sup> the armistice between Demetrius and Kassander, which ended the Thessalian campaign, was concluded in 302/1 B.C.

In order to choose between these two campaigns we must first of all determine the name of the phyle responsible for the decree. This needs no long discussion. Since there is no reason for thinking that the phyle of line 14 is not the phyle named in line 24, the restoration *'Ακαμαντίδος φυλῆς* is inevitable.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, the phyle which issues orders to the prytaneis of Akamantis must be none other than Akamantis itself. Akamantis was, accordingly, the prytanizing phyle when our decree was enacted.

The next question is, when did Akamantis hold the prytany in the relevant parts of 303/2 and 302/1 B.C.? The following table sets forth the data at our disposal. The first half of 303/2 is omitted because there is no matter to tabulate.

<sup>8</sup> *Dem.*, XXV, 3 [Loeb]: ἐν δὲ Ἰσθμῷ κοινοῦ συνεδρίου γενομένου καὶ πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων συνελθόντων, ἡγεμῶν ἀνηγορεύθη τῆς Ἑλλάδος, ὡς πρότερον οἱ περὶ Φίλιππον καὶ Ἀλέξανδρον. The Articles of the Confederation are to be found in *I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, 68. *S.E.G.*, I, 75 lacks Frag. I. Diodorus does not mention explicitly this revival, but in XX, 102, 1, in attributing to Demetrius, as one aspect of his general program for 303 B.C., his purpose τοὺς δὲ Ἕλληνας ἐλευθεροῦν καὶ πρῶτον τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα διοικεῖν there is, I believe, an oblique reference to the reconstitution of the Hellenic League.

<sup>9</sup> *I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, 68, line 90.

<sup>10</sup> *I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, 68, lines 67 ff.

<sup>11</sup> *I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, 68, lines 70 ff.

<sup>12</sup> *I.G.*, XII, 5, 1, 444, 130 ff.: 'Α[φ'] οὗ [δ]ιάλυσις Κασσάνδρῳ καὶ Δημητρίῳ [ἐγένετο] --- [ἐτη] ΔΔΔΓΠΙΙ, ἄρχοντας Ἀθήνησι Νικοκλείους. Cf. Felix Jacoby, *Marmor Parium*, p. 24.

<sup>13</sup> The space permits also Demetrias, Pandionis, and Antigonis.

TABLE

<i>Year B.C.</i>	<i>Our Month</i>	<i>Attic Month</i>	<i>Prytany</i>	<i>Its No.</i>	<i>References</i>
303/2 <sup>14</sup>	Dec.-Jan.	Poseideon II	.....	6	
	Jan.-Feb.	Gamelion	.....	7	
	Feb.-Mar.	Anthesterion	Kekropis	VIII	<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 489/90
	Mar.-Apr.	Elaphebolion	Akamantis	IX	Below, p. 126
	Apr.-May	Munychion	Antigonis	X	<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 491
	May-June	Thargelion	.....	11	
	June-July	Skirophorion	Aiantis	XII	<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 493/98
302/1 <sup>15</sup>	July-Aug.	Hekatombaion	.....	1	
	Aug.-Sept.	Metageitnion	Aigeis	II	<i>Hesp.</i> , I, p. 45
	Sept.-Oct.	Boedromion	.....	3	
	Oct.-Nov.	Pyanopsion	Akamantis	IV	<i>Hesp.</i> , IX, p. 104
	Nov.-Dec.	Maimakterion	.....	5	
	Dec.-Jan.	Poseideon	.....	6	
	Jan.-Feb.	Gamelion	Antigonis	VII	<i>Hesp.</i> , V, p. 415
	Feb.-Mar.	Anthesterion	Oineis	VIII	<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 500/01
	Mar.-Apr.	Elaphebolion	.....	9	
	Apr.-May	Munychion	Leontis	X	<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 502; <i>Hesp.</i> , IV, pp. 38 (?), 546
	May-June	Thargelion	Antiochis	XI	<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 503
	June-July	Skirophorion	Aiantis	XII	<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 505

It is obvious for two reasons (the first good, the second conclusive) that the Akamantis of our decree is not the one which held the prytany in 302/1 B.C. (1) Demetrius must have been in Asia Minor in October, according to our best calculations; cf. below. (2) It is clear from the inscription published by Pritchett in *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 104 that eight days or so before Akamantis began to prytanize in 302/1 B.C. the Athenian taxiarchs, the commanding-officers of the tribal regiments,

<sup>14</sup> 303/2 was an intercalary year (Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology of Hellenistic Athens*, p. xv) with, it is assumed, an extra lunar month, Poseideon II, inserted at the middle of the year. The prytanies had 32 days each. Hence the sixth prytany must have reached to the middle of Poseideon II, the seventh to the 17th of Gamelion; and in fact the eighth ended on Anthesterion 20 (Kirchner, note on *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 489). Accordingly, the ninth prytany ran from Anthesterion 21 to Elaphebolion 22, the tenth from Elaphebolion 23 to Munychion 26, and the eleventh from Munychion 27 to Thargelion 28.

<sup>15</sup> 302/1 was an ordinary year of 354 days with 12 lunar months and 12 practically coterminous prytanies (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 499; cf. Pritchett and Meritt, p. xvi; *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 545 ff., IX, 1940, p. 108). The relations between the months of our calendar and those of the Athenian calendar established in the Table above are the ones generally held, but they are, at best, only approximately correct; cf. W. K. Pritchett, "Julian Dates and Greek Calendars," *Class. Phil.*, XLII, 1947, pp. 235 ff.

were in Athens engaged in "the preservation of order in the sacred rites of Demeter." The sacred rites are, as Pritchett points, undoubtedly the Mysteries. This precludes their absence on military service in Thessaly. Despite Demosth. IV, 26, quoted by Pritchett, it is unthinkable that the phyletai of Akamantis were campaigning in Thessaly while their commanders did police duty at home. The taxiarchs were not Kentucky colonels at this time. This we can infer, for example, from *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 500 (cf. also 554), an Athenian decree passed, like that of Pritchett, in 302/1 B.C. By it the taxiarchs of 305/4 B.C., at which time Attica was being invaded by Kassander, were given (somewhat belatedly it would seem) front seats at all the games, in fact, places in the Generals' box, for the following among other services rendered in their year of office: *ἐπεμελήθησαν τῆς τε φυλακῆς τῶν τειχῶν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐξέτασμοῖς ἅπασιν διετέλεσαν ἐπιμελόμενοι καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως ἡγούμενοι τῶν πολιτῶν*. For other decrees of a slightly later date dealing with the taxiarchs see *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 562 (283/2 B.C.) and *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 156 (275/4? B.C.). *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 491 (Munychion, 302 B.C.) informs us that the taxiarchs used their good offices to secure honors from Athens for a group of friendly and helpful citizens of Chalcis; cf. also *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 5; XV, 1946, p. 188. It thus appears that Demetrius left for Asia before Boedromion, 13-20. To emphasize the crucial point I repeat: the taxiarchs of 302/1 B.C., including, of course, the taxiarch who commanded the phyletai of Akamantis, were back in Athens before Akamantis began to prytanize, whereas the phyletai of Akamantis of our decree had not yet returned when Akamantis was already in the prytany.

Our Akamantis, then, cannot be the Akamantis of 302/1 B.C. We could not know with the data which we have possessed heretofore (Table, p. 118) in what month the Akamantis of 303/2 B.C. prytanized, but we can at once rule out the last three since in or during them the Thessalian war was in progress. It did not end, as the Parian Marble teaches us, till the year 302/1 B.C. had begun. And even if the Marmor Parium is wrong, we arrive at the same conclusion by noting that only one of the three is open, Thargelion (May-June), and by reflecting that the war which was begun in April-May at the earliest cannot possibly have ended within a month and a fraction.<sup>16</sup>

We conclude therefore that there was no place for a decree of Akamantis with the content of ours at any possible point during the Thessalian campaign.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> On the last day of 303/2 B.C. Demetrius was not in Athens, but his whereabouts is not disclosed by our record (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 495).

<sup>17</sup> "An orderly retreat in no way like a defeat" (Diod., XX, 111, 2) was what Demetrius aimed at securing by his negotiations with Kassander in 302/1 B.C. The issue hardly warranted "the picked volunteers" to coin epithets like "Demetrius the Great" and erect an equestrian statue at their own expense, or the phyle to endow the fête of the Kings. Demetrius had to extricate as strong a force as possible for service in Asia without denuding the Greek states in Europe of their defenders. What he took to Asia was what his ships could carry and what would help his father

We are thus left with the other of the two occasions, within the obvious limits, on which the Hellenic contingents serving in the field can have been permitted by Demetrius to return home, namely, the close of the war in the Peloponnese. In 303/2 B.C., as the data tabulated on page 118 show, Akamantis can have held any one of the first seven prytanies or the ninth or eleventh. For the reasons already given the eleventh has had to be eliminated. The possibilities are, however, narrowed yet further by two considerations, (1) that it was serving at approximately the time when Demetrius saw fit to let his Hellenic troops go home, and (2) that it was serving not long before the original meeting of the synedrion in 303/2 B.C. An interval between these two points existed, but, as already pointed out (above, p. 117), the synedrion had been summoned at the time the concession was made to the troops.

Let us take up first the dating of the concession. Admittedly the Peloponnesian campaign fell in the military season of 303 B.C. It was probably concluded without being completed, as we may judge from the fact that Mantinea certainly, and probably some other places in the peninsula, Messenia for example, remained unliberated at its end.<sup>18</sup> Sparta too remained outside. Obviously military operations were broken off on the arrival of winter. The Macedonians were less intimidated by cold and rain than their Hellenic predecessors, but they were well aware of the limitations placed on the movement of armies and their equipment and supplies by mud, bad roads, and swollen rivers. Antigonos, Demetrius, Lysimachus, and Seleucus all went into winter quarters and awaited the arrival of spring before moving into positions for Ipsos in 301 B.C. The beginning and end of winter in any region is always a matter of fact, but it is safe to say that the months of real winter in Greece are Dec.-Jan., Jan.-Feb. and Feb.-Mar.: Poseideon, Gamelion and Anthesterion. We may therefore say that Demetrius went into winter quarters at the end of November 303 B.C.

The course of this campaign was complicated by the fact that the forces of Demetrius were so superior that his adversaries, the generals of Kassander, Ptolemy, and Polyperchon, were plainly unable to meet him in the open field. All they could do was to try to hold the strong places in their possession. This split the operations up into sections. It is not easy for us to establish the sequence of events, since we have to consider whether Demetrius, instead of making a grand tour through the peninsula with his whole army, had not rather to adjust his strategy to the enemies' defense, divide his forces also, and engage them simultaneously in different areas. Since Demetrius already possessed in Cenchreae, which he had occupied in 304 B.C.,<sup>19</sup>

most. While he let the Athenian *taxeis* and their *taxiarchs* go home he probably retained troops like the *epilektoi*. His insistence that the war to liberate the Greeks involved the freeing of the cities in Asia as well as in Hellas (Diod., *loc. cit.*) justified his *not* releasing all the Hellenic contingents. I believe that the situation in 302/1 B.C. does not really present an intelligible background for our decree or that of the *ἐθελονταὶ ἐπίλεκτοι*.

<sup>18</sup> Plut., *Dem.*, 25, 1; cf. Beloch, IV, 2, p. 445.

<sup>19</sup> Plut., *Dem.*, XXIII, 2 [Loeb]; Polyae., IV, 7, 3.

a bridge-head in the Peloponnese, it seems likely that it was from there that his land-forces debouched in 303 B.C. The sequence of events cannot be inferred from the order in which the captured cities are listed by Plutarch, since manifestly the biographer's grouping of Argos, Sicyon, Corinth is literary not historical.<sup>20</sup> Diodorus (XX, 102-3) strove to preserve the historical sequence, at least sectionally, and it undoubtedly is Sicyon, Corinth, Bura, Skyros (*sic!* cf. Amandry, *B.C.H.*, LXIV-LXV, 1940-41, p. 73, note 4); but from this point on the disagreement between the best Ms., F, and the other Mss. prevents us from knowing whether Demetrius proceeded from Skyros to Orchomenus or to Aegium, i. e., into Arcadia or further into Achaia. Then follows the general statement: ὁμοίως δὲ τοῦτοις καὶ οἱ τὰς πόλεις φρουροῦντες, τῶν μὲν περὶ Π. καὶ Πρεπέλαον καὶ Πολυπέρχοντα μὴ βοηθούτων, τοῦ δὲ Δημητρίου μετὰ μεγάλης δυνάμεως καὶ μηχανῶν ὑπερεχουσῶν προσιόντος ἐκουσίως ἐξεχώρουν.<sup>21</sup> Diodorus does not mention Akte or Argos:<sup>22</sup> they may be included in τὰς πόλεις, but even so there is no good reason for supposing that "the cities" came into Demetrius' hands after his exemplary treatment of Strombichos, Polyperchon's phrourarch in Orchomenus or Aegium (Diod., XX, 103, 5). There is, on the contrary, a suggestion that some of them seceded to Demetrius before the escape of Prepelaos from Corinth. We have therefore to reckon with the likelihood that Demetrius sent (or led) part of his army from Cenchreae into the Argolid early in his operations in the Peloponnese, and that his fleet made landings in the Akte simultaneously.

Plutarch (*Dem.*, XXV, 2) reports that Demetrius was in Argos at the time of the Heraea. From Livy's account (XXVII, 30-31) of Philip V's movements during his campaign of 209 B.C., which shows that the Heraea preceded the Nemea by a short interval,—30 days at the most,—Fr. Reuss<sup>23</sup> reached the conclusion that the time of the Heraea was near the end of July. More recently Axel Boethius<sup>24</sup> investigated thoroughly the seasons of both the Heraea and the Nemea with the result that he places the latter in the second half of July, the former in the middle or second half of June.<sup>25</sup> Accepting his conclusions, as I think we must,<sup>26</sup> we must also accept the corollary that in June, 303, Demetrius was in Argos.<sup>27</sup> We thus seem forced to

<sup>20</sup> XXV, 1: καὶ Ἀργος καὶ Σικυνῶνα καὶ Κόρινθον ἐλύσατο τάλαντα δούς ἑκατὸν τοῖς φρουροῦσιν.

<sup>21</sup> The text is that of Ms. F. The other manuscripts have Κάσσανδρον instead of Π. and ὑπεραχουσῶν instead of ὑπερεχουσῶν. Κάσσανδρον should perhaps give way to the *difficilior lectio* of F = Π., which in turn could be filled in as Π[τολεμαῖον], or yet better Π[λείσταρχον].

<sup>22</sup> XX, 102-3.

<sup>23</sup> *Hieronymos von Kardia*, p. 173; cf. Niese, *Gesch. d. griech. u. maked. Staaten*, I, p. 338, II, p. 486, III, p. 47.

<sup>24</sup> "Der argivische Kalender," *Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift*, Filosofi, 1922, 1.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 63, 51.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Krister Hanell in Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E. s. v. Nemea*, p. 2325.

<sup>27</sup> The chances are that it was from Argos that Demetrius sent the message on which the Athenians acted in passing a decree in honor of his friend Eupolis on the last day of Skirophorion,

recognize that the occupation of the Akte (including Epidauros) and the Argolid antedated the campaign<sup>28</sup> in the western and central Peloponnese, which, as already said, was probably concluded only on the arrival of winter.

Demetrius could, accordingly, have released his Hellenic contingents in Poseideon (Dec.-Jan.). On the other hand, he might have held them over-winter in his winter quarters.<sup>29</sup> The time of their dismissal is related by our decree with the synedrion of the Hellenic League, which, according to Plutarch, he convened at the Isthmus.<sup>30</sup> When did it meet? When was it summoned?

Ulrich Wilcken,<sup>31</sup> following Niese,<sup>32</sup> argued convincingly that it met at the Isthmia of 302 B.C. The date of the Isthmia was, I think, established by Unger in 1877: it was celebrated, he concluded, in the early spring or spring in the even years B.C. On this basis it was due in the early spring or spring of 302 B.C. Let us fix April-May as the time of the synedrion.<sup>33</sup> Its deliberations were completed in time,

303 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 486). The message can have been conveyed by [οἱ ἀπὸ Δῆς]μητρῖον τοῦ βασιλ[έως] ἐξαποστελλόμενοι whom Athens honored by a decree passed on the same day (*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 297). The outbreak in Athens against royal government by peremptory correspondence (*Plut.*, *Dem.*, XXIV, 4) may have occurred at this time or later; cf. below, p. 124.

<sup>28</sup> Boethius, *loc. cit.*, p. 62.

<sup>29</sup> We are not told where they were. The most we can say is that they were in the Peloponnese and not in Athens.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. above, note 8.

<sup>31</sup> *Sitz. d. preuss. Akad.*, Phil.-hist. Kl., 1922, pp. 124 ff. Roussel (*Rev. Arch.*, 5<sup>e</sup> serie, 17, 1923, p. 129, note 1) agrees with him. Tarn, *J.H.S.*, XLII, 1922, p. 198, retains without discussion the old date, 303 B.C. Larsen, *Class. Phil.*, XX, 1925, p. 315, leaves the choice open of 303 or 302 B.C. I am influenced to a certain degree in siding with Niese and Wilcken by the fact that the Isthmia were the time and place of one of the stated meetings of the peace-time synedrion. 302 B.C. could, of course, have been construed as a war-time (cf. below, note 40), and consequently Demetrius might have called a synedrion at any time and place he chose; but in reviving an organ which had lapsed it would be tactful for him to follow the peace-time program. Corinth was the ordinary war-time place of meeting of the earlier synedrion whatever the season of the year might be (Unger, *Philologus*, 37, 1877, p. 12). The decisive thing is, however, that, since the Isthmia were due at precisely the right time, Demetrius would have missed a great opportunity if he had failed to use it for his purposes.

<sup>32</sup> *Op. cit.*, I, p. 338, n. 4.

<sup>33</sup> *Philologus*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 1 ff. Unger's conclusion was accepted by scholars generally during the following generation (Cf. Stengel, *Griech. Kultus-Altertümer*<sup>3</sup>, p. 216; Christ, *Sitz. d. münch. Akad.*, 1889, I, pp. 28 f.; Wilamowitz, *Sitz. d. preuss. Akad.*, 1909, p. 811; Von Prott, *Bursian Jahresbericht*, 1899, 102, pp. 98 ff.). Commonly they put it in "the spring." It was not till 1913 that the whole problem was reviewed. Then Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.*, I, 2<sup>2</sup>, pp. 146 ff., after marshalling and sifting the evidence, decided that the Isthmia came in May or June, and he was followed by De Sanctis, *Storia dei Greci*, I, p. 377, 1939; *Storia dei Romani*, IV, p. 94, note 179. Holleaux, *C.A.H.*, VIII, 1930, p. 183, dates the famous Isthmia of 196 B.C. in June-July. Niese (II, p. 650, note 5, 1899), following Stengel, put the celebration of this year etwa im Frühsommer. According to K. Schneider, *R.E.*, 18, 1916, p. 2249, the only three months that come into consideration are April, May, and June. The evidence bearing on the Isthmia of 302 B.C. seems to me to eliminate June and leave us only the choice between April and May. The preferable date is, I believe, Munychion (April-May B.C.).

but only in time, for Demetrius to be in Athens to receive, in Munychion (April-May), what he had already ordered by letter, his infamous initiation into the Eleusinian Mysteries.<sup>84</sup> Then he went on to Chalcis<sup>85</sup> to launch his Thessalian campaign.

<sup>84</sup> Hiller, *I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, 68, p. xi, dates the Great Asklepieia of Epidauros, which came nine days after the Isthmia (Schol. Pind., *Nem.*, 3 [II, 110, 2 Abel], in the Epidaurian month Apellaios, which seems to correspond to the Attic month Skirophorion (June-July). Since he gives no evidence, I am unable to control or to accept his affirmation. For Skirophorion I should substitute Munychion or early Thargelion.

When Unger (pp. 40 ff.) proceeds to identify Poseidon's day in Athens, the 8th of every month (Plut., *Thes.*, XXXVI, 4), and hence the 8th of Munychion, with a corresponding day of a month in the Corinthian calendar, he leaves safe ground. In Athens 303/2 B.C. was an intercalary year, following and preceding an ordinary year. The chances are so slim as to be negligible that in Corinth 303/2 was also an intercalary year abutting before and behind on ordinary years. Each state in Greece was master of its own calendar, and, accordingly, of its own intercalations of days and months. That is what autonomy meant, for example, to the four Euboean cities, Karystos, Eretria, Chalcis, and Oreos, until in 294-288 B.C., with the formation or revival of an Euboean League (cf. Tarn, *C.A.H.*, VII, p. 81), they faced the problem of setting up a common schedule with a definite timetable for a Dionysia and a Demetrieia in each city, so that, for example, the Dionysiac technitai could be legally penalized if they failed to appear according to contract on the days specified in each city's calendar. Then the cities had to make an interstate calendar reform, and create what was in substance a federal calendar. The section of the Euboean law covering the matter runs as follows (*I.G.*, XII, 9, 207, lines 49 ff.): Περὶ ἐμβολίμων μην[ών· π]ερὶ δὲ τῶν [ἐμ-β]ολαίων μηνῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἐν ταῖς πόλε[σι μ]ετὰ τῶν ἡρημένων ὅταν καθήκει, ὅπως ἂν ἅμα ἐν [τ]ῇ Εὐβοίᾳ γίνωνται. The law also contains provision concerning intercalary days: ἐάν ποὺ προσδέωνται --- ἐ[μβ]ολίμων ἡμερῶν, ἐ[ξέ]ιν αὐτοῖς ἐμβαλέσθαι μέχρι ἡμερῶν τριῶν. Any such legislated concordance between Athens and Corinth in 303/2 B.C. is, of course, unthinkable. And, in fact, we know that the Corinthian and Athenian months did not coincide at this period. "The tenth day of the month at Corinth is the fifth at Athens and the eighth somewhere else," says Aristoxenus, a contemporary of Theophrastus (H. S. Macran, *The Harmonics of Aristoxenus*, II, 37, quoted by W. K. Pritchett, *Class. Phil.*, XLII, 1947, pp. 239 f.). Bischoff (*R.E.*, 20, p. 1592) is able to put only one Corinthian month in its place, viz., Panamos = Attic Boedromion. We have no right to assume, or for that matter to deny that in Corinth, as in Athens, the 8th day of the month was Poseidon's day (cf. Wilhelm Schmidt, *Gaburtstag im Altertum*, pp. 15, 103); but we have every right to assume that the Corinthians did *not* fix the Isthmia on their day of the month which corresponded to the Attic 8th, i. e., on the 13th according to the equation of Aristoxenus. I do not see how the Corinthian theoroi can have done their job without putting the cities they visited wise not only as to the day in their calendar set for the Isthmia but also as to the number of days (29½ per month) separating the delivery of the notification and the celebration. In any case celebrants from any but near-by points would need a margin of a day or two for uncertainties of travel. It is obvious that fêtes were celebrated in honor of Apollo by many cities on the sevenths of months (Apollo's day) on the assumption, which goes back to Hesiod (*Works and Days*, 770 f.), that it was his birthday (W. Schmidt, *op. cit.*, pp. 89 ff.), but in each case it was the seventh according to the local calendar, and this seventh probably designated almost as many different days of the Julian calendar as there were cities.

We cannot determine the day of the month, Corinthian or Attic, on which the Isthmia was celebrated. We must content ourselves with the evidence that in 302 B.C. the celebration occurred after Anthesterion 20 (cf. note 14) and before the end of Munychion, and with the probability that it fell in Attic Munychion (Apr.-May).

<sup>85</sup> In Munychion, 302 B.C., there was contact, diplomatic and military, between Athens and Chalcis (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 491; cf. *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 188, and above, p. 119).

The issuance of the summons (cf. below, note 40) had to be timed to allow a sufficient interval for its distribution, for the cities to act on it, and for the synedroi designated by them to travel to the Isthmus. The length of this interval is largely a matter of guesswork; but, allowing for the delays and hazards of travel, and the slowness of the democratic process of the several states, a minimal interval of a month seems reasonable. The fact of the calling of the synedrion can, I think, have been known in Athens early in Elaphebolion; or even earlier, if the project was disclosed to the Athenians before the formal summons was issued, as it may very well have been. The conditions of our decree are met satisfactorily if Demetrius convoked the synedrion and released his Hellenic contingents at about the same time. If the attitude of "the picked volunteer" (above, note 6) is a true index of the feeling of the returned soldiers, Demetrius could look forward to having in them strong supporters of his policy and person when they reached their home communities. At some time during his absence in the Peloponnese—when he had to manage things in Athens by letters—his partisans lost control of the outraged people, and he had had to intervene drastically to reinstate them. The opposition leaders were punished by death, or, as in the case of Demochares, by exile (Plut., *Dem.*, XXIV, 3 f.; [Plut.], *Lives of the Ten Orators*, 851 D; cf. *Hell. Athens*, pp. 171 ff.). Plutarch relates this incident before he takes up the war in the Peloponnese, but, as often (cf. above, note 20, and below, note 43), he sacrifices chronological exactitude to literary convenience. In this case he simply added an outrage that occurred during the war to others which preceded it. The return of the soldiers undoubtedly strengthened Stratokles' position.

It was doubtless with a centralizing parliament in mind that the cities "freed" by Demetrius in 307, 304, and 303 B.C. were given and accepted their autonomy. The area to be traversed by the Corinthian theoroi who were sent abroad to announce the Isthmia (Paus., V, 2, 1) was, in design at least, as wide as the area of Hellenism, whereas Demetrius' envoys could request the election and dispatch of synedroi only of the states in the liberated territory. The former needed to start much earlier than the latter.<sup>36</sup> Once the synedrion was known to concur with the Isthmia, its meeting needed no further specification of time: the synchronism alone sufficed.

<sup>36</sup> The area traversed by the announcers of the Pythia may be mapped with the aid of the Delphian inscriptions and especially of "La liste delphique des Théorodokes" (*B.C.H.*, XLV, 1921, pp. 1 ff.; early in the second century, before 188 B.C.; cf. L. Robert, *B.C.H.*, LXX, 1946, p. 514). On its basis M. A. Plassart has worked out seven itineraries followed by the Delphian theoroi, each containing in rough geographical order the names of the "cities" visited, numbering in one instance (pp. 52-59) as many as 98 (71 + 27) places. Reckoning at the rate of two days per "city" (cf. the decree of Kamarina found at Kos quoted by P. Boesch, *Θεωρός*, p. 104: καλεῖν δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ξένη τοὺς θεωροὺς τοῦτους τε καὶ τοὺς αὐτὸν παραγνομένους πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας, ὥς καὶ ἐπιδαμέωντι), we arrive at a total for the trip of over six months. To allow the city visited last (Byzantion) time for its delegation to reach Delphi before the games began the theoroi must have left Delphi a few days earlier (Demosth., XVIII, 30). This calculation is perhaps needless, since a *Lex* of the Delphian Amphictyony (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1126, 380/79 B.C.; cf. Ditt., *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 145, line 45 f.) required the

The coincidence of the meeting and the celebration made it possible for the synedroi from the liberated areas to be also accredited representatives of their cities to the festival (theoroi)<sup>87</sup> and for the theoroi from cities not yet liberated to be unofficial synedroi. The synedrion-Isthmia of 302 B.C. was doubtless an occasion for propaganda as well as business. Demetrius had, accordingly, a specific, as well as the general object envisaged by Philip in 338/7 B.C.—a panhellenic environment for a panhellenic congress.

The summons must have conveyed the information that the Articles of Confederation of 338/7 B.C., with the use or misuse of which by Alexander (Antipater) Greeks over 40 years of age in 302 B.C. can have been familiar, and regarding which there was undoubtedly much discussion since their revival was mooted in 307 B.C.,<sup>88</sup> were to be again in force. Hence the summons did not need to be issued earlier than was otherwise desirable by the prospect of prolonged debate on constitutional matters. Moreover, the bases of taxation, the estimates of the total military strength of the member states, and, related to these, the sizes of their respective quotas of synedroi, did not need to be worked out anew.

It seems to me improbable that Demetrius, acting on the conviction that "what remained to be done would be done at the synedrion" in April-May, 302 B.C., let his Hellenic contingents go home at the end of the military season with November, 303 B.C. Nor does an appraisal of his situation at the time make it inevitable that he

Delphians to dispatch their theoroi in Bysios, six months before the Pythia (Bischoff, *R.E.*, 20, p. 1589). It appears that in *ca.* 200-188 B.C. the announcement was made in points as remote from Delphi as Massilia, Elea, Lipara in the West, Chersonesos in the Crimea, Berenike on the Great Syrtis, Berytos in Syria, and Sardis in Lydia.

For the time allowed to the spondophoroi of Athens to announce the Mysteries see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1672, line 227 and line 4 (329/8 B.C.), with Dittenberger's notes (*Syll.*<sup>2</sup>, 587, 6 and 154; cf. Schweigert, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 10). Those who had the longer distances to travel started, it seems, some 2½ + lunar months before the celebration began (Boedromion 13: cf. Deubner, *Att. Feste*, pp. 72 ff., 91). The Truce of God (*σπονδαί*) for the Mysteries, which they asked the cities they visited to accept (cf. Athenian inscription from Gonnoi reprinted from *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1914, p. 10 by Foucart, *Rev. d. Étud. Grec.*, 1919, p. 190 f.), extended from the full moon of Metageitnion to the tenth of Pyanopsion (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 6, lines 57 ff. = Meritt, *Hesperia*, XIV, pp. 78 f., *ca.* 460 B.C.), thus covering a period of 28 days before the preliminary rites and another of 19 days after the final rites (Boedromion, 20?). In fact it is doubtful if the announcers of the Isthmia ranged over anything like so wide an area as those of the Pythia. Their timetable probably corresponded more closely to that of the Athenian Spondophoroi.

It was not only the travel that took time but the transaction of business with the local authorities (P. Boesch, *Θεωρός*, pp. 100-104; L. Robert, *B.C.H.*, LII, 1946, p. 510).

We have no ancient data to guide us in estimating the interval between the dispatch of the Corinthian theoroi and the celebration of the Isthmia; and must accordingly fall back, as we have done, upon the analogies of the Pythia and the Mysteries of Eleusis.

<sup>87</sup> This word is used in two senses, (1) of the announcers of festivals, and (2) of the men sent by cities to represent them at the festivals announced.

<sup>88</sup> Diod., XX, 46, 5.

should have done so. While his army was intact he was ready to resume the offensive in the spring and complete the conquest of the Peloponnese.<sup>39</sup> Indeed he may have thought of doing this. In the end he had to act in accordance with the needs of his father, to whom the elimination or checkmating of Kassander was more important than the expulsion of Polyperchon from Arcadia and Messenia. Meanwhile, he masked his intentions by keeping his army in being in the Peloponnese.

Bearing this in mind, we can proceed with the job of determining when Akamantis held the prytany in 303/2 B.C. It cannot have been in the campaigning season of 303 B.C.: the war was over when it was in office. This means that it cannot have been one of the first five prytanies of the year. As the table on p. 118 shows, Kekropis preëmpts Anthesterion (Feb.-Mar.) and Antigonis Munchion (April-May). The remaining months are Poseideon (Dec.-Jan.), Gamelion (Jan.-Feb.), and Elaphebolion (March-April). Akamantis held the prytany in one of these three, and I hope I have shown that the latest of them, Elaphebolion, is much the most probable.

We can then date our decree a little before the maturity of the first payment of the phyle's annual contribution for the support of "the great agon" referred to

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Beloch, IV, 2, p. 445. Demetrius left garrisons in the Peloponnese after he departed in 302 B.C. first to Thessaly and then to Asia Minor; cf. *S.E.G.*, III, 98, and Tarn, *C.A.H.*, VII, p. 76. The cities in which they were stationed followed the example of Athens and got rid of them after Ipsos (Plut., *Dem.*, xxxi, 1). I am inclined to date at this time (late in 301 B.C.) the alliance between Athens and the Sicyonians attested by *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 35, no. 9, which Eugene Schweigert, its editor, dates in 303/2 B.C. The mention of Demetrius in this badly mutilated text does not require so early a date. The Athenians refused to admit him after Ipsos, informing him of the decision they had reached, μηδένα δέχεσθαι τῇ πόλει τῶν βασιλέων (Plut., *Dem.*, xxx, 3). There was no bitterness displayed on either side. Athens retained Demetrius and Antigonius as eponymous heroes and their statues remained in their places along with those of the ten Kleisthenian eponymi. What is more, she retained their "gold" statues as Soteres in the unique place in which she had erected them (Diod., XX, 46, 2), beside those of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, till 295/4 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 646, line 40) and probably later. I see no reason to believe that the cult of the Soteres was dis-established in 301 B.C.: The death of Antigonius was immaterial. Hellenistic Kings did not cease to be Soteres when "they departed from the life among men" (cf. Ditt., *Syll.*<sup>2</sup>, 202, lines 27 f.; *O.G.I.S.*, I, 16 and note 2, 22, 23, 25). Hence the mention of Soteres in *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 35, no. 9 does not require a date as early as 303/2 for the alliance of Athens with the Sicyonians, while the mention in the decree of the Athenians of [τὸν δῆμον] τὸν Σικυωνίων prohibits it. Plutarch (XXV, 2) and Diodorus (XX, 102, 3) both report that in 303 B.C. Sicyon was renamed Demetrias, and, though the latter adds that time invalidated this, I cannot imagine the Sicyonians restoring the ancient name, however much they may have wanted to do so, while Demetrius was hegemon of the Hellenes. When the Sicyonians abandoned Demetrius and Demetrias they were forced to protect themselves by alliances, and other members of the League were in the same case. What the alliance of Athens and Sicyon in 301 B.C. does show is that the Hellenic League went out of existence after Ipsos. Demetrius made no effort subsequently to restore it. The autonomy and democracy of its member states had meant to him one thing and to them another. Whether it was he or conciliation that had failed he was not sufficiently self-critical or statesmanlike to consider objectively. We can sum up by saying that the Hellenic policy of Antipater had won a decisive victory over that of Antigonius (cf. Tarn, *C.A.H.*, VII, pp. 76 ff.).

in lines 19 ff., i. e., a little before the 8th to 10th of the month Elaphebolion (cf. below, note 46). Some weeks later the synedrion met<sup>40</sup> and levied a new army from the

<sup>40</sup> In 1940 Schweigert published a new Athenian decree (*Hesperia*, IX, pp. 348 ff.) which, in conferring the usual civic honors on Adeimantos, son of Androsthenes, of Lampsacus, one of Demetrius' lieutenants (cf. *I.G.*, XII, 9, 198), alludes to his activity in the synedrion. Unfortunately the preamble of the decree is lost and with it its precise date. Schweigert is undoubtedly right, despite De Sanctis (*Riv. di Filol.*, 1941, pp. 194 ff.), in assigning it to 302 B.C., and it may have been enacted during Demetrius' visit to Athens in Munychion, i. e., during the prytany of Antigonis (Table, p. 118 and note 14). It can, however, be a little later. The passage on his services is:

- καὶ [νῦν κατασταθεῖ]  
[ς ὑπὸ τ]οῦ βασιλέως Δημητρί[ου πρόεδρος ἐν τ]  
[ῶι κο]ινῶι συνεδρίῳ διατε[λεί πράττων τὰ σ]  
[υμφέ]ροντα τοῖς τε βασιλεῦ[σιν καὶ τῶι δήμῳ]  
10 [ι τῶι Ἀ]θη[ν]αίων καὶ το[ῖς] ἄλλ[οις] συμμάχοις κ]  
[αὶ παρ]εκάλεσεν τοὺς Ἑλλην[ας] ἅπαντας ἐλθεῖ  
[ῖν εἰ]ς τὸ κοινὸν συνέδριον [τὸ ἐν Ἰσθμῶι μετ']  
[Ἀθην]αίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων συμ[μάχων, προεδρεύ]  
[ων δὲ] προέθηκεν περὶ τούτω[ν τὸ ψήφισμα ὃ κα]  
15 [ὶ ἔδο]ξεν τοῖς συνέδροις, ἐά[ν τις] συμμάχῳι εἰ  
[πίη] βοηθεῖν ἅπαντα[ς] τοὺς [συμμάχους] ἔχον[τας]  
[τας] ὅπλα.

[In line 10 I have substituted *συμμάχοις* for Schweigert's *συνέδροις*, in line 11 *ἅπαντας ἐλθεῖν* for his *συναγείρεσθ*?, and in line 15 *συμμάχῳι ἐπίη* for his *ἱη ἐπὶ πολέμῳι*, which regularly requires an *ἐπὶ* with an object. I am also responsible for the restoration after *περὶ τούτων* in line 14].

It is too bad that both *πρόεδρος* and *προεδρεύων* are restorations, but I am convinced that they are right. One vouches for the other, and *προέθηκεν* (see Schweigert's note) is confirmatory. τὰ συμφέροντα—*συμμάχοις* reproduces with an Athenian slant, the phrase in the Articles of Confederation which defines the object of the association; cf. *I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, 68, lines 83 f., 132; Wilcken, *Sitz. d. preuss. Akad.*, 1929, p. 310.

Adeimantos was obviously one of the proedroi designated by Demetrius to serve for the duration of the Hellenic War then in progress (*I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, 68, lines 90 f.; cf. Larsen, *Class. Phil.*, XX, 1925, pp. 325 ff.; Roussel, *loc. cit.*, 132 ff.). He must have received his commission before the synedroi assembled (after Anthesterion 21, cf. above note 14). In this capacity he (and his colleagues) invited all the Greeks (*ἅπαντας* seems necessary) whether they were allies or not to attend the synedrion at the Isthmus. This invitation must be either what I have called (pp. 120 ff.) the summons issued by Demetrius (cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 492, lines 20 ff.) or a supplementary summons extended to all the Greeks after Demetrius had arranged for the meeting with his allies. It is interesting to note that, while he let his lieutenants act for him, they did so in their official capacity as proedroi of the synedrion.

The next clause concerns Adeimantos' activity once the synedroi had assembled. Τούτων must include the Greeks from the areas as yet unliberated. The psephisma of the synedroi was a bid for new allies as well as a protection for the old ones: it committed all the confederates to defend by force of arms any member that might be attacked by anyone whatsoever. The terms of the ὅρκοι to which members of Philip's league swore (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 236; cf. above, p. 112) do not cover Adeimantos' point: they are occupied exclusively with sanctions against breaches of τὴν κοινὴν εἰρήνην by one another. There is a passage in the Articles of Demetrius' Confederation which involves the same general idea, viz., *I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, 68, line 10 (cf. also line 143, as restored): [ὥ]στε καὶ χ[ρῆσ]θαι τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐχθροῖς καὶ φίλοις, the contracting parties being "the members of the League" and "the Kings Antigonos and Demetrius and their descendants." This is, however,

League, drawing from each member its quota of cavalry, hoplites, light-armed troops and sailors (*I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, 68, lines 95 ff.). In this way Demetrius got the 25,000 hoplites ἐκ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα πόλεων as well as ψιλικά τάγματα and crews for the ships, which raised to 56,000 foot, 1,500 horsemen (*Diod.*, XX, 110, 4), and an incalculable number of seamen the manpower with which he launched his amphibious operation against Kassander in Thessaly. The point of concentration for the great expedition, which dwarfed that sent by Athens to Sicily in 415 B.C., was Chalcis (cf. *I.G.*, XII, 9, 210), and it can well have been that the huge flotilla did not push off till Thargelion (May-June).<sup>41</sup> Naturally there were Athenian soldiers in the new army. For them release "from the war" meant only a furlough of at most two months. Then they went to Thessaly where they saw about four months of service. Some of them subsequently accompanied Demetrius to Asia Minor (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 657, lines 18 ff.).

### 3. COMMENTS ON THE TEXT

Lines 1-7. The first seven lines are so fragmentary that any hope of restoring the *ipsissima verba* is vain. I have done the next best—filled in the gaps between the isolated words and phrases as the stoichedon arrangement requires in such a way that the passage will yield the sense demanded by the interpretation I have made of the document as a whole:

δυνά]-

[μει μεγάλη]ηι [εἰσέβαλεν εἰς Πελοπόννησον κατὰ γῆν]  
 [καὶ] κατὰ θάλ[ατταν εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς χώρας ὑπ]  
 [ακο]νούσης Κα[σσάνδρῳ καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ φρουροῖς, κα]  
 [ὶ το]ῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀ[θηναίων συμμαχήσαντος πανδημεῖ]  
 5 [κα]ὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων π[άντων τοὺς πολεμίους ἐκράτησε κ]  
 αὶ Πλείσταρχον καὶ [Πρεπέλαον ἐξέβαλε· πολλὰς δὲ κ]  
 αὶ πόλεις Ἑλληνίδας ὑπηκόους καὶ φρουρουμένας ἐ]

In line 5 π[άντων] is assumed to be used proleptically, as in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 492, line 22.

Line 2. κατὰ θάλ[ατταν] is reasonably certain. The dot under an alpha means only that a lambda is also possible, and a dot under a theta that an omicron is an alternative. The expedition against the Peloponnese was in fact amphibious (*Polyaen.*,

a time-honored and abused formula of Greek συμμαχία, and it posits rather a condition than a call for action. It lacks what is perhaps the essence of the psephisma of Adeimantos; that "the allies," that is to say, the Greek states represented in the synedrion, should automatically and unitedly come with armed force to the defense of any one of them whom an outsider, Kassander or Polyperchon for example, might attack. It envisages, I can well believe, the withdrawal for a second time of Demetrius from Hellas with his army and fleet on the order of his father.

<sup>41</sup> At about the same time of year his expedition to free Athens started from Ephesos in 307 B.C. (*Plut., Dem.*, VIII, 3 [Loeb]).

IV, 7, 3; cf. Niese, *op. cit.*, I, p. 336), as Demetrius' command of the sea made inevitable.

Line 6. In 302/1, after the armistice, Pleistarchos led to the Straits and then to Odessa for transshipment to Heracleia Pontica the second army which Kassander sent to reënforce Lysimachus. Prior thereto he had been active in his brother's service in Hellas. His whereabouts during this period is known at only one moment, in 312 B.C. when he was left in command at Chalcis by Kassander (Diod., XIX, 77, 6). His name is not mentioned in the accounts we possess of the fighting in the Peloponnese in 303 B.C. (cf. above, note 21) or in Thessaly in 302 B.C. What we are given by Diodorus in his narrative of the Peloponnesian war is the names of the commanders of the garrisons in the cities which fell into Demetrius' hands, and, as already pointed out (above, p. 121), he omits all details of the struggle for Akte and the Argolid. The chances are that Pleistarchos was active in this area, or that he had political and military supervision of his brother's interests in the Peloponnese. He is also known to us by a reference in Pausanias (I, 15) to a defeat which he sustained in a cavalry battle with the Athenians. There he appears as the officer *ὁς τῆς ἵππου Κασσάνδρου καὶ τοῦ ξενικοῦ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀδελφὸς ὦν ἐπετέτραπτο*. If the date of the victory was affixed to the trophy which the periegete saw in Athens he failed to record it. It was of course during his Greek period that Pleistarchos held this command, but all we can say as to the time is that it preceded 317 or followed 307 B.C. The cavalry battle may have occurred in April-June, 303 B.C.<sup>42</sup> Prepelaos, Kassander's general in Corinth, escaped to Thessaly, and despite his ignominious failure to hold the key to the Peloponnese, Kassander, in whose service he had advanced to a high command by 314 B.C. (Diod., XIX, 68, 5; cf. XX, 102, 1), entrusted him with the army which he sent early in 302 to help Lysimachus in crossing the Hellespont.

Line 8. The *synthekai* are the articles agreed to by the individual cities and Demetrius on their liberation. They were anticipatory to the *ὁμολογίαι* (*I.G.*, IV<sup>2</sup>, 68, lines 85, 133, 138) or *synthekai* (*ibid.*, line 92) to which the member states of the *synedrion*, subsequently formed, took oath. Cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 236, of which Wilcken (*Sitz. d. preuss. Akad.*, 1929, p. 317) gives a fuller and better text.

Line 9. The perfect *πεπότηκεν* brings the action down to the point where the specific motive for the decree of the tribe begins. In other words, the historical preamble ends with this word. A present tense of the next definite verb is called for. It is worth noting that the historical preamble of the decree of the *ἐθελονταὶ ἐπίλεκτοι* ends at precisely this same point. If this élite corps returned with the hoplite militia, its decree is a little later than that of the *phyletai*, since the *epilektoi* were obviously

<sup>42</sup> The earlier date should be preferred if *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1955 were a record of this cavalry battle (cf. Niese, I, p. 244, note 3), but there is nothing whatsoever to connect *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1955, with either Pleistarchos or a victory of Athenian cavalry. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 558, lines 33 f. shows that Athenian Knights were engaged in battle in or about 303 B.C., since some of them were unfortunate enough to be taken prisoners.

in Athens when they voted. Otherwise, it is impossible to say which was prior. In any case, they were both enacted in the same conjuncture. There is at least one alternative for ὁ[κνῶν δ' οὐδαμῶς], viz., ο[ὕδεν δὲ δεδιώς].

Line 13. As the clause is restored, πόλιν may mean simply Athens and show that the phyle was thinking egotistically of the Athenian soldiers alone. The furlough was given, as was natural, to the Hellenes generally, but its effects were noted only in the case of the troops with whom the phyle was concerned. Its official concern was of course its own men, as is made clear in line 15, but in στρατευόμενοι it included doubtless the soldiers of the other eleven phylae and the ἐθελονταὶ ἐπίλεκτοι.

Πόλιν may also be a singular doing duty for the plural πόλεις according to a common linguistic phenomenon noted by J. Wackernagel (*Vorlesungen über Syntax*, I, p. 92; cf. for the literature on the subject E. Löfstedt, *Syntaktika*, I, pp. 11 ff.). Wackernagel cites Thucy., VI, 58, 2: μετὰ γὰρ ἀσπίδος καὶ δόρατος εἰώθεσαν τὰς πομπὰς ποιεῖν, but he attaches his discussion to Eurip., *Medea*, 1069 ff.: δότ', ὦ τέκνα, δότ' ἀσπασασθαι μητρὶ δεξιὰν χέρα. ὦ φιλάττη χεῖρ, φίλτατον δέ μοι κάρα καὶ σχῆμα καὶ πρόσωπον εὐγενὲς τέκνων (Nock gives me also Euseb., *Eccl. Hist.*, V, 28, 8). Thus considered, the phrase would be translated, not "to Athens," but "to their cities."

It is also conceivable that ἕκαστος (-οι) αὐτῶν should be substituted for [ἐκ τοῦ πολέμου]. Cf. Solon in Arist., *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 12, 3: καδόκουν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ὄλβον εὐρήσειν πολύν; *ibid.*, 13, 5: εἶχον δὲ ἕκαστοι τὰς ἐπωνυμίας ἀπὸ τῶν τόπων ἐν οἷς ἐγεώργουν; but σωιζόμενοι, following the preceding particle, seems to need an adjunct, and it is after rather than before [κατέλθωσ]ιν that we should expect to find the distributive phrase.

Κρατήσ[αντες] is a belated recognition of the success, if not of all the Greek troops, certainly of the Athenian contingent. The exploits noted previously in the decree were those of the leader, Demetrius. It was in order for the soldiers to receive a citation. They got it adroitly, but emphatically, in the final participle. Κρατήσ[αντες] and σωιζόμεν[οι] may be taken as linked, the one with Athena Nike, and the other with Soteres, in lines 16 f.

Line 16. In Athens a sacrifice to Athena was appropriate at any time.

Line 17. Epimeletai, three in number, were the chief administrative officers of the phylae. They appear regularly in the decrees of the phyletai (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1138 ff.; cf. also *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 402, lines 167 ff.; VII, 1938, p. 95). The treasurer appears alone in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1158, where also [τὸν γραμματ]έα τῆς φυ[λῆς] is mentioned. In *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1168 (s. III?) the tamias and the epimeletai are found twice in conjunction: τῶι ταμίᾳ καὶ τῷ[ς ἀεὶ οὖσιν?] ἐπιμεληταῖς; τῶι [ταμί]αι καὶ τοῖς ἐπιμεληταῖς. For τοὺς νῦν ἐπιμελητάς cf. *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 91, line 18: παρὰ τῶν νῦν ταμιῶν. Κατ' ἐνιαυτόν in line 20 is to be construed with the [μερίσα]ι of line 19. To enable it to be construed with Σωτήρων it would have had to be preceded by τῶν; cf. Meisterhans<sup>3</sup>, p. 228, 23. The operative motion was twofold, to make a specific sacrifice for the safety of the

phyletai in the field, and to endow the great agon. Κατ' ἐνιαυτόν makes it sufficiently clear that what the present officials were to begin, their successors were to continue.

Line 18. For [ἀνά]θημα cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 488 (304/3 B.C.): δοῦναι δὲ αὐτοῖς [τὸν ἐπ]ὶ τῇ διοικήσει εἰς θυσ[ί]αν [κ]αὶ [ἀνάθη]μα [: H : δ]ρ[αχμάς; 1155: ἐπὶ τὸ ἀνάθημα ἐπιγρ[άψ]αι, also 1156, lines 43, 49, 62.

Line 19. The δὲ of line 20 shows that the 8 spaces before [μερίσα]ι belong with : HHH: [δραχμάς. Ἀργυρίου fits and is appropriate; cf. *S.E.G.*, III, 117 (303/2 B.C.), where the space in line 19 permits the restoration λαβεῖν [: δραχμάς] ἀργυρίου Ἀντιο[χίδαις. Cf. also *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 715 with Add. p. 666 and the Indices of *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, Vol. IV, s.v. ἀργύριον. Ἡμεδαπάς is an alternative, and in a decree of the fifth century B.C. it would be preferable perhaps. In 303/2 B.C. Ἀττικάς would be used normally instead of Ἡμεδαπάς.

Line 20. Ditt., *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 419 has δώσειν εἰς τὸν ἀγῶνα and Diod., XX, 108 ἀγῶνα μέγαν καὶ πανήγυριν. Ἀγῶνες were instituted in 307/6 B.C. as Diodorus reports (XX, 46, 2): καὶ συντελεῖν αὐτοῖς (i.e., τοῖς σωτήρσι) κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἀγῶνας καὶ πομπὴν καὶ θυσίαν. Βωμόν also fits the space; and Diodorus tells us that the Athenians voted in 307/6 B.C. to construct one (Plut., *Dem.*, XII, 3 speaks of βωμοί of Antigonos and Demetrius) and entitle it the altar of the Soteres. But even if εἰς τὸν μέ[γαν βωμόν] were translated "for the service of the great altar" (cf. Ditt., *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 1042, line 10; *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 5, line 93), it would suit the assumed context less well. If none the less βωμόν is preferred, we could restore, instead of τῶν Σωτήρων : H : in line 22, καὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα : H : δρ by allowing only one letter-space to the punctuation before and after H. Two letter spaces are, of course, customary.

The effect of the association of the cult of Antigonos and Demetrius with that of Dionysos on the name of the fête is hard to determine. For 293/2 B.C., after the death of Antigonos and the acceptance of Demetrius as king of Macedon, we encounter [Διονυσίων τῶν ἐν ἄστ]ει καὶ Δημητρίε[ί]ων τρ[αγωιδῶν τῷ ἀγῶνι (Dinsmoor, *Archons of Athens*, p. 8, line 42); but prior thereto, between 306 and 294 B.C., the official records yield simply Διονύσια (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1491, lines 8 ff., Elaphebolion, 306 B.C.; 466, lines 52 f., 307/6 B.C.; 555, lines 6 f., 307/6-304/3 B.C.; 567, line 23, end of IVth cent. B.C.; 646, 29 f., 295/4 B.C.). Literary references concur (Plut., *Dem.*, XII, 3 [Loeb]; *Oxy. Pap.*, X, 1235, 302/1 B.C.). Duris of Samos, on the other hand, has Demetria alone (Athen., XII, 536), with, however, the theatre as its locale.

This record suffices to prove that Plutarch (*Dem.*, XII, 2)<sup>43</sup> is in error when

<sup>43</sup> It is possible that in order to round out his picture Plutarch assembled in chapter XII, 1 f. incidents that did not belong together in time. His report that the Athenians changed the name Dionysia into Demetria may be a misapprehension of what was true after 294 B.C.—the coupling of the two into a single fête with a double name. So too Duris of Samos may be over-simplifying, by omitting Dionysia, when he tells us that on the proskenion of the theatre (cf. A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, *The Theatre of Dionysus in Athens*, p. 158) was painted a picture of the oikoumene

he says of the Athenians of 307/6 B.C., καὶ τῶν ἑορτῶν τὰ Διονύσια μετωνόμασαν Δημήτρια. Before our decree appeared the record left open the possibility that the fête created in 307/6 B.C. was not dovetailed with the Dionysia till 294 B.C., if then; and, in fact, Segre (*Il Mondo Classico*, II, p. 289) maintained that the Dionysia and Demetrieia of 293/2 B.C. were distinct fêtes, like the Dionysia and Demetrieia of

upholding Demetrius at the time of a celebration of the Demetria. The occasion may be 291 or 290 B.C. when the king, in his hopes and plans, was "riding on the top of the world."

Unaware of the corroborative evidence since conveniently assembled by Alois Tresp, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Kultschriftsteller*, pp. 84 f., § 42, I dismissed too lightly (*Hell. Ath.*, p. 122, note) Plutarch's report, "And finally they changed the month Munychion to Demetrian and that of the last day of a month, the Old and New, to Demetrias" (Trans. by Perrin in the Loeb Classics). Since Philochoros vouches for the first and Polemon (dessen Quelle vielleicht Philochoros war) for the second of these changes, there must be some truth in them. Munychion may have become Demetrian in some sense in some one year. This year cannot have been 306/5 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 471) or 302/1 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 502), but it may have been, so far as the preserved decrees go, any one of the other years between 307/6 and 301/0 inclusive. There was a Munychion in 300/299 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1241, line 30), another in 296/5 (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 644, line 4), and another in 293/2 (*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 97; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 389, 649 = Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 7). I have not noticed another before 288.

A scholiast on Pind., *Nem.*, III, 4 (II, 74, 15 Abel) quotes Philochoros as follows: τὸν οὖν Δημητριῶνα μὴνὰ φησι Φιλόχορος ὅλον ψηφίσασθαι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἱερομηνίαν λέγεσθαι, and adds the comment οἷον ὅλον ἑορτήν. ἱερομηνίαν φησὶν ἐν τούτοις· ἀπάντων ἡμῶν ἀγόντων ἱερομηνίαν. With the evidence we possess it is impossible to determine the year of the Munychion which they renamed Demetrian and declared in its entirety a hieromenia. We think naturally of the juggling done to the Munychion of 302 B.C. by Stratokles (he had a precedent, if he knew that Alexander the Great had renamed Daisios "a second Artemisios" before the battle of the Granicus [Plut., *Alex.*, XVI, 2; cf. XXV, 2]); but if he had first converted Munychion into Demetrian before substituting for it in turn Anthesterion and Boedromion, Plutarch plainly did not know of it. It must be admitted that 307/6 B.C. is a possibility. Another possibility is 294/3 B.C. For we might treat the whole passage in Plutarch, γράφει γὰρ τις ἄλλος—μετωνόμασαν Δημήτρια, as relating to the epoch of 294-288 B.C. Indeed there is a certain resemblance between Plutarch's δέχεσθαι Δημήτριον, ὅσάκις ἂν ἀφίκηται, τοῖς Δήμητρος καὶ Διονίσου ξενισμοῖς and the opening of the Ithyphallos quoted by Athen., VI, 253d from the 22d book of Duris' *Histories*; cf. V. Ehrenberg, *Aspects of the Ancient World*, Chapter XII, pp. 179 ff. But the month of Demetrius' arrival in Athens in 291 B.C. when the Ithyphallos was sung was Boedromion, not Munychion; and the text of the "hymn" may have been accommodated to ξενισμοί made obligatory fifteen years or so earlier. Possibly the Munychion-Demetrian belonged to the epoch in which we think it probable that the Dionysia and Demetrieia were created, i. e., after Elaphebolion, 294 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 646, line 29). The time was appropriate for changes of this sort. The exetastes and the trittarchs, who emerged in 300 B.C., disappear with the year 295/4 B.C. (cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 646 and *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 99; also Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, pp. 87 and 88). From Demetrius the Athenians had just got, if not liberty as patriots understood it, at least clemency and food—things which all could appreciate and reward with the highest honors they knew, further ἰσόθεοι τιμαί. If this is when Munychion became Demetrian, the new-named month existed in 293 B.C. alone, the year of the *archairesia* in which Olympiodoros secured irregularly his second archonship. It will be recalled that at some point between 294 and 288 B.C. Histiaia (Oreos) in Euboea had a month Demetrian (*I.G.*, XII, 9, 207, line 37). Ziebarth, the editor of this volume of *I.G.*, affirms that it had in Oreos the place occupied by Munychion in the Attic calendar. I cannot control this affirmation.

Euboea (*I.G.*, XII, 9, 207, line 18) and Delos (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1036, line 10). The Demetrieia in Athens were, he wrote, "legati non al culto di Dioniso ma a quello di Atena." I have already pointed out (*Athenian Tribal Cycles*, p. 108, note 1) that the tragic contest of the Dionysia and Demetrieia was a single event and accordingly belonged to a single fête with a double name.<sup>44</sup> Our decree corroborates this conclusion. It shows that the fête of "the Soteres" in 303/2 B.C. fell, like the Dionysia, in the month of Elaphebolion, thus making clear that its relation was with Dionysos, the only *god*, apart from Asklepios and the Zeus of the unimportant Pandia (note 46), whose fête was celebrated in Athens in this month; cf. Deubner, *Att. Feste*, Festkalender.

If the enlarged fête had a specific name before 294 B.C. we do not know what it is. The cult was the cult of the Soteres,<sup>45</sup> so was the agon, the pompe, and the sacrifice. This is what Diodorus (cf. Comments on Text, line 20, p. 131) reports, and what the easy and natural restoration of this line and the two that follow yields.<sup>46</sup> Accordingly,

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Nock, *Harvard Stud. Class. Phil.*, XLI, 1930, pp. 60 f.; Deubner, *Attische Feste*, p. 235.

<sup>45</sup> Plutarch (*Dem.*, X, 3) adds that its priest was *ιερεὺς σωτήρων*; and this is doubtless true, though his addition that the Athenians prefixed his name to their psephismata and symbolaia in place of that of the archon eponymus is demonstrably wrong, so far at least as the psephismata are concerned. He reports also (XLVI, 1) that it was only in 289/8 B.C. that the name of the priest was removed and that of the archon reinstated.

<sup>46</sup> The only agon known to us was an agon of composers of paianes: *ἐπ' Ἀντιγόῳ δὲ καὶ Δημητρίῳ φησὶν Φιλόχορος Ἀθηναίους ἄδειν παιᾶνας τοὺς πεποιημένους ὑπὸ Ἑρμοκλέους τοῦ Κυζικηνῶ, ἐφαμίλλων γενναίων τῶν παιᾶνας ποιησάντων καὶ τοῦ Ἑρμοκλέους προκριθέντος* (Athen, XV, 697a; cf. Niese, I, p. 316, note 2; *R.E.*, 1, s. v. agones, Reisch, pp. 859, 836). A similar contest had been arranged as part of the Lysandreia, the ancient Heraea of Samos (Plut., *Lys.*, XVIII, 3 f. [Loeb] citing Duri): *Ἀντιμάχου δὲ τοῦ Κολοφωνίου καὶ Νικηράτου τινὸς Ἑρακλεώτου ποιήμασι Λυσάνδρεια διαγωνισμένων ἐπ' αὐτοῦ*. There is also some evidence that in imperial Athens a literary agon in which paianes figured formed part of the cult of Asklepios; cf. Oliver, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 93. There was apparently no lack of contestants in Athens in the epoch of Demetrius. Athenaeus (VI, 253a), citing Demochares, tells us that the Athenians honored with paianes three of Demetrius' friends and lieutenants, Burichos, Adeimantos of Lampsacus (*Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 348), and Oxythemis of Larisa (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 558), and that in 291 B.C. (for the date see R. Flacelière, *Les Aitolien à Delphes*, p. 65) they greeted Demetrius himself *παιᾶνας καὶ προσόδια ἄδοντες*. The paian was an ancient and well-established literary genre (Schmid-Stählin, *Griech. Literaturgesch.*, I<sup>4</sup>, 1, pp. 343 ff.). This agon may have been called "the great agon" to distinguish it from another agon or other agones celebrated in Attica in honor of the Soteres; cf. *ἀγῶνας* in Diod., XX, 46, 2, quoted above in Comments on the Text, line 20; but it is more likely that *μέγας* is simply carried over from the *μεγάλα* which was the distinguishing name of the series of agones with which it was associated.

The Athenians did not hesitate to disturb the program of the Dionysia when they saw fit. The normal sequence of events is now pretty well established: on the 8th of Elaphebolion came the proagon, a preliminary try out of the performers. Another preliminary was to meet Dionysos at the Academy, on the way followed by him when he first came from Eleutheræ to Athens, and escort him to his temple near the theatre. Then followed in order the great *πομπή* (Arist., *Ἀθ. Πολ.*, 56, 4), *καὶ οἱ παῖδες < καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες >, καὶ ὁ κῶμος, καὶ οἱ κωμῳδοί, καὶ οἱ τραγῳδοί*, as we learn from the *nomos* of Euegoros (Demosth., XXI, 10). These elements have been isolated and admirably

we should infer that the additional fête was named *Σωτήρια*—if it were not for the analogy drawn from the period between 294–288 B.C. If we take this as our guide we arrive at *Διονύσια καὶ Ἀντιγόχεια καὶ Δημητρίεια*—a cumbersome title, but sup-

described by Deubner (*Attische Feste*, pp. 138 ff.; for the dithyramb, Kern, *R.E.*, s.v. Dionysos, 1024 and L. Robert, *Et. Epigr. et Phil.*, pp. 34 f.). With the pompe—a sacrificial procession—is connected the offering of the victims from the sale of whose hides the state realized in 334/3 B.C. some 808 dr., and in 333/2 some 251 dr., (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1496), which, at the current prices of skins (*Harvard Theo. Rev.*, XXXVII, p. 101), would represent respectively some 240 and 70 animals. Like that of the Asklepieia, which came on the 8th of Elaphebolion and yielded in 334/3 B.C. some 291 dr. = 75 animals, the sacrifice of the Dionysia furnished meats for a kreonomia of national dimensions. In the inscription just cited—a public account of the *δερματικά*—the receipts from the Asklepieia precede immediately those from the Great Dionysia. This links the two in time since the order of the sacrifices is chronological throughout the entire account. It does not disclose the interval between the two fêtes. There was, of course, another Asklepieia, also a public sacrifice (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1496, lines 133, 142), in Boedromion, integrated, under the specific name Epidauria, with the Mysteries of Eleusis. The two Asklepieia in Athens were thus calendared shrewdly so as to fall in periods of long-established festivity. Neither of them interfered with the Great Asklepieia at Epidauros.

Can the pompe for Dionysos have come on the 9th? Not, if we trust the scholiast on Aesch., III, 67, who tells us that the proagon came “a few days (*ὀλίγαις ἡμέραις*) before the Great Dionysia.” I should like to present another reason for thinking that the 9th was a rather inactive day in the ritual of the Dionysia, if indeed it did not precede the religious ceremonies altogether. In 1898 Julius Dutoit (*Zur Festordnung der grossen Dionysien*, pp. 38 f.; cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 4, 1, p. 30) tabulated the known instances of conflict in Athens between meetings of the ecclesia and the occurrences of religious festivals. They were frequent: a sacred day, *ἱερὰ ἡμέρα* (Aesch., III, 67), in Athens was not *ἀποφράς*, *nefastus*. On the basis of our present knowledge we can make a much larger list than Dutoit could of the meetings of the ecclesia held in the hieromenia of the Dionysia. During this period of the month of Elaphebolion meetings occurred *on the 8th* (Aesch., III, 67, 346 B.C.; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 359, 326/5 B.C.; cf. Dinsmoor, *Archons*, p. 372 and Pritchett and Neugebauer, *Calendars of Athens*, p. 54), *on the 9th* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 646 and 647, 295/4 B.C.; cf. Pritchett and Meritt, *Chronology*, p. 86; *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 199, 171/0 B.C.; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1008, line 50, 118/7 B.C.) [other decrees assigned to the 9th in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, viz., 460, 461 and 726 = 462?, 307/6 B.C., have been disposed of for the moment at least (by Pritchett and Meritt in *Chronology*, pp. 16 ff.), as have two others assigned to the 11th, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 670A, 282/1 B.C.—cf. *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 106—and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 360, 325/4 B.C.—cf. *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 536], *on the 11th* (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 365 (?), 323/2 B.C.; cf. Pritchett and Neugebauer, *Calendars*, p. 57), *on the 12th* (*Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 476, 319/8 B.C.; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 388, where, however, Elaphebolion was miswritten for Munychion—cf. Pritchett, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 269, note 7), *on the 13th* (*Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 422, 196/5 B.C.—cf. below, p. 135, and possibly *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 372, 322/1 B.C.—cf. Pritchett and Neugebauer, p. 60), *on the 14th* (Thucy., IV, 118, 12, 423 B.C.), and *on the 18th and 19th*, *εὐθὺς μετὰ τὰ Διονύσια τὰ ἐν ἄστει καὶ τὴν ἐν Διονύσειον ἐκκλησίαν* (Aesch. II, 61; III, 68, 346 B.C.). This list, scrutinized without prepossession, suggests that the 9th of Elaphebolion was freely available for sessions of the ecclesia. It also demonstrates that there is not the slightest reason to infer from Thucy., IV, 118, 12 that the Dionysia ended on the 13th; nor was there ever any sound reason for dating the Pandia on the (14th), since the fête obviously belonged to Zeus not to Selene (Deubner, pp. 176 f.). Since it came after the Dionysia and before the meeting of the ecclesia ἐν Διονύσειον (Demosth., XXI, 8 f.; *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, no. 18, p. 102, lines 18 f.), i.e., in 346 B.C. the 18th, it may be dated, and probably should be dated, as late as the 16th. Even though leeway was provided for the postponement of events on the program of the Dionysia to permit meetings of the ecclesia, I do not think there is any necessity to ignore the scholion on Aesch., III, 62 and make the 9th the first

ported by the name, Ἀντιγόνεια καὶ Δημητρίεια, borne by the fête established a year later (306 B.C.) by Samos in honor of the same two βασιλεῖς (*S.E.G.*, I, 362). At Samos, however, the fête with the double name was a new creation, not integrated with a pre-existent festival.

day of the Dionysia proper. The Dionysia can have begun on the tenth, and since it can have run to the 15th there was room within its course, not only for the presentation of an old tragedy (after 387/6 B.C.), and an old comedy (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2323 a, late 4th century; 2323, late 3d century; cf. Meritt, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 117), but also for the pompe, sacrifice, and agon of the Soteres. None the less I think it more likely that the cult of the Soteres was assigned to the 9th. Nock and Deubner (cf. above, note 44) think of a lengthening of the Dionysia by a day or days. They are influenced, I imagine, by the order of the names, Dionysia-Demetrieia. I am affected by the parallel of the Asklepieia. They may be right: there was room for the Demetrieia after, or before, the Dionysia. So we cannot be sure. But after the final event of the Dionysia—the presentation of new tragedies, at which time the announcements of honors were made—the Demetrieia would have been an anti-climax.

When the cult of Asklepios was well established—it came to Athens in 420 B.C.—one of its two public sacrifices (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1496, lines 78, 109, 133; cf. above, p. 134) was entered on the 8th (Aesch., III, 67). By assigning the fête of the Soteres to the 9th we reserve to Dionysos the period of seven days following his arrival at the shrine on the slope of the Acropolis. In Euboea the technitai who put on the shows at the Dionysia in 294-288 B.C. received σιτηρέσιον for five days in each city (*I.G.*, XII, 9, 207, line 23). Six days are not too much to allow for the greatest Dionysia of them all. The *eisagoge* from the Academy, in which the ephebes had the central role, was made by torch-light (μετὰ φωτός, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1006, lines 12 f.), hence on the evening of the 9th probably. Dionysos was thus in his shrine at the theatre on the morning of the 10th when his great pompe arrived and the sacrifice of the processional animals was made. For a parallel for the deity being absent till the statue was present see Nilsson, *Griech. Feste*, p. 410. I take as confirmatory of the tenth being the day of the sacrifice the fact that it was on the 10th (κατὰ δεκάτην τοῦ Ἐλαφελιῶνος) that the head of the association of the Iobakchoi (ὁ ἀρχίβακχος) performed τὴν θυσίαν—καὶ τὴν σπονδὴν to Dionysos (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1368, lines 117 ff.; cf. Kirchner, note 3; Deubner, *Att. Feste*, pp. 142, 150 and note 7). Whatever else might be postponed or omitted the πομπή and θυσία were the essential part of the cult (Nilsson, *Griech. Feste*, p. v) and without these there could be no Dionysia (cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 896). This is perhaps the reason why we have no instances of meetings of the ecclesia on the tenth. The holding of a particular agon was dependent on the availability of plays or choruses and of funds; hence in the latter part of the third century B.C. and during the second the κομωδῶν ἀγών was often omitted (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2323, lines 99 ff., 162, 230 f., 251 f.). Omissions would, of course, open days for public business, so that meetings of the ecclesia between the eleventh and the sixteenth of Elaphebolion during this later period (ca. 215/4-141/0 B.C.—the limits of our evidence) might be more frequent than was possible earlier. The meeting on the thirteenth in 196/5 B.C. was κυρία and held in the Piraeus (*Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 422). It enacted the famous decree in honor of Kephisodoros who played the leading political and diplomatic role in Athens during the Second Macedonian War which had ended with the triumph at the Isthmia some eleven months earlier. The decree ordered that the crown voted to Kephisodoros be proclaimed [Διονυσίων τε τῶν ἐν] ἄσ[τει καινοῖς τραγωιδίαις καὶ Παναθηναίων κ[αὶ Ἐλευσινίων καὶ] Πολ[εμίων τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν]. Two conclusions seem to emerge: (1) that the program of the Great Dionysia was featureless on the thirteenth of Elaphebolion, 195 B.C., and (2) that the ἐκκλησία κυρία of the prytany of Aigeis was timed to enable the crowning of Kephisodoros to be announced at the tragic contest impending on one of the following three days.

During Elaphebolion the ecclesia met most frequently between the 19th and the 22nd, and between the 27th and the 30th. Two meetings came on the fifth, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 656, 286/5 B.C., and Dow, *Prytaneis*, 53, 186/5 B.C.?; cf. Pritchett and Neugebauer, *Calendars*, p. 75.

It seems to me that the weight of the evidence favors the conclusion that the Dionysia remained the Dionysia simply, despite the intrusion of the cult of the Soteres, until 294 B.C.<sup>47</sup>

Line 21. There is a good chance that Elaphebolion, the month of the Dionysia, was imminent at the time our decree was passed, especially since the αὐτοῖς of line 20 are, strictly construed, the same prytaneis designated by αὐτοῖς in line 18.

Line 22. This pompe was doubtless distinct from the πομπή τῷ Διονύσῳ; hence the specification τῶν Σωτήρων.

Line 23. For ὑπόμνημα, cf. *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 104, line 23 (302/1 B.C.); *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 570; and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 657, line 43 (285/4 B.C.): [καὶ ἐπὶ]θετον ἀγῶνα κατεσκεύασεν τεῖ Δῆμ[ητρι καὶ τεῖ Κόρη]ι [πρ]ῶτος ὑπόμνημα τῆς τοῦ δήμου [ἐλευθρίας. Cf. Ditt., *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, IV (Index), s.v. ὑπόμνημα.

Line 24. On ἐψηφίσθαι δέ, see above, p. 114, line 13. The phrase ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀκαμαντίδ[ος πρυτανείας would be ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς, κτλ. if this was the beginning of a new clause.

In conclusion I must express my gratitude to B. D. Meritt for intrusting to me the publication of the decree from the Athenian Agora on which this study is based, and to A. D. Nock for reading the Ms. and both annotating it copiously with helpful suggestions and discussing them with me subsequently.

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<sup>47</sup> In 288 B.C. the Dionysia, like Athens itself, was freed from its invader (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 653, 654, 657). It was then in all probability that the cult of the Soteres was disestablished. The cult of the Macedonian kings in Athens between 262 and 235 B.C. was that of the Soteres (Dow, *Prytaneis*, p. 11; Pritchett, *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pp. 150 f.). This was a revival of a sort.

#### ADDENDA

Page 127, footnote 40: I note that Wilhelm, *Rhein. Mus.*, 1941, p. 23 reads in line 10 of *Hesperia*, IX, 1943, pp. 348 ff., no. 45 [συμμάχους] for Schweigert's [συνέδρους], in lines 11-12 [παραγίγνεσθαι εἰ]ς for Schweigert's [συναγείρεσθαι ? εἰ]ς, and in lines 14-15 περὶ τούτῳ[ν· ἐφ' οἷς καὶ πᾶσιν ἔδο]ξεν τοῖς συνέδρους· εἰάν τις ἦν for Schweigert's περὶ τούτῳ[ν ὧν . . . . . ἔδο]ξεν, κτλ.

Page 134, footnote: for meetings of the ecclesia on the 9th of Elaphebolion see also *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 3 f., no. 3, two decrees passed in the ecclesia κυρία, 244/3 B.C.

## A NEW HERACLES RELIEF

(PLATE 34)

IN JULY, 1947, after my professorship in the American School of Classical Studies was ended, on a tour of exploration I saw a relief (Plate 34, 1) of Pentelic marble.<sup>1</sup> It was found to the south of the Ilissus, near where I should place the site of the Cynosarges.<sup>2</sup> It has a molding at the top, on three sides, but not on the rough rear. There are five little projections or antefixes above the entablature besides the corner ones. At either end is a pilaster with capital. On the architrave or projection above is the inscription ΠΑΝΙΞ ΑΙΓΙΡΙΟΣ ΗΡΚΛΕΙ. Alpha seems to be omitted in the first (Πανιάς) and last words. There is no such name as Πανίς, though it might be possible. Αἰγίριος is a new name. Αἰγείρος or Αἰγίρος is known as a nymph's name,<sup>3</sup> and we have the form Αἰγειρεύς, so perhaps we can have a masculine, Αἰγίριος: Πανι(ά)ς, Αἰγίριος, Ἡρ(α)κλεῖ. The relief was bought and given by me to the Agora Museum.

The sculptured slab is a votive offering to Heracles, who stands at the right facing the procession which is approaching him from the left. He leans his bent right arm on his club which rests on a rock. His lion's skin is thrown over his left elbow, and his left hand holds an apple. He stands in frontal position, with right foot and head turned to left. A big majestic bull is being brought to him as a sacrifice or offering by a young man with long stride. He is dressed in a short garment and is nude above the hips. His legs also are bare. His left hand is advanced and probably held a bridle or rope which was attached to the bull's mouth. This was probably painted, as on vases and on slab XLI on the Parthenon frieze.<sup>4</sup> Behind the bull with his long tail, which ends in three strands, is Aigirios, a bearded man with right hand raised. A child is in front of him. Behind him is his draped wife with her garment pulled over her head, Panias or Panis. She is making a similar gesture. She is followed by a female servant or companion who is in nearly front view. She bears on her head a circular draped box or *κίστη* covered with a cloth, as an additional offering to Heracles. Such are often found in votive reliefs to Asclepius, Amphiaraüs, as well as to Heracles.<sup>5</sup>

The relief takes its place with the nine Heracles column-reliefs published by Frickenhaus,<sup>6</sup> which date 480-380 B.C., especially with the three votive reliefs to

<sup>1</sup> Width at top, 0.43 m. Height, 0.27 m. Thickness, 0.06 m. to 0.07 m. Height of scene, 0.21 m.; of projection below, 0.05 m. (0.08 m. wide and 0.07 m. thick).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, plan 1, G. 8, Windmühle and my remarks in *A.J.P.*, XXVIII, 1907, p. 425-426.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Athenaeus, III, 78b.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Robinson, *A.J.A.*, XXXVIII, 1934, pp. 45-48, pl. V. Replica on a hydria in Leipzig.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Svoronos, *Das National-Museum*, pl. XXXV (1345), LIX (1395, with ram and pig).

<sup>6</sup> *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXVI, 1911, pp. 113-144, pls. II-III.

Heracles in Boston, Athens, and Venice.<sup>7</sup> Only two others have a bull, the one from Ithome, now in the Athens Museum, and the one in Venice. That in Venice shows a bull being led by an attendant. Heracles holds the club in his left hand, however, and stands in front of a two-columned shrine, placing his right hand on the bull's left horn. The reliefs in Boston<sup>8</sup> and Athens<sup>9</sup> also have two-columned shrines and the figure of Heracles but no bull. That from Ithome, in Athens,<sup>10</sup> represents a two-columned shrine in front of which stands a beardless Heracles with right arm bent and a lion's skin over his left arm. An attendant is bringing a bull and ram. In Opus the suovetaurilia is anticipated by the bull, boar, and ram as a sacrifice to Heracles.<sup>11</sup> A bull as a sacrifice to Heracles at Athens is mentioned by Theophrastus, *Characters*, 27.<sup>12</sup> A similar sacrifice is known at the port of Lindos.<sup>13</sup> In the newly opened museum at the Peiraeus is a relief (33) representing Heracles with club in left hand and lion's skin below it at the right of an altar holding his right hand over it, a boy behind the altar and a ram and pig in front and an attendant at the left.

It would seem that such reliefs come from some shrine or temple of Heracles. The antefixes<sup>14</sup> on top of the relief might indicate the side of a heroön or shrine. Temples and shrines of the "Greek happy warrior"<sup>15</sup> existed in many parts of Greece, including Thasos,<sup>16</sup> Corinth (at the west end of the agora, to be published

<sup>7</sup> Reinach, *Répertoire de Reliefs Grecs et Romains*, III, Venice, p. 430, 2; Valentinelli, *Marmi scolpiti del. mus. arch. della Marciana*, 1866, pl. 40 (no. 200); Furtwängler in Roscher, *Lexikon*, s.v. Herakles, cols. 2156-2158; *Abh. Bay. Ak.*, XXI, 2, 315; Friederichs-Wolters, *Gipsabgüsse*, no. 1134; Zanetti, *Delle antiche statue di S. Marco*, I, pl. 49; Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, I, 1, pp. 116-117; *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXVI, 1911, pl. III, 2.

<sup>8</sup> A votive relief (early fourth century) to Herakles Alexikakos with a wine-cup on the shrine representing the ceremony called *οἰνοσθήπια*: *A.J.A.*, VII, 1903, p. 85; *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXVI, 1911, pp. 121 ff., pl. II; *A.A.*, 1897, col. 73, no. 5; *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIV, 1899, p. 145; *Mus. Fine Arts Bull.*, Boston, VIII, 1910, p. 27, no. 46; Reinach, *Répertoire de Reliefs*, II, p. 201, 4; Chase, *Greek and Roman Sculpture*, p. 99, fig. 117; Caskey, *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture*, pp. 102-104; Kent, "The Baffled Hercules from Sparta," *Proc. Num. Ant. Soc. of Philadelphia*, XXIX, 1923, p. 16, fig. 9.

<sup>9</sup> *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXVI, 1911, pl. III, 1 (Athens National Museum, 2723); Svoronos, *Das Athener National-museum*, pls. 101, 121 (Heft 13, pp. 378-379); Süsserott, *Griechische Plastik des 4. Jahrhunderts vor Christus*, pl. 16, 4.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Schöne, *Griechische Reliefs*, p. 55, pl. XXVII, 112; Rouse, *Greek Votive Offerings*, p. 32; Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, s.v. Heracles, p. 116, fig. 3793; Svoronos, *op. cit.*, pl. 60 (Heft 13, pp. 352-353); Roscher, *Lexikon*, cols. 2157, 2173; Reinach, *Répertoire*, II, p. 352; Süsserott, *op. cit.*, pl. 14, 1.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Diodorus, IV, 39.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. also Zenobius, V, 22.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Apollodorus, II, 5, 11.

<sup>14</sup> For such on a relief cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIX, 1945, p. 264, fig. 13.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Agard, "The Greek Happy Warrior," in Arnold, *Classical Essays presented to James A. Kleist*.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *B.C.H.*, LIX, 1935, pp. 293-297.

by Scranton), Pagae,<sup>17</sup> Marathon,<sup>18</sup> those at Porthmos at Sunium,<sup>19</sup> at the Porthmos to Salamis,<sup>20</sup> where only a narrow passage separates Salamis from Attica, at Athens in Melite,<sup>21</sup> and at Cynosarges,<sup>22</sup> where our relief belongs. In the Mesogaia a decree of the Mesogeioi mentions a procession and sacrifice for Heracles.<sup>23</sup>

The figure of Heracles on the relief is surely an adaptation of some well-known statue by some famous sculptor. Heracles was not entirely eclipsed by Theseus in the sixth or fifth or fourth century B.C.<sup>24</sup> To Myron (460-450 B.C.) is attributed a bearded Heracles with lion's skin over his left arm and resting his right hand on a club which is supported by a rock.<sup>25</sup> The idea of a resting Heracles, beardless and with right arm bent and with lion's skin over the left arm, is anticipated by figures on Greek vases of the fifth and early fourth centuries and by certain reliefs such as that from Ithome mentioned above. Lysippus, however, in the fourth century to which our relief belongs, also sculptured a resting Heracles, who was beardless. He probably created also the bearded type which was continued in a later adaptation in the Hellenistic Farnese Heracles in Naples.<sup>26</sup> Lysippus was probably not the first to represent such a resting weary Heracles,<sup>27</sup> but the hip-shot stance, the head turned to his right, and the general style of the figure on our relief is Lysippan. There is such similarity in every detail to the Ludovisi marble statue of Heracles in the Museo Nazionale in Rome (Plate 34, 2),<sup>28</sup> to the Heracles (Plate 34, 3) on the neo-classical marble

<sup>17</sup> *I.G.*, VII, 192.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Herodotus, VI, 108; Pindar, *Ol.*, IX, 88 ff.; *A.A.*, XLIX, 1934, col. 147.

<sup>19</sup> *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 20, 22, 26, 43, 64; X, 1941, pp. 169-170; a Heracleum of the Tetrakomoi, Peiraeus, Phalerum, Xypete, and Thymoetadae.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Plutarch, *Themistocles*, 13.

<sup>21</sup> Possibly the fifth-century boundary stone,  $\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\pi\alpha\kappa\lambda\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ , published in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 64-65, no. 56, may belong to the famous shrine in Melite. Cf. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, p. 396; *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 410, line 105.

<sup>22</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1596.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1247. Cf. also for worship of Heracles outside Athens Hesychius, s. v.  $\text{Ἡράκλεια}$ ; *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2609, 2610; Solders, *Die Ausserstädtischen Kulte und die Einigung Attikas*, pp. 76 ff.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Nilsson, *Origin of Greek Mythology*, pp. 163 ff.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Miss Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, pp. 55, 211, fig. 39; Caskey, *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture*, no. 64 for statuette copy in Boston.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Miss Richter, *op. cit.*, fig. 56; Johnson, *Lysippus*, pp. 197 ff. For different Lysippan types of Heracles, cf. *ibid.*, pls. 16, 37, 41, 42, and index for passages in Johnson's text which discuss these.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Furtwängler, in Roscher, *Lexikon*, s. v. Herakles, col. 2173; *Mon. Grece*, 1880, pl. 1; Heuzey, *Mont Olympe et L'Acarnanie*, pls. XI, XII.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Welcker, *Alte Denkmäler*, 1864, V, p. 81, no. 4; Schreiber, *Die antiken Bildwerke der Villa Ludovisi in Rom*, p. 71, no. 45; Paribeni, *Le Terme di Diocleziano e il Museo Nazionale Romano*, 1932, pp. 115-116, no. 169 (8573), "forse derivante da un' opera del ciclo lisippeo"; Cultrera, "Una Statua di Ercole," *Memorie della R. Accademia dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, XIV, III, 1910, p. 182, fig. 1; Reinach, *Répertoire*, II, p. 209, 1, and V, p. 80, no. 9, fig. 6; Phyllis Williams Lehmann, *Statues on Coins*, New York, 1946, pl. 1, 6.

puteal in Naples,<sup>29</sup> and to the Heracles (Plate 34, 4 and 5) on coins of Heracleia (dating about 295 and 281-272 B.C.)<sup>30</sup> that all these representations must go back to a Lysippan lost archetype. Welcker, Schreiber, and Graef<sup>31</sup> as well as Paribeni classified the type as Lysippan.<sup>32</sup> The lithe athletic figure of Heracles on our relief is probably a replica of a lost statue of Lysippus made long before 295 B.C. Surely it dated even before the end of the fourth century B.C. to which Mrs. Lehmann<sup>33</sup> assigned the original of the statue represented on the coins of Heracleia. There is certainly a typological identity of coin and statue, and even the irregular rocky support for the club is, as she says,<sup>34</sup> "foreign to a purely numismatic concept and inexplicable save as the literal reflection of an actual plastic support." On our relief the forward oblique position of the right leg, the knobby club held at precisely the same spot on the right thigh, as on the coins and in the Ludovisi Heracles, the separation of the shoulders from the chest, of the ribs from the abdomen, the same full things, and the same form of pelvis, even the rough support for the lion's skin (which is not an addition of the Roman copyist, as Mrs. Lehmann says),<sup>35</sup> the heavy execution, the whole outline, and every detail (except the turning of the head, which, however, does occur also on the coins) correspond to the later copies. Probably a bronze copy of the original statue was set up at Heracleia after 300 B.C. This was reproduced on the city's coins, but the type is much earlier. It was not the original statue, as Mrs. Lehmann says. Our relief, dating from the first half of the fourth century, shows that the original archetype is much earlier than 300 B.C.

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<sup>29</sup> Cf. *Real Museo Borbonico*, Naples, 1, 1824, pl. XLIV, pp. 5 ff.; Gerhard-Panofka, *Neapels Antike Bildwerke*, 1828, p. 78, no. 257; Ruesch, *Guida illustrata del Museo Nazionale di Napoli*, p. 94 and English edition fig. 24; Mrs. Lehmann, *op. cit.*, pl. 1, 7.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Mrs. Lehmann, *op. cit.*, pl. I, 1 and 5; Grose, *Catalogue of the McClean Collection of Greek Coins*, Cambridge, 1923, pp. 113-114, pl. XXIX, no. 17; pl. XXX, 4 (no. 861); *Num. Chron.*, XVIII, 1918, pp. 153 ff.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. *Röm. Mitt.*, IV, 1889, p. 214, note 2.

<sup>32</sup> Mrs. Lehmann, *op. cit.*, p. 8, note 37, rightly objects to Schick, "Zwei römische Kolossalstatuen und die hellenistische Kunst Syriens," *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum*, XXXIII, 1914, pp. 18 ff. He thought that the Ludovisi Heracles was a variant of a lost statue representing Melquarth at Tyre, second century B.C. It is known in such replicas as the colossal gilded Heracles in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (cf. Jones, *Sculptures of the Palazzo dei Conservatori*, pp. 282 ff., pl. 113) and a bronze statuette from Byblos in the British Museum (Walters, *Catalogue of the Bronzes*, no. 827). There are similarities, but even a Roman copyist would hardly change a statue with a lion's skin over the left forearm into a statue with an extended left hand holding only the apples of the Hesperides. It seems indeed that even the left hand of Heracles in our relief holds a single apple, though in a very different position. The Conservatori Heracles suggests a Lysippan prototype. It is derived from the earlier Ludovisi type, but I am inclined to think that there is no connection and that no Phoenician is represented. Our relief shows that the original type has been little changed.

<sup>33</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 6.

<sup>34</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

<sup>35</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 8.

## THREE NEW INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE DEME OF IKARIA

(PLATES 35-36)

IN EARLY September, 1947, near the modern village of Dionysos,<sup>1</sup> on the site of ancient Ikaria,<sup>2</sup> were found three Greek inscriptions which I am privileged to publish here in preliminary form.

1 (Plate 35, 1 and 2). Base of Pentelic marble, broken in two pieces, found on the cemetery hill south of the theater and the Pythion.

Height, 0.28 m.; width, 0.91 m.; thickness, 0.50 m.; height of letters, 0.025 m. to 0.045 m. There was no stone at left. The inscription is complete.

The base has a large cutting on top, probably for a stele like that found at Ikaria in 1888.<sup>3</sup> This cutting begins 0.26 m. from the front edge, is 0.09 m. deep, and measures 0.42 m. by 0.11 m. A small second cutting at the side measures 0.14 m. by 0.035 m. The stone is preserved to its original height and width.

ca. 525 B.C.

Βύλο τὸ σῆμα τοῦτ' Ἑλιονίδο

<sup>1</sup> Dionysos is the correct form of the name, though in popular usage the form Dionyso is common. Cf. *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*, V, 1886-1890 (1892), pp. 48-49; *A.J.A.*, V, 1889, pp. 158-159. The elder Mr. Eliopoulos, who lives on the site, has shown me an old Turkish map which came into the family's possession when the place was purchased from its Turkish owner. This has "Dionysos"; so also W. Leake, in later copies of the *Demi of Attica*, Pl. 1; A. Rangabé, *Antiquités Helléniques*, II (1855), no. 985; Milchhoefer, *Ath. Mitt.*, XII, 1887, p. 311. Curtius and Kaupert, *Karten von Attika*, XII, and *A. J. A.*, IV, 1888, pp. 44-45, have "Dionyson." The modern name is a survival of the cult of Dionysos, having nothing to do with St. Dionysios to whom Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor and Greece*, II, p. 200, attributes the Byzantine church which formerly stood on this site. Several dedicatory inscriptions to Dionysos have been found here. Cf. Buck, *Papers of the American School*, *loc. cit.*, p. 87, no. 6; p. 105, nos. 11-12; *A.J.A.*, V, 1889, pp. 28, 316; and the text published below as no. 2. Dionysos is also mentioned in Buck, *loc. cit.*, p. 71, no. 1; pp. 94, 97; *A.J.A.*, IV, 1888, p. 422; V, 1889, pp. 305, 308; *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 186/187. These inscriptions are still in the court of the house belonging to Mr. Chr. Eliopoulos. I visited Ikaria five times last year, and am convinced that the choregic monument of Hagnias, Xanthippos, and Xanthides should be completely restored in accordance with the drawing published by Buck, *loc. cit.*, p. 56, fig. 3. Mr. Eliopoulos has already replaced several of the original stones, though many still lie neglected on the ground near by. For permission to publish the new inscriptions I cordially thank the Eliopoulos family.

<sup>2</sup> For the identification of the site see Milchhoefer, *Ber. ph. Woch.*, VII, 1887, pp. 770-772; *Abh. Ak. Berlin*, 1892, p. 14; and Loeper, *Ath. Mitt.*, XVII, 1892, p. 353. Buck's excavations in 1888 confirmed the identification.

<sup>3</sup> See G. M. A. Richter, *Archaic Attic Gravestones* (Martin Classical Lectures, X), pp. 61-62 and fig. 70.

The letters are all clear. The name Bulos is otherwise unknown, but Βούλος is several times attested. Cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2981, 2986; Kirchner, *P.A.*, 2917; *Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 161 (94) = III, 1934, p. 35 (22<sup>4</sup>); *A.M.*, XI, 1886, p. 182; *I.G.*, XII, 5, 1. Elionides with Boeotian use of *i* for *e* is that of the father and not a phratry. It is also new, derived from Ἐλεών, the Boeotian city in *Iliad*, II, 500.

2 (Plate 35, 3). Fragment of Pentelic marble, rough and broken on all sides, found near the altar and the Pythion. There are traces of red paint in the letters and in the lines which divide the rows of letters.

Height, 0.16 m.; width, 0.26 m.; thickness, 0.095 m.; height of letters, 0.028 m.

ca. 525 B.C.

[— — — <sup>ca. 7</sup> — — — ἀνέθεκ]  
 [εν τ]οῖ Διον[ύσοι τὸ]  
 [κ]αλὸν ἄγαλμ[α τοῦτ]  
 [ο] τό τε ἡμιμ[ναῖον]  
 5 [Ἀ]πόλ<λ>ονι Π[υθίοι]

Several inscriptions from Ikaria name Dionysos,<sup>4</sup> and one mentions the Pythion,<sup>5</sup> but this is the first time—if the restoration is correct—that Dionysos and Apollo have appeared in one dedication. The suggested supplement in line 4 cannot be considered certain, but it is apparent that some object of value should be restored.

3 (Plates 35-36, 4-6). A large rectangular block of Pentelic marble, broken at the top and left, found close to the surface with other stones near the altar south of the choregic monument.<sup>6</sup>

Height, 0.55 m.; width, 1.02 m.; thickness, 0.38 m.; height of letters, 0.012 m.

ca. 330 B.C.

NON-ΣΤΟΙΧ.

[ἔδοξεν Ἰκαριεύσιν· ἐπειδὴ — — <sup>ca. 11</sup> — — Σωσ]ιγένους Ἰκαριεύς τά τε ἱερὰ ἔθυσαν  
 ἅπασιν τοῖς θεοῖς  
 [οἷς πάτριον ἦν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἐπεμε]λήθη καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμως, καὶ ἀπήν-  
 γειλεν εἶναι καλὰ  
 [———— <sup>ca. 88</sup> —————] \ων καὶ ὦν καρπὸν διδοῖ κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν χώραν  
 ΕΡΟΝΑΣΙΝΤΑΟ  
 [———— <sup>ca. 27</sup> ————— ἐπει]δὴ δὲ ἄθλον ἀπενήνοχεν ἐν τῷ Ἑκατονβαιῶνι μηνὶ  
 τεῖ δεκάτει

<sup>4</sup> Cf. note 1, above.

<sup>5</sup> See Buck, *Papers*, loc. cit., pp. 63-65, pl. VI and Plan I; *A.J.A.*, V, 1889, pp. 174-176, 309 (line 30: ἐν τῷ Πυθ[ίῳ]). For statues and statuettes of Apollo found at Ikaria cf. *Rev. Arch.*, XI, 1908, pp. 40-42, fig. 1; *Ath. Mitt.*, XXIII, 1898, p. 495; Nicole, *Mélanges Nicole*, 1905, pp. 401-405, pl. 1 (a statuette model and the statuette itself). For καλὸν ἄγαλμα cf. Karousou, *Tò perikaallès ἄγαλμα* (Saloniki, 1946).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Buck, *Papers*, loc. cit., pp. 45-65, pl. 1.

- 5 [-----<sup>ca. 29</sup>----- ἀ]ποφαίνει χρήματα περιόντα λογισάμενος τὰς προσ-  
 όδους <κ>αὶ τὰ  
 [ἀναλώματα ὥστε δοκεῖν καλῶς τ]ε καὶ δικαίως ἄρξαι καὶ παρέδωκεν τῷ μεθ' ἐαντὸν  
 δημάρχ(ι)ῳ Θουκυδί  
 [δηι· ἐπαινέσαι --<sup>ca. 9</sup>--]ον καὶ στεφανῶσαι χρυσῶι στεφάνῳι ἀπὸ Χ δραχμῶ<ν>  
 ἀρετῆς ἔνε  
 [κεν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς δημότας·] ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν τῷ Διονυσίῳ·  
 ἀνειπεῖν δὲ τὸν στέ  
 [φανον ἐν τῷ Διονυσίῳ<sup>7</sup> τὸν κήρυκα        *vacat*        ]        *vacat*  
 Line 5: ΧΑΙΤΑ. Line 6: ΔΗΜΑΡΧΙΩΙ. Line 7: ΔΡΑΧΜΩΗ.

The original inscription contained eight and a half lines. Only the eighth line is preserved across the full width of the stone, but the beginning of it is so damaged that I could read traces only with difficulty and with the aid of a powerful magnifying glass. But the length of line is certain, and some tentative restorations can be suggested. Luckily, the Ikarian Thukydides is already known.<sup>8</sup> He lived *ca.* 330 B.C., and to approximately the same date this present text should be assigned. Apparently he had been demarch of Ikaria, serving as the immediate successor of him whose name is largely lost (lines 1 and 7), who as demarch was honored by this decree.<sup>9</sup>

The place where the stone was set up is now known to have been called the "Dionysion." I suspect a place-name, or name of the owner, also at the end of line 3, but have no sure solution to offer. The Boeotian ending suggests a Boeotian name. For ἐπήνγειλεν εἶναι καλά -- at the end of line 2, see ἀπαγγέλλει γεγονέναι τὰ ἱερὰ καλά καὶ σωτήρια of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 949, line 11, where the reference is likewise to a report by a demarch. I assume that the proclamation of the crown was to be made by the herald, as in another Ikarian inscription, *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1178, line 4, though I have thought at times that I could read with a glass part of the word δῆμαρχον instead of κήρυκα in line 9.

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<sup>7</sup> This is read in an inaccurate and incomplete short newspaper account of the inscription published in *Συλλέκτης*, II, 1947, pp. 49, 56 since my article was in proof.

<sup>8</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2409, lines 17-18.

<sup>9</sup> For other decrees of the Ikarians honoring their demarch see *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1178, 1179.

## RHODIAN JARS IN FLORIDA

THE FIRST interest of historians in the study of amphora stamps has been the possibility of establishing the chronology of the eponymous officials whose names were stamped on Rhodian amphoras.<sup>1</sup> These names seem to have been those of the annually chosen priests of Helios who were the dating authorities of the Rhodian state. No fragment of an ancient list showing the sequence in office of these priests has been found. But it appears probable that we have on amphora stamps the whole series for over two hundred years covering the period of greatest political and commercial eminence of Rhodes.

Absolute dating is dependent on identification of persons named on the jars with individuals about whom we have information from other sources, and on discovery of the amphoras, or stamped fragments of them, in independently dated deposits. The relative dating needed to fill out the series is derived mainly from two studies: 1) a following of the development of the amphora and the stamps in shape and other physical features, and 2) a working out of the interconnection between the names of the eponymous officials and an overlapping series of names that also appear on the amphoras, and seem to be those of the potters responsible for a standard output of fluid containers. On Rhodian amphoras the two names do not usually appear on the same handle. So it will be seen that, conditions of discovery being equal, a whole jar provides a great deal more information than two stamped handles. It may be added that in addition to evidence on the development of shape and on name combinations, whole jars provide also capacity measurements: for standard containers, such measurements have the same kind of interest as the weights of coins.

When the chief studies of Rhodian amphora stamps were made, in 1907 and 1909,<sup>2</sup> the most important group of whole amphoras known was that forming part of the Cesnola collection from Cyprus in the Metropolitan Museum in New York, about thirty jars. Since then, more have been found, notably in Rhodes, and the museums in both Rhodes and Cyprus now have important collections of Rhodian jars. In the meanwhile, the Metropolitan has disposed of all but two from its Cesnola group. However, fourteen of them were bought by John Ringling for his museum in Sarasota, Florida; and these have remained the third largest collection of whole Rhodian jars on record.

<sup>1</sup> Bibliography on stamped jars may be found in my article, "Standard Pottery Containers of the Ancient Greek World," shortly to appear in the Shear Memorial volume of *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII, or through the index of Rostovtzeff's *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, Oxford, 1941.

<sup>2</sup> F. Bleckmann, *De inscriptionibus quae leguntur in vasculis Rhodiis*, Göttingen, 1907 (dissertation). M. Nilsson, *Timbres Amphoriques de Lindos*, in *Exploration Archéologique de Rhodes*, V, Copenhagen, 1909.

The Cesnola jars have been known from a brief account published in 1885 by I. H. Hall, an article described by Nilsson in his bibliographical study of Rhodian stamps as the most interesting and the least perfect of the stamp publications.<sup>3</sup> The readings proposed by Hall have been the subject of repeated attempts at emendation; but apparently no one attempted to reexamine the stamps until 1934, by which time the majority of the jars had already left New York.

In February, 1948, I was able to study and photograph the part of the group now in Sarasota.<sup>4</sup> It is planned that the detailed record of these jars, including photographs, shall be used in an article assembling all known potter-eponym combinations from Rhodian jars, a series vastly increased since the last listing.<sup>5</sup> But because the Cesnola jars have received so much critical attention in the special literature, I give here corrected readings of the names on those now in the Ringling Museum. I follow Hall's order, with page references to his article, and the jars numbered as he found them marked in the Metropolitan Museum:

P. 390, no. 5055. The name of the potter is Agathoboulos.

P. 390, no. 5050. This item has not been identified with certainty, but a possible candidate was found in a jar with very dim worn rectangular stamps, for which no other identification was available. The name of the potter is possibly Diokleia, with asterisks in the corners of the stamp as in Nilsson, *op. cit.*, no. 175, 5. No restoration is proposed at present for the name of the eponym on this jar; certainly it provides no support for the otherwise unknown name proposed by Hall for the eponym of 5050.

P. 391, no. 5060. Hall's readings here are correct. He omits mention of a subsidiary stamp B, impressed on the side of the handle bearing the name of the potter.

P. 392, no. 5058. The device is a caduceus, the sigma "at the handle" of the device is the end of the potter's name, Drakontidas, here written in the nominative, instead of the more common genitive. The name of the eponym is clearly Aristakos.

P. 392, no. 5052. The name of the potter is Sosikles, the device a caduceus.

P. 392, no. 5061. The device with the potter's name is a thyrsos. Letter traces support the indicated restoration of the eponym's name as Aristombrotidas.

P. 392, no. 5057. The device with the potter's name is a caduceus. The eponym is Aristakos.

<sup>3</sup> I. H. Hall, "The Greek Stamps on the Handles of Rhodian Amphorae, Found in Cyprus, and now in the Metropolitan Museum of New York," in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XI, 1885, pp. 389-396. Compare Nilsson, *op. cit.*, p. 115.

<sup>4</sup> I am grateful to the Institute for Advanced Study for special provision of travel funds. The director, A. Everett Austin, Jr., and the staff, of the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, now owned and operated by the State of Florida, facilitated in every way the work I did in Sarasota, although my visit fell during their busy season.

<sup>5</sup> Note that in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 219, fig. 2, I have given only groups that include one or more names published in the article; and many more pairs of names are known now than were known in 1934.

P. 392, no. 5063. The devices with the potter's name are the usual grape cluster and caduceus. There is no device in the eponym stamp; a mysterious emblem described by Hall seems to have strayed from a ceramist's valentine.

P. 393, no. 5043. The eponym is Alexiadas, his name preceded by the title priest.

P. 393, no. 5053. Hall's readings of the names are correct.

P. 393, no. 5067. The name of the potter is Onasioikos, and there is no device.

P. 393, no. 5066. Hall's readings of the names and identification of the device are correct.

P. 394, no. 5050. It appears possible that this is the same object as no. 5050 described on pp. 390-391, and that the rather circumstantial description here of the stamps as *circular* was carried over from another item. Note that the two sets of readings of 5050 on pp. 391 and 394 look very much like uncoordinated attempts to decipher the same difficult texts.

P. 395, no. 5040. The eponym is Nikasagoras. The potter is Agesippos. (The initial letter is clear. The position of the gamma seems to be occupied by a counter-stamped rose, much worn in the impression.)

Nearly every one of these corrections had already been made by Nilsson.<sup>6</sup> In fact, of the jars found in Sarasota, the only one (with the possible exception of the dubious 5050) on which he made a wrong guess at a name was Hall's p. 392, no. 5058, on which he suggested that the eponym should probably be read Aristratos.

No other jar from Hall's list was found in Sarasota.<sup>7</sup> However, the copy of this list which appears in the Atlas of the Cesnola Collection includes an additional jar, bearing circular stamps with rose as device; and the readings proposed for these stamps were too extraordinary even for Nilsson's ingenuity.<sup>8</sup> This jar turned up in Sarasota, in a rather fragmentary condition. The potter is Nikasion, the eponym probably Eudamos or Sodamos (about two letters are missing from the beginning) with the title priest, and the month (correctly read) Panamos.

Lest Hall's score of right answers should appear unduly low, it is fair to state that some of the stamps are very dim and difficult, and if they had been on broken-off handles would have been left without any reading by many editors. No very high standard of correct readings can be expected of any who worked on small collections

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 115-118.

<sup>7</sup> The two retained by the Metropolitan Museum are p. 391, no. 5041, and p. 394, no. 5049, both correctly read by Hall. The rest will be discussed in a later publication. In this connection I should like to express my thanks to various members of the Department of Greek and Roman Art in the Metropolitan Museum, particularly to Miss Christine Alexander, for much help in the investigation of these jars.

<sup>8</sup> L. P. di Cesnola, *A Descriptive Atlas of the Cesnola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities*, New York, 1903, Volume III, Supplement, Greek Inscriptions, no. 101. Compare Nilsson, *op. cit.*, p. 115, note 1.

before the appearance of Nilsson's Lindos publication, or who in these more enlightened days publish such collections without consulting this essential companion to Rhodian studies. Actually, those who work in this field quickly become aware of the multifarious value of his book, with passages in which we may constantly take issue, but to which we will continue to return for control and suggestion.

What appears curious to us is that many who know Professor Nilsson's scholarship in other branches of archaeology are not aware of his achievement in this. When it becomes generally realized, as I believe it will, that organization of the data provided by amphora stamps is an indispensable source for the study of Greek history, the Lindos stamp publication will receive the recognition it merits.

VIRGINIA GRACE

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY





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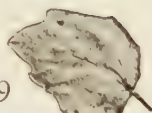
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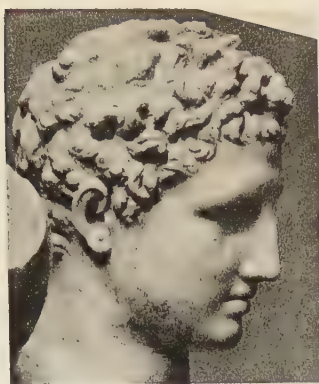
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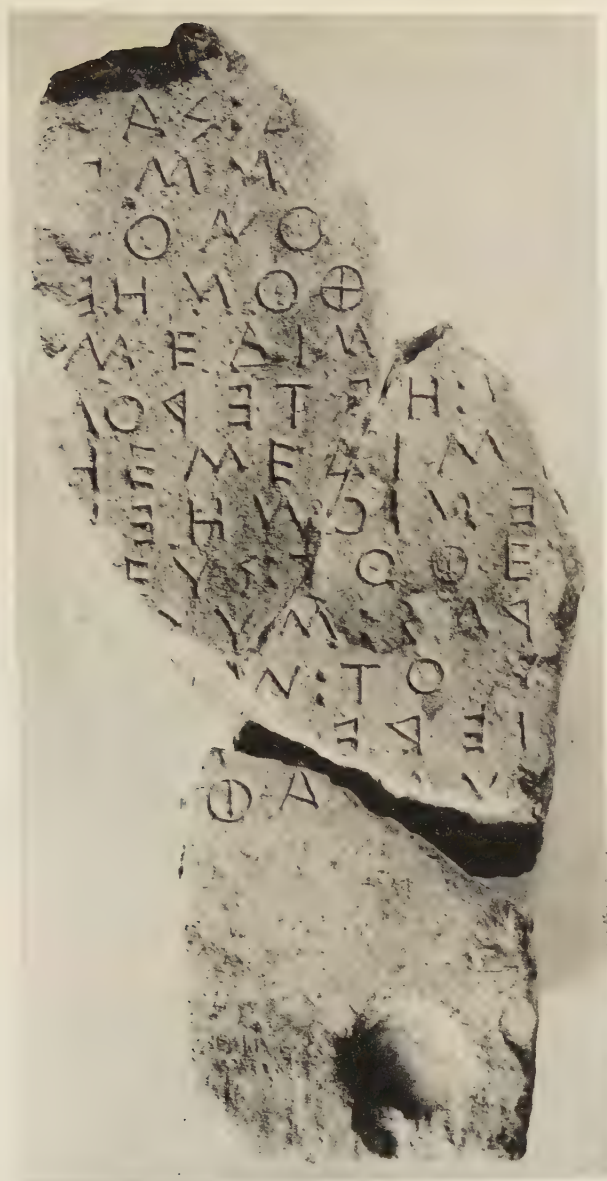
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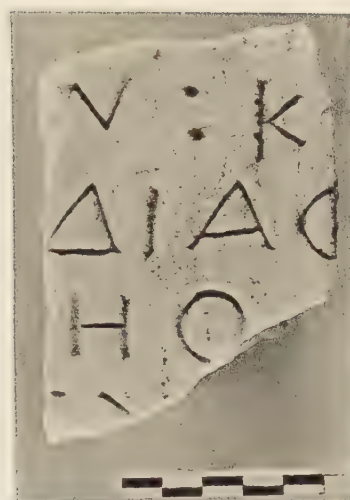
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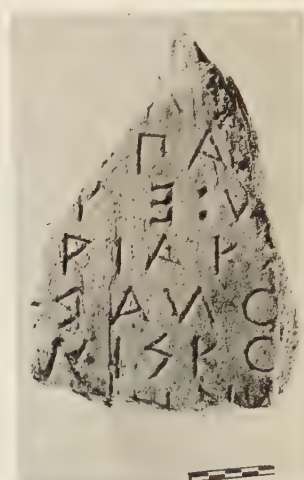




*a*



*b*



*c*



*d*

No. 66

L. H. JEFFERY: BOUSTROPHEDON INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE AGORA



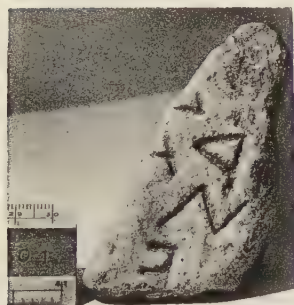
No. 67



c



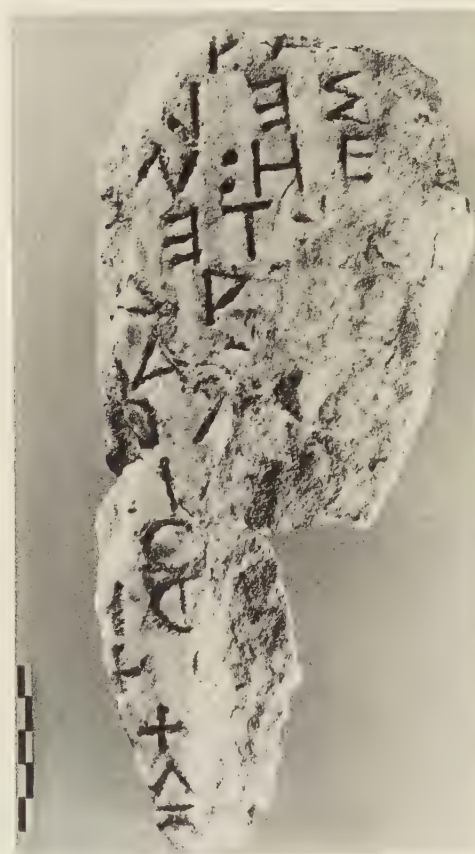
f & g



i



k



j

No. 67

L. H. JEFFERY: BOUSTROPHEDON INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE AGORA



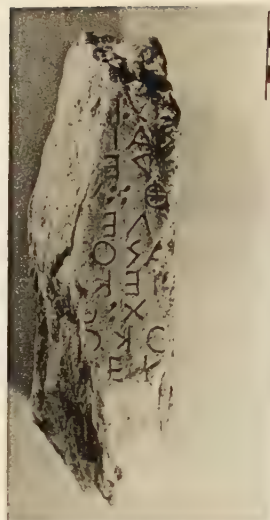
*l*



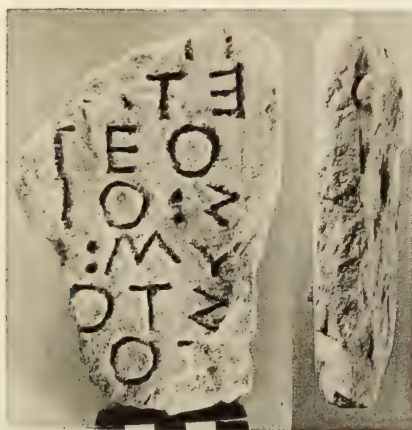
*m*



*p*



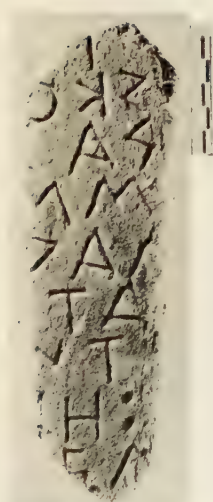
*q*



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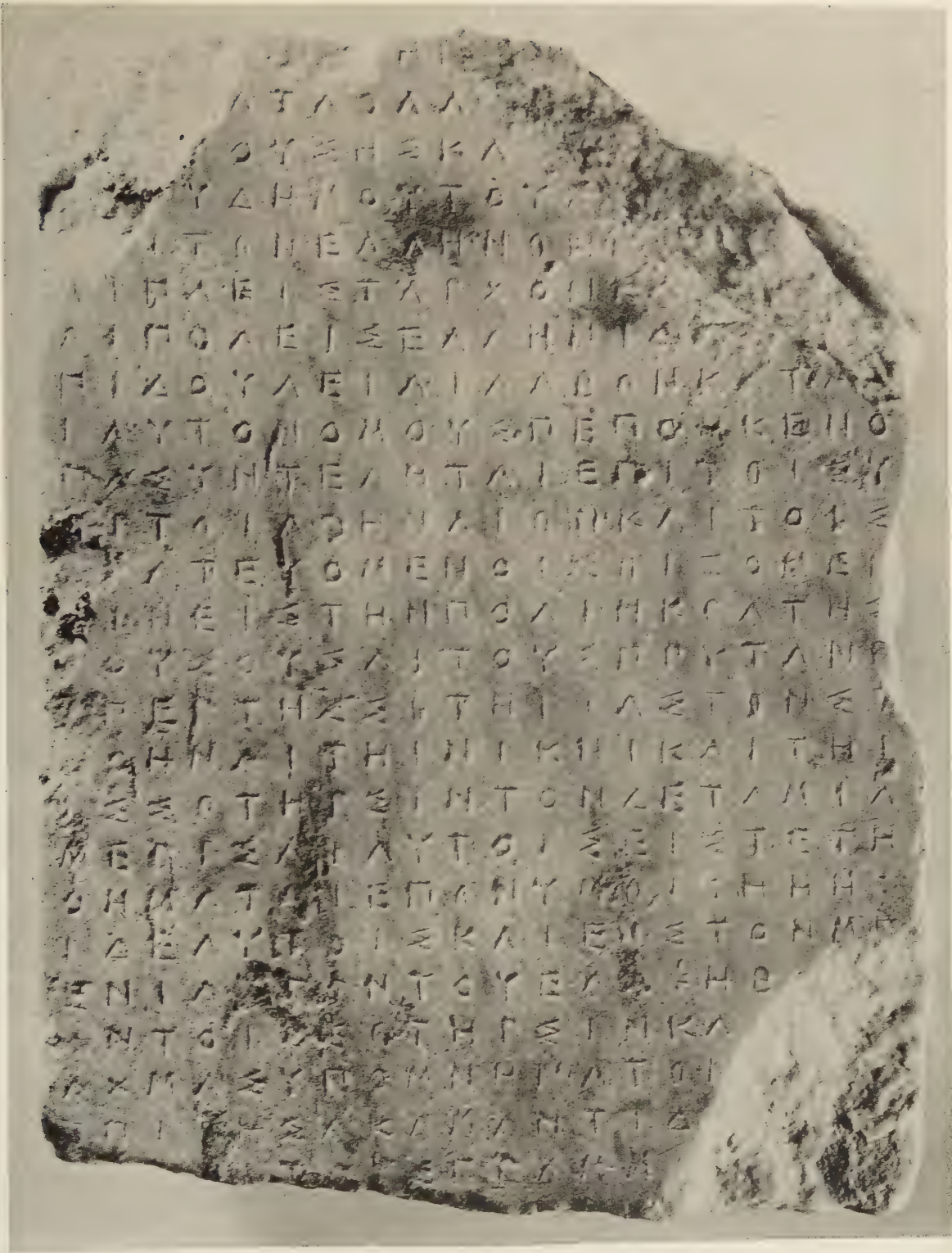
*t*



*u*

No. 67

L. H. JEFFERY: BOUSTROPHEDON INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE AGORA



No. 68



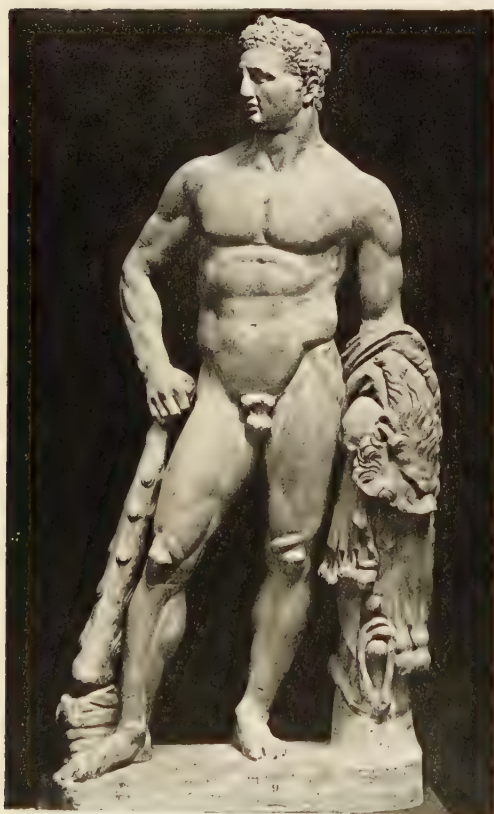
1. A New Heracles Relief



4. Stater of Heracleia  
(Fitzwilliam Museum)



5. Didrachm of Heracleia  
(Fitzwilliam Museum)



2. Ludovisi Heracles, Rome



3. Heracles on Altar in Naples  
(Courtesy Professor Maiuri)

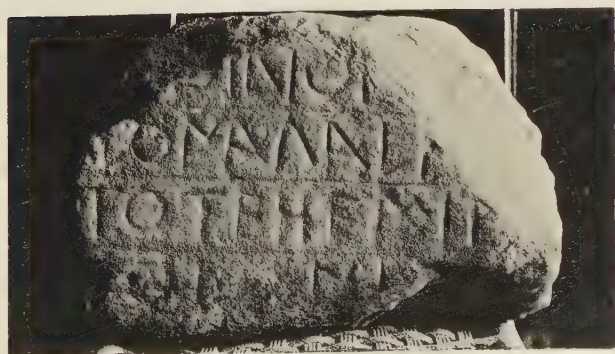
D. M. ROBINSON: A NEW HERACLES RELIEF



1. Top of the Archaic Inscribed Base (No. 1), Showing the Two Cuttings in the Upper Surface



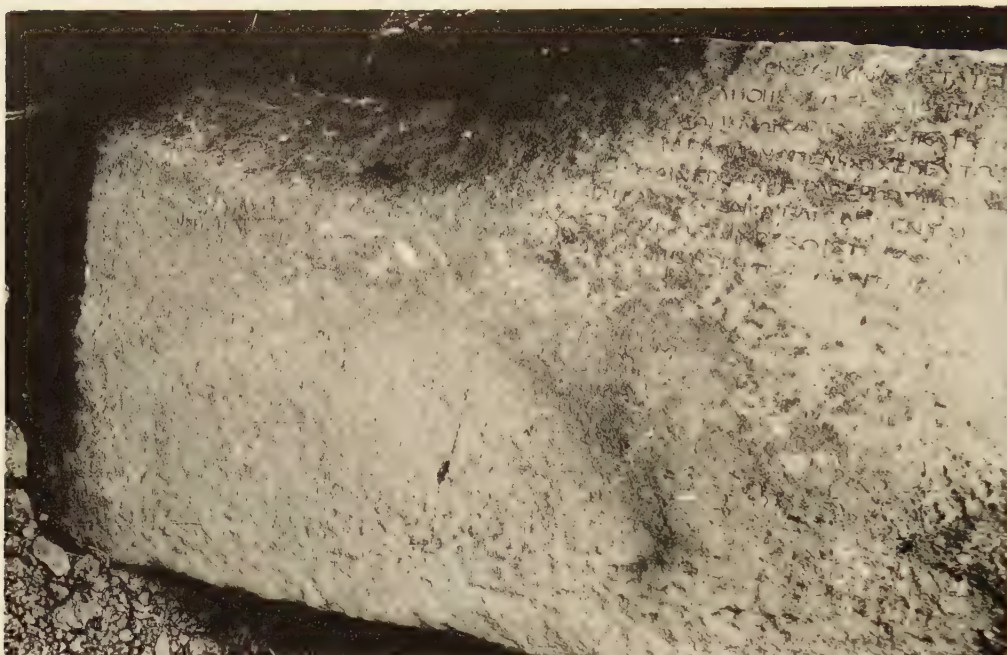
2. The Inscribed Face of No. 1



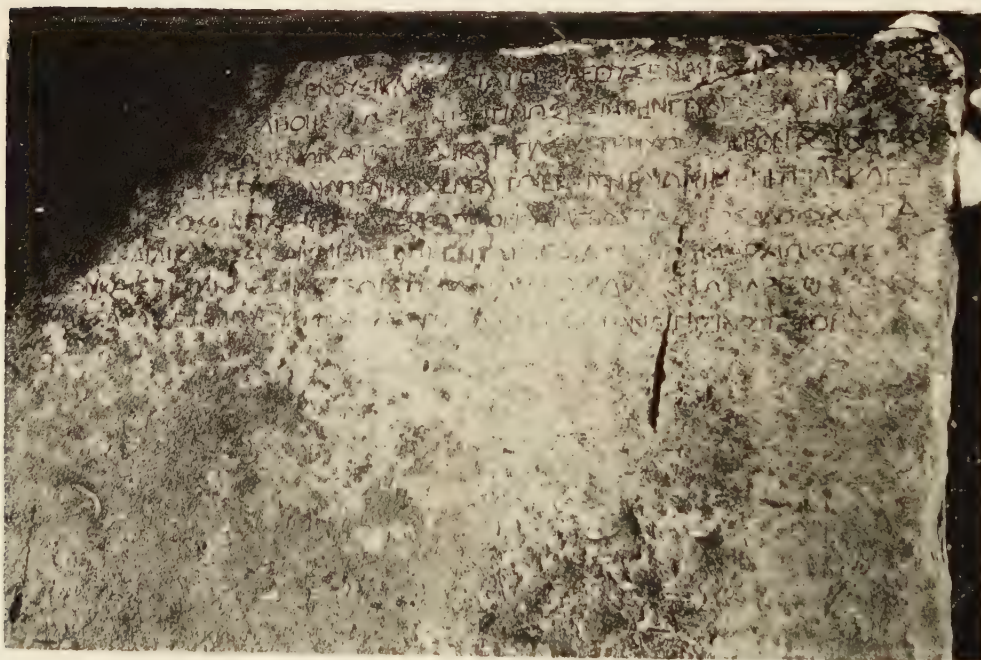
3. Dedicatory Inscription from Ikaria (No. 2)



4. Scene of Excavations at Ikaria. The Choregic Monument is at the Right, and the Inscribed Block (No. 3) was Found Near By.



5. The Left Half of the Ikarian Decree (No. 3)



6. The Right Half of the Ikarian Decree (No. 3)

D. M. ROBINSON: THREE NEW INSCRIPTIONS FROM IKARIA

# THE EXCAVATION OF THE ATHENIAN AGORA

## TWELFTH SEASON: 1947

(PLATES 37-69)

THE TWELFTH season of excavation conducted by the American School of Classical Studies in the Athenian Agora, the second campaign since World War II, extended from March 10 to November 1, 1947, with a recess between August 25 and September 15. In point of time this was the longest campaign yet devoted to the site and also one of the most fruitful. The objectives were twofold: to complete the exploration of areas that had already been opened up before the War and to prepare a site for the permanent Agora Museum.

The School is under obligation to the Greek Government for its recognition of the special position of the Agora Excavations and its authorization of work on a considerable scale at a time when the depletion of staff and of financial resources for its own archaeological service has made administration difficult. We would express our special appreciation to Professor A. D. Keramopoulos, Director of the Archaeological Section in the Ministry of Education, to Mr. John Meliades, late Ephor, and to Mr. John Threpsiades, late Acting Ephor of Athens and the Acropolis.

Most of the veteran staff of pre-war days were on hand for this campaign and they were assisted by some newcomers. Areas of excavation were supervised by Mr. Eugene Vanderpool, Mr. Rodney Young, Miss Margaret Crosby, and by Mr. Roger Edwards, a fellow of the School spending his first year in Greece. Miss Lucy Talcott returned to resume responsibility for the records, for the museum, and for the running of the excavation house. Mr. John Travlos, Architect of the American School, gave his full time to the Agora Excavations through most of the season. Our photographic needs were once more generously met by Miss Alison Frantz in the little free time left to her by her duties as Cultural Attaché to the United States Embassy. Miss Margaret Thomson, a member of the staff of the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto, was enabled through the kindness of the Museum to spend three months in the Agora, engaged partly in secretarial work, partly in supervising excavation. Mr. G. A. Stamires, a graduate of the University of Athens and a member of the staff of the Greek Archaeological Service, was a part-time member of the Agora staff, concerning himself with epigraphy, especially with those minor but intriguing branches that comprise graffiti, dipinti, and defixiones.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> I wish to record my appreciation of the loyal coöperation of the staff under the trying conditions of post-war Greece and my particular indebtedness to Mr. Eugene Vanderpool, who has assumed charge of the Agora during my absences in America.

Once more the Agora acknowledges its indebtedness to Mr. Sophokles Lekkas, Chief Foreman, for his faithful and energetic services, and likewise to the experienced group of sub-foremen and technical assistants, on whose efficient work so much of the success of the enterprise depends. Some eighty workmen were employed in the clearing of the Museum site, some twenty in completing areas of excavation, the total number never exceeding one hundred.

The officers of the School, Professor Gorham Phillips Stevens and Professor Oscar Broneer as Acting Directors, Mr. A. Kyriakides as Administrator, and Mr. E. Athanassiades as Book-keeper, by their ready help and counsel have continued to make the direction of the undertaking not merely possible but pleasant despite all the difficulties of the present time.

It is a pleasure also to record the visit in mid-summer of Professor Louis E. Lord, chairman of the Managing Committee of the School, and to acknowledge the lively personal interest which he took both in the present progress and the future of the Agora Excavations.

The results of the season's work were varied. In the field of topography (Pl. 37) the plan of the southwest corner of the market square was clarified, the west end of the Middle Stoa was cleared, and a complex of civic offices was brought to light. In the valley between the Areopagus and the Hill of the Nymphs, the "Museum Site," were exposed the foundations of a large peribolos of the fifth century B.C. that must have served some public purpose. In the same general area appeared the remains of many houses and workshops of both the Greek and Roman periods, so that the excavation of this section has provided an instructive glimpse into the private life that impinged so closely on the public square. Two more chamber tombs of the Mycenaean period were found on the north slope of the Areopagus close alongside the two discovered in 1939. The high quality of their furnishings increases the probability that this cemetery served the royal family that lived on the Acropolis in the fourteenth century B.C. Another chamber tomb of the same period, its offerings intact, came to light at the foot of the Hill of the Nymphs. Several later graves, including a particularly rich burial of the early Geometric Period, were found on the slopes of the Areopagus.

Among the categories of the season's finds sculpture was outstanding. The late archaic period, the second half of the fifth century, and the Roman period are represented each by several outstanding pieces. The yield of pottery was, as usual, enormous. In addition to the compact groups from the graves, several particularly good lots were recovered from wells and cisterns, notably a group of the mid-sixth century and one of the third to second centuries B.C. Important additions were made to the collection of marble inscriptions and the number of ostraka was virtually doubled, the total standing at 1,089 by the end of the season. Many terracotta figurines, especially of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, were found and, still more interesting, many

moulds for the making of figurines. The collections of coins, of weights and measures, of lamps and of various other small finds were augmented, the new material in many cases making the old more intelligible, and the statistics more reliable.

In the account of the season's work that follows I have drawn freely on the written summaries prepared at the end of the season by those in charge of areas of excavation and I have profited also by discussion with my colleagues on most of the problems raised by the new finds.

### THE SOUTHWEST CORNER OF THE MARKET SQUARE (Fig. 1)

The work of clearing the west end of the Middle Stoa, which had been resumed in the season of 1946, was continued in 1947 under the direction of Mr. Eugene Vanderpool assisted for a time by Miss Margaret Thomson.<sup>2</sup> Although the exploration has not yet been carried below the level of the Roman period the results are already of considerable interest.

The actual west end of the Stoa has been exposed throughout its length and proves to be better preserved than most other parts of the building, thanks to the protection of the late road which ran over its ruins (Pl. 38, 1). The massive core of the foundations consisting of coarse conglomerate was here faced with hard gray poros carefully jointed and dressed. The euthynteria, the orthostates (0.96 m. high) and the string course above the orthostates are still in place near the southwest corner of the building. The road drainage of Roman times was carried in a large terracotta channel laid close in at the foot of this wall. The terrace wall to the north of the Stoa has also been cleared to its west end and proves to consist of a facing of well-dressed poros supported by a backing of miscellaneous blocks.

In the destruction debris above the ruinous foundations of the Stoa were found many fragments from the superstructure of the building, all of poros and many with their original color: scraps of Doric columns and capitals, architrave, triglyph frieze and cornice. From here, too, come fragments of a terracotta sima with plastic rinceaux, highly realistic lion-head spouts and palmette antefixes, clearly belonging to the Middle Stoa (Pl. 38, 2).

The plan of the small building to the north of the terrace has now been completely exposed (Pl. 38, 3). Although the building has not yet been studied in detail, it is now seen to consist of three principal rooms set side by side against the face of the terrace wall and so graduated in size as to cause the least possible interference to traffic through the southwest exit from the Agora. Only the eastern room had a porch, facing north; the middle room had a simple doorway in its north wall; the western room seems to have been accessible only through the middle room. In the angle

<sup>2</sup> Section ©.

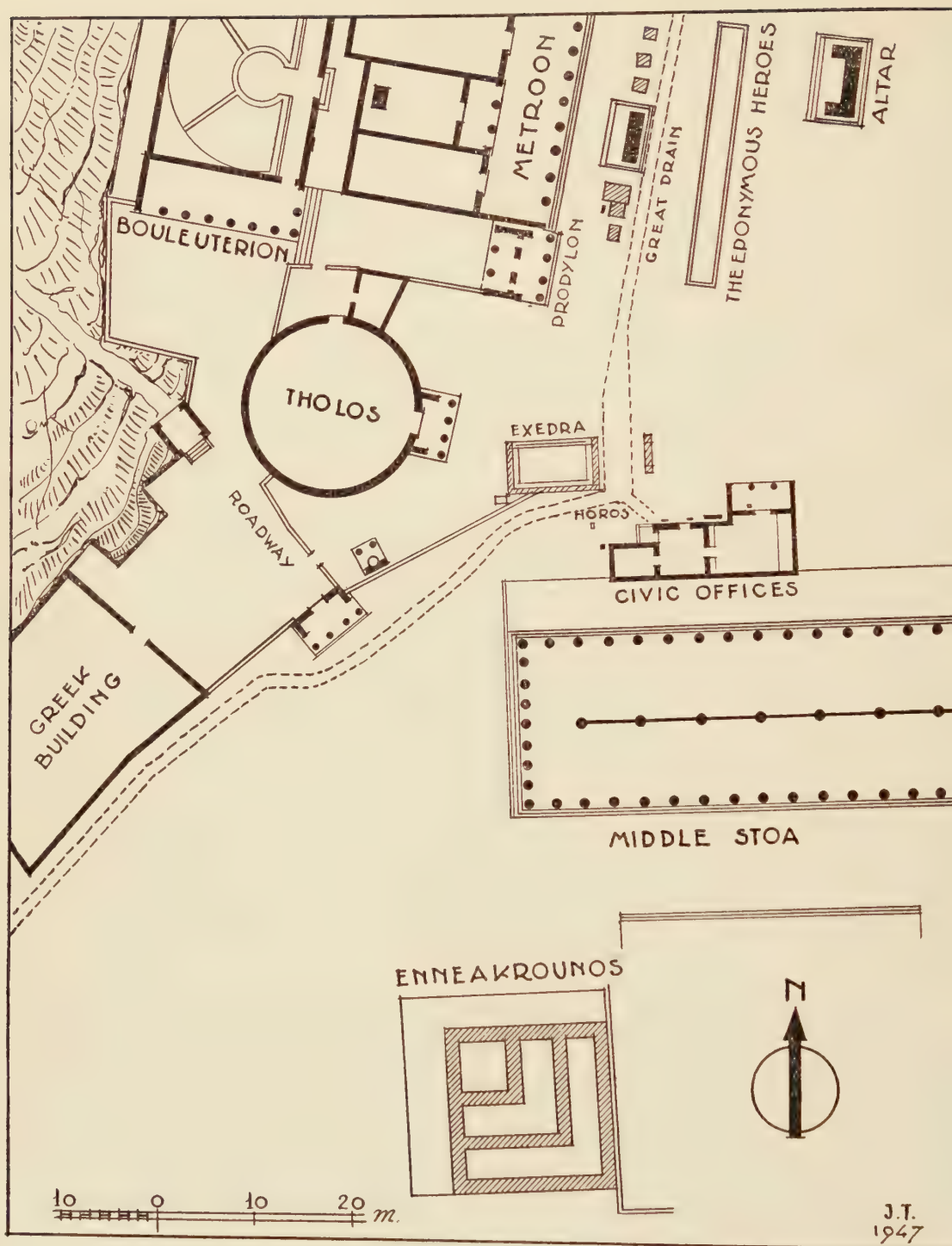


Fig. 1. The Southwest Corner of the Agora

between the western and the middle room a tiny chamber was built in later times, and a doorway was cut through its eastern wall to give access to the middle room. A terracotta drain leading from this small closet toward the Great Drain suggests that the addition was a wash-room.

Little of the furnishings of this small building remained. At the foot of both the east and west walls of the east room are traces of benches built of rough masonry and plastered, conceivably for the reception of wooden cabinets, cases or the like; these were later additions. Undoubtedly late, too, was the placing of the large pyramidal marble support for a bronze tripod that was found in 1933, standing in the middle of the east room.<sup>3</sup> A little wall plaster still in place at the northwest corner of the middle room is white spattered with black and lined off with broad red bands. Several stele beddings were found in place,—one north of the east room, two north of the middle room and one at the northwest corner of the west room. In this last bedding the stump of the marble stele still remains,—perhaps a herm or boundary stone marking the limit of the Agora like the archaic marker immediately to the northwest which was already buried before the erection of the small building.<sup>4</sup> In the angle between the east and middle rooms stood the marble tile standards of which mention was made in the report for the season 1946.<sup>5</sup>

The proximity of the building to the Tholos and the Metroön, and the presence in front of it of the tile standards and the stelai, suggest, as pointed out in the previous report, a public character for the building; it has therefore been labelled on the plan, "Civic Offices."

Little evidence has yet been gathered for the date of construction of the building. Its foundations consist in large part of re-used material including several fragmentary inscriptions of Hellenistic date. Such material may well have become available because of damage sustained in the Sullan sack of 86 B.C. A date soon after that event would not run counter to any other evidence now at hand, and it is indeed conceivable that the construction of this building was necessitated by the temporary loss of the Tholos in consequence of damage inflicted in 86 B.C.<sup>6</sup> That the building was destroyed in the Herulian sack of A.D. 267 is put beyond question by a great mass of broken pottery and other rubbish of that period found overlying its floors.

Neither the Civic Offices nor the west end of the Middle Stoa was rebuilt after the sack of A.D. 267. Rapidly overlaid by silt and by dumped rubbish, this area was eventually included in the enclosure of the vast gymnasium complex that was set down in the middle of the Agora area in the fourth and fifth centuries.

A foretaste of what awaits us to the south was given by the discovery in a disturbed context near the southwest corner of the Middle Stoa of a fragment from the

<sup>3</sup> *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 387.

<sup>4</sup> *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 205; Supplement IV, p. 107.

<sup>5</sup> *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 200.

<sup>6</sup> *Hesperia*, Supplement IV, pp. 135 f.

front parapet of a water basin, made from hard gray poros and deeply worn by water jars. This must come from the early Fountain House that lies immediately to the south.

### THE NORTH SLOPE OF THE AREOPAGUS

The systematic clearance of a large area on the north central slope of the Areopagus was completed in the spring of 1947 under the direction of Eugene Vanderpool.<sup>7</sup> Although practically no ancient accumulation remained in this area and the bedrock

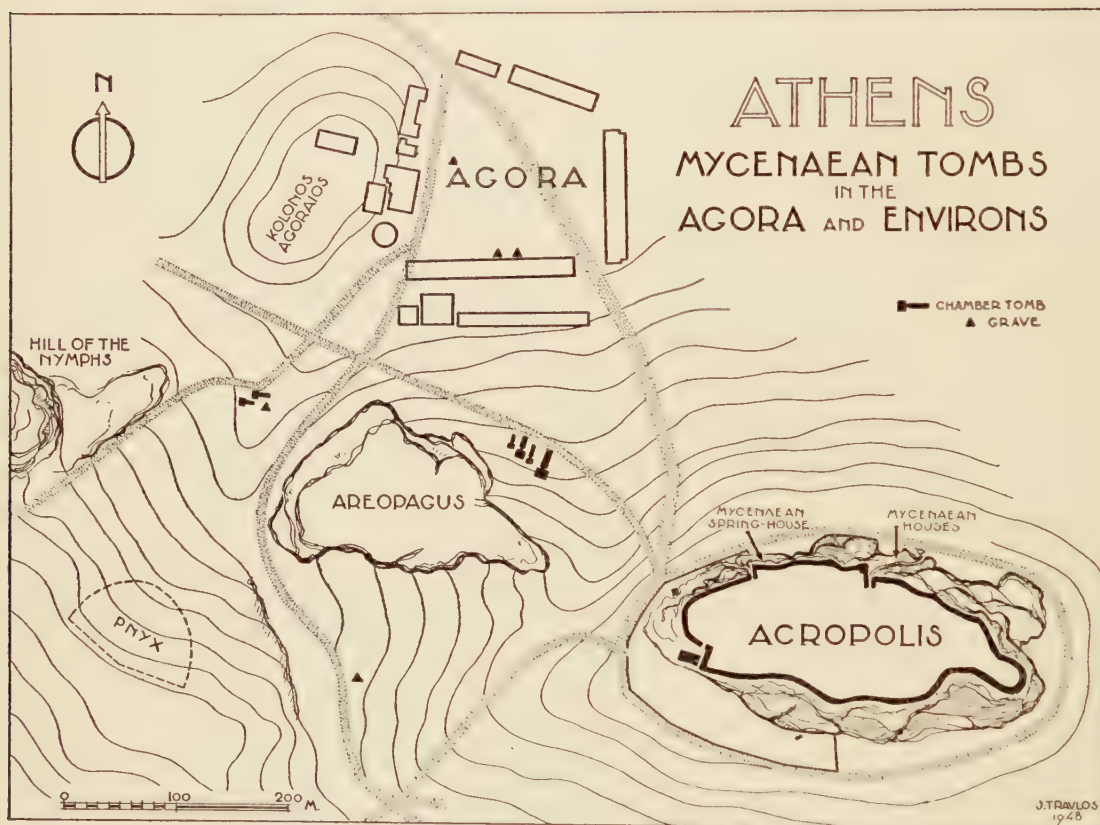


Fig. 2. Mycenaean Burials in the Agora and Environs

itself had been deeply disturbed by modern construction, the exploration yielded a rich documentation for an amazingly long sweep of history, extending from the Bronze Age to late antiquity.

In the first place, the careful scraping of bedrock brought to light the westward continuation of the Mycenaean cemetery first discovered in 1939.<sup>8</sup> In each season two chamber tombs were found, one large and one small, the four tombs lying in an irregular line some 32 metres long following the contours of the hill (Fig. 2). The

<sup>7</sup> Sections AP, ΔΔ and X.

<sup>8</sup> *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 274-291.

area was recommended for the making of chamber tombs by the steepness of its slope, by the soft nature of the rock and by its proximity to the Acropolis where, presumably, the occupants of the tombs had had their earthly abode.

The larger and better-preserved of the two tombs of 1947 is strikingly similar in its general scheme to the larger tomb of 1939 (Fig. 3). A roughly rectangular chamber hewn entirely from the rock with maximum dimensions of  $4.65 \times 2.85$  m. was approached by a dromos 2.00 m. wide and now preserved to a length of 3.80 m. The dromos contracted to a doorway 0.88 m. wide which was found closed with a wall of rough stone bedded in clay. The floor of the dromos sloped downward toward the tomb chamber and the walls both of dromos and of doorway exhibit an appreciable inward inclination. The walls of chamber and of dromos are preserved to a maximum height of *ca.* 1.60 m.

The general view from the north will afford some idea of the much-tortured state of the area (Pl. 39, 1). The basement of a modern house had been set deep into the chamber; a modern cesspool reached down to within a foot of the tomb floor; a large drain of the Roman period cut diagonally through the chamber and a branch of a Hellenistic cistern had intruded on the northeast corner of the tomb. Yet the burials and their furnishings were found intact on the floor of the chamber, sealed under by the fallen rock of the ceiling which had apparently collapsed in antiquity.

The tomb had admitted three bodies (Fig. 3). The few remaining bones of the earliest burial (A) were found in a heap near the west wall of the tomb. Around them lay three much-broken vases which may be regarded as the original offerings: a three-handled amphora, a ewer, and a small jar (Pl. 39, 2, *d-f*). Three more vases (two kylikes and a bowl) were found in a compact group near the heap of bones; these have the appearance of a supplementary offering made by the family on the occasion of one of the later burials (Pl. 39, 2, *j-l*).

The second and third burials (B and C) were represented each by an orderly skeleton stretched at full length on its back with hands folded across the abdomen. Burial C is clearly marked as that of a prince by the character of its furnishings; the lighter bones of Burial B appear to be of a woman. The fact that both these skeletons were found in perfect order with their offerings undisturbed suggests simultaneous burial, or else the lapse of a very short period between burials.

Clearly attributable to Burial B are the vases that lay near its head: four kylikes and three bowls (Pl. 39, 2, *g-i, m-p*). The large amphora and "pilgrim flask" found near the middle of the floor and the small bowl from the west side of the entrance presumably reached the tomb on the occasion of one or other of the later burials (Pl. 39, 2, *a-c*).

The most costly offerings are those of Burial C: one long and one short sword, a cleaver, and a bowl, all of bronze, which had been placed on a table at the side of

the body (Pl. 39, 3, Fig. 4). The table itself is attested by the stain of decayed wood and by the blue pigment with which it had been painted. The larger sword is a splendid rapier, 0.74 m. long, of the horned type, its hilt plates, presumably of wood, secured

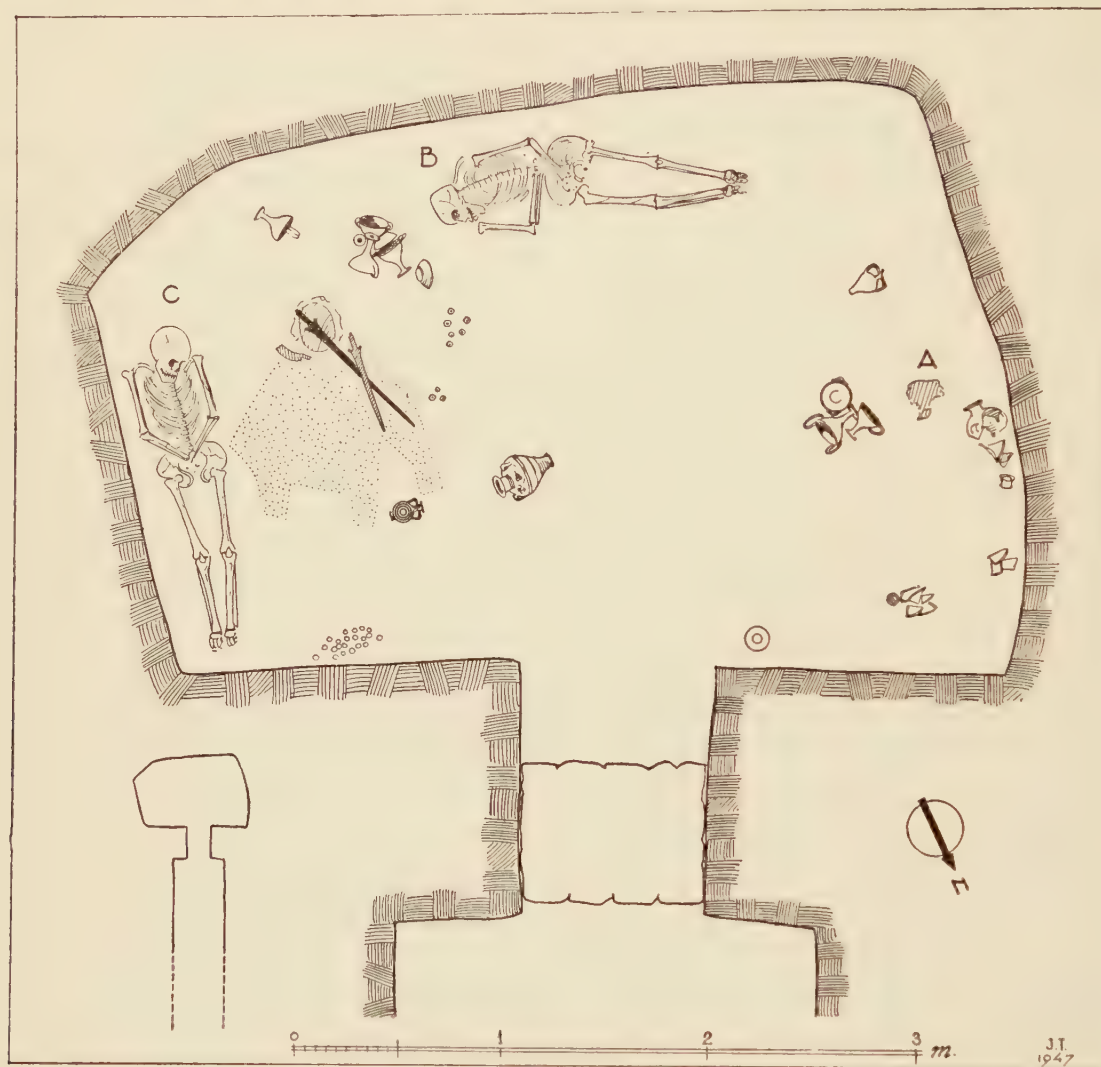


Fig. 3. Plan of Mycenaean Chamber Tomb on North Slope of Areopagus

by means of rivets with prominent heads overlaid with sheet gold. A hollow hoop of thin gold, *ca.* 0.02 m. in diameter, found beside the sword probably adorned its hilt (Pl. 40, 1).<sup>9</sup> The tang of the shorter sword is largely corroded away; this weapon,

<sup>9</sup> This type of sword is well represented in the chamber tombs of Mycenae and of the Argive Heraeum and in the Zafer Papoura cemetery at Knossos. A particularly close parallel is that from Tomb XXXVII at the Argive Heraeum, dating from early in the Third Late Helladic period. Blegen, *Prosymna*, I, pp. 127 f., 329 f.; II, fig. 298, 301. It is worth noting that the two long swords found at the Argive Heraeum were each accompanied, like ours, by a dagger,—apparently the normal equipment.

however, would seem to have been closely similar to its companion piece and may be restored with a length of *ca.* 0.50 m. The "cleaver" is of heavy bronze, tanged for a handle that was, no doubt, of wood.<sup>10</sup> The bronze bowl was found crumpled and heavily oxidized; its profile, however, could be recovered with fair assurance and it seems certainly to have had only one handle.

Near the middle of the floor, and probably to be related to Burial B, lay nine conical pierced buttons of dark steatite (Pl. 40, 1). Thirty-eight rosettes of thin gold were recovered from the tomb, and of these thirty-two lay in a compact group at the

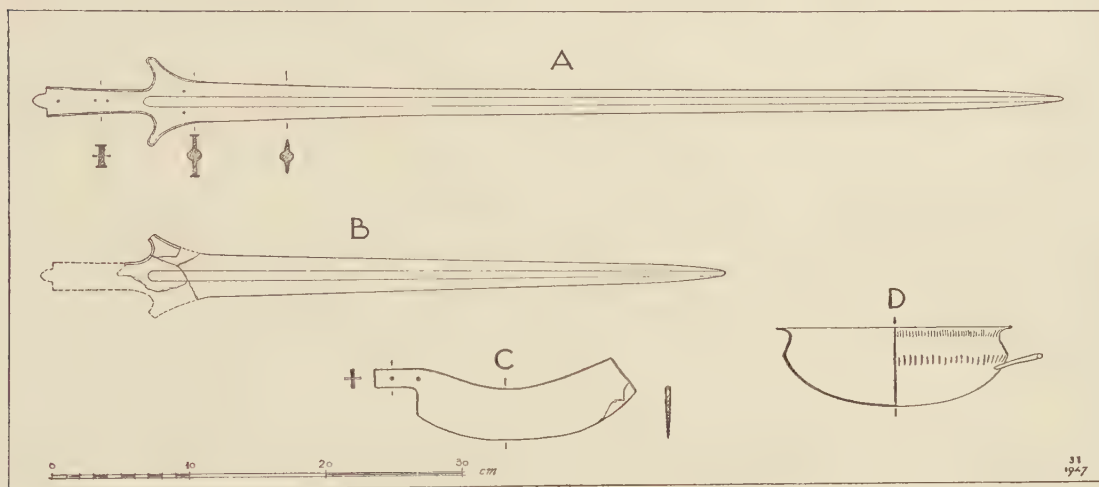


Fig. 4. Bronzes from Mycenaean Chamber Tomb on Areopagus  
(A = B 778; B = B 781; C = B 780; D = B 782)

base of the wall near the feet of Burial C, as though they had served as ornaments on a garment, now utterly vanished, hung on a peg in the wall (Fig. 3, Pl. 40, 1).

The date of our tomb is clearly indicated by the vases. In the first place it should be observed that there can be little difference in date between the three much broken vases to be associated with the earliest burial (A) and those placed on the occasions of the later interments. The vases from this tomb, moreover, are closely contemporary with those from the larger tomb found in 1939 and illustrated in *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, figs. 17-25. Although the finds of 1947 are on the whole less fine in quality and less pretentious than those of 1939, the shapes of amphora and of ewer are exceedingly close. The vases of the tomb found in 1939 have been referred to the earlier part of the Third Late Helladic period, and a similar classification may be accepted for the new group. A welcome clue to the absolute dating is given by the close correspondence between the "pilgrim flask" found in the Agora tomb (Pl. 40, 2) and one found by

<sup>10</sup> Examples of this implement, sometimes, though not very plausibly, identified as razors, have been found elsewhere in contexts of the Third Late Helladic period. See Blegen, *Prosymna*, I, p. 347.

Petrie at El Amarna.<sup>11</sup> The two pieces are identical both in shape and in the distinctive decoration combining concentric circles on the broad faces with running spirals on the narrow. The El Amarna flask may be assumed to have reached Egypt in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, and such a dating for the Agora tombs would appear to be consonant with the evidence, admittedly slight, to be derived from comparison with other material found in Greece.

The vases from these tombs on the Areopagus, on the other hand, are appreciably earlier than those associated with the abandonment of the Mycenaean well-house and postern gate on the north slope of the Acropolis.<sup>12</sup> Those events have been dated by Broneer on the evidence of the pottery to the end of the thirteenth century and have been regarded as precautionary measures against the threat of invasion. Our comparatively rich burials, made in tombs of which the preparation required a considerable expenditure of time and energy, clearly belong to the more tranquil and perhaps more prosperous period that preceded the storm.

The smaller of the two chamber tombs cleared in this area in 1947 lay to the west of the larger at an interval of two metres. Of the second tomb enough remains to show that the chamber was rectangular, measuring *ca.* 1.60 × 2.80 m., and that it was approached through a dromos; but much of the front part of the chamber and practically all the dromos had made way for modern house basements.

The upper part of the skeleton of an adolescent lay on the floor of the chamber, head to the south, its lower part cut away by late disturbance. At both the east and the west ends of the chamber bones lay heaped on the floor, and bones filled a shallow pit in the southwest corner. Four skulls in addition to that of the skeleton were counted in this tomb, and others may have been destroyed by late disturbance.

The surviving pottery from the small tomb comprised only a few fragments of plain bowls and kylikes like those from the large tomb.

The clearing of bedrock brought to light a grave of the Geometric Period on the lower slopes of the Areopagus near the middle of its north side (Section AP). Although disturbed by the intrusion of a late wall, the grave yielded no less than eighteen vases comprising thirteen flat and one pointed pyxis, one medium-sized and one miniature oinochoe, and two hand-made, unglazed aryballoi (Pl. 41, 1). With the vases were two iron pins very much corroded and a small rectangular plaque of limestone, pierced for suspension. The style of the pottery indicates an early date within the Geometric Period. Pointed pyxides are known only from a limited number of early grave groups; the well-rounded profile of the flat pyxides is symptomatic of an early date, and so also are the shapes of the two oinochoai. Early likewise is the

<sup>11</sup> Petrie, *Tell el Amarna*, pl. XXIX, 80; Forsdyke, *Catalogue of Vases in the British Museum*, II, A 998, p. 187, fig. 268. For the decoration on the edge of the flask see also *loc. cit.*, fig. 267.

<sup>12</sup> Broneer, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 365 ff.; VIII, 1939, pp. 346 ff.

repertory of decorative motives limited as it is to the maeander, zigzag, tooth pattern, and row of dots. A date in the ninth or early eighth century is implied.

The newly found grave lay so close to two other graves of the same period found in 1932 as to suggest a family burial plot. Within a few paces of this spot the excavation of 1932 brought to light several other burials of the early Geometric and Proto-geometric periods, all these burials forming part of the scattered cemetery that has now been traced along the whole length of the north slope of the Areopagus.<sup>13</sup> Habitation in the area within the general period covered by the burials is indicated by wells of the Protogeometric period and by an oval house of the developed Geometric period.<sup>14</sup>

The exploration of this apparently barren hillside has also afforded us a rarely personal glimpse into the household economy of an Athenian citizen, a contemporary of Peisistratos, one Thamneus by name. Of his house there remains but a corner of the courtyard bordered by walls of rubble stonework and paved with rough cobblestones. In the middle of the courtyard opened the mouth of a deep pit, flask-shaped, with a depth of 3.80 m. and a lower diameter of 3.50 m. It is possible that the pit was intended as a cistern, but as such it was never completed: rough masses of living rock were left on the floor, nor were the walls ever plastered. We may assume that having proceeded thus far Thamneus became alarmed by the soft nature of the rock and abandoned the project.<sup>15</sup> The pit was then used as a dumping place for a great quantity of household refuse. The bulk of this material dates from the middle of the sixth century; a certain amount of pottery of the early fifth century found at the top suggests either that the pit was re-opened and used again as a dump or that it was disturbed at the later date. The vases from the pit will eventually be published as a group; the following note will merely indicate their range.

Taken together the material gives a good indication of both the variety and the quality of the everyday pottery used in an Athenian household of the time. It contains several pieces of Attic black figure, including a small kotyle signed by Hermogenes and two cups likewise signed but with the names of the artists broken away. A proportion of the decorated vases are Corinthian, including a lebes and three skyphoi with animal friezes. The great majority of the vases, however, are Attic black glaze: cups, coasters, little pitchers, oil flasks, bowls, etc. From the kitchen come several large plain hydriae, a large unglazed amphora, a couple of cooking pots, and a fragmentary brazier.

Two of the vases from the pit, a black-glazed olpe and a plain oinochoe, are

<sup>13</sup> *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 468 ff., 552 ff., 561; IX, 1940, pp. 270 ff.; XVI, 1947, p. 196.

<sup>14</sup> *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 542 ff.

<sup>15</sup> The flask-shaped cistern is thoroughly familiar in Athens in the Hellenistic period, but is almost unknown in Athens earlier. There is reason to believe, however, that Thamneus had foreign connections which might have prompted the idea of digging a cistern, in itself a very unusual proceeding in Athens of the sixth century.

inscribed in bold characters, *Θαμνέος εἰμί*: "I belong to Thamneus" (Pl. 41, 3, *b*). The pit yielded another written document of interest, the base of a skyphos on the under side of which is incised an enigmatic order addressed to someone whose name is broken away: [---]: *κάθες: ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡοδῶι: τὰς θύρας τὸ κάπο πρίον(α)*: "[.....] put a saw under the threshold of the garden gate" (Pl. 41, 2). The Megarian writing suggests outside connections which might also help to explain the rather high proportion of Corinthian vases among Thamneus' table ware.<sup>16</sup>

At two points on the slope there have survived slight remains of construction which from their substantial scale and fine workmanship would seem to belong to public buildings or sanctuaries rather than to private houses; both date from the fourth or third century B.C. In both cases the surviving part consists of a retaining wall along the south or up-hill side of the establishment. Carefully jointed orthostates rest on a euthynteria, all cut from soft poros. In neither case does enough remain to permit the recovery of the plan or to suggest an identification.

For habitation in the later Greek period evidence is provided by a number of household cisterns, one of which, in the middle of the north slope of the Areopagus, yielded an exceptionally large and varied group of material. The cistern itself was of the normal flask shape, cut down into the soft bedrock and plastered. Already in antiquity the walls of the chamber had collapsed and the cavern which resulted was used as a dumping place by the neighbours. The material recovered from this dump belongs to a comparatively limited period in the late third and early second centuries before Christ. A few representative pieces are illustrated in Plates 42 and 43.

The great bulk of the rubbish consisted of broken pottery, both glazed and unglazed. Several moulds for the making of Megarian bowls and a number of crumpled pieces of pottery, probably wasters from a kiln, indicate that some of the material is waste from a potter's shop. That coroplasts also worked in the area is attested by the presence of a number of moulds for the making of terracotta figurines as well as a few broken figurines.

Particularly interesting among the pottery are the Megarian bowls. Some thirty tolerably complete specimens were recovered, together with fragments of many other bowls and five moulds for the making of bowls. One of the bowls clearly derives from one of the moulds (Pl. 42, 1). Most of the bowls are decorated with the characteristic figured medley: erotes, masks, goats, birds, etc.; some have purely floral designs; none has the long-rayed scheme characteristic of the later bowls made in Athens. A figured piece rather more ambitious than the average is shown in Fig. 5. The principal motif, twice repeated, is an abbreviated version of Odysseus' ship in which appear the helmsman and the hero himself bound to the mast while mermaids, hippo-

<sup>16</sup> The inscription was first read and interpreted by Mr. G. A. Stamires; the Megarian letter forms were recognized by Miss Lillian H. Jeffery.

camps, fishes, and birds provide the setting, the whole being apparently a fantastic contamination of the story of Scylla and Charybdis with that of the Sirens.

The principal types of lamps from the cistern are illustrated by the three specimens shown in Pl. 43, 1, one of which bears the name of Koinos in the genitive, perhaps the name of a near-by resident since it appears in the abbreviated form  $\text{K}\omega$  on another fragment (P 18756).

Among the scores of plain vases and jars are a pair of lagynoi, SS 10,259; SS 10,260. Made of slightly micaceous buff clay, they bear the stamp  $\text{MO}\Sigma\text{X}\text{I}\Omega\text{N}\Sigma$

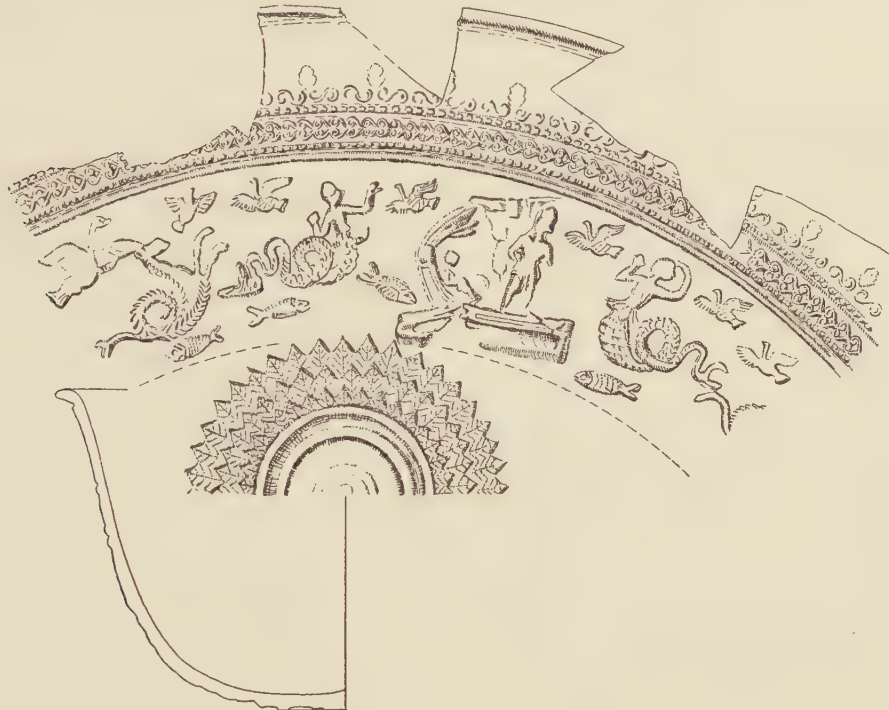


Fig. 5. Megarian Bowl from Cistern on Areopagus (P 18,640) Scale 1:2  
(Drawing by Marian Welker)

on the handle. The capacity of the better-preserved jar, measured to a marked line just below the lip, is 4.08 litres. In addition to these "fractional" wine containers, the cistern yielded three stamped Thasian handles, two Parian and twenty-four Rhodian, all from wine amphorae of standard size.

Characteristic of the terracottas from the cistern are the two pieces shown in Pl. 42, 2, an actor and a draped female figure.

A welcome piece of evidence for the dating of this cistern group is given by eight silver coins of Histiaea of the period *ca.* 197-146 B.C. (below, p. 192).

For habitation on the north slopes of the Areopagus in the Roman period the

most ample evidence comes from wells of which two were cleared in 1947. One of these had been used in the third century, abandoned at the time of the Herulian sack in A.D. 267, but re-opened and used again in the Byzantine period. Among the many objects from its earlier filling are a terracotta statuette of a standing youth (below, p. 185) and a jug inscribed *ξέστης δίκαιος* (below, p. 191). The other well was dug in the second or perhaps early third century A.D. through the floor of a Hellenistic cistern, the chamber of which was largely packed with wine amphorae by the well diggers. The well was abandoned on the occasion of the Herulian sack of A.D. 267 and used as a dumping place for objects damaged at that time, among them a gilded marble head of a goddess (p. 177, Pl. 53), a marble statuette of the Herakles Farnese type (p. 180, Pl. 59, 2), a small bearded head of a divinity, a head of a youthful goddess (p. 180, Pl. 59, 1), a massive marble mortar, and a marble pedestal.

One of the latest, and most agreeable, evidences of ancient habitation on the north slope of the Areopagus consists of a garden court set in a terrace cut from the hillside about half way up the slope (Pl. 43, 2). The house to which the garden belonged would appear to have lain chiefly beyond the limits of the present excavation.

The garden court formed the central feature of a walled area that may be restored as a square approximately 13 metres to the side. In the middle of this area is a rectangle, *ca.*  $3.20 \times 3.90$  m., paved originally with slabs of white and blue marble. A garden bed 0.50 m. wide enclosed the floor on all four sides, save only for a narrow entrance in the north wall. This bed in turn was bordered by a narrow water basin, floored with marble and walled with a low curb on either side. Water was supplied through a fountain that may be restored on a large marble slab set in the east side of the basin: from the basin the water passed into the flower bed through lead pipes set one in the middle of each side, while drainage was provided by a terracotta channel leading out from the northwest corner. A substantial block at each of the outer corners may be supposed to have carried a post for the support of a trellis. The north side, except for the doorway, was closed by a parapet, while a niche with a bench occupied the northwest corner just inside the entrance way.

Most of the stone and marble used in the construction was second-hand material, and, since the little pottery found in association runs down into the third or even the fourth century after Christ, the garden court must date from the general reconstruction of the Agora region after the Herulian sack of A.D. 267. The pottery found in the ruins of the garden indicates that it was abandoned within the late Roman period.

Among the re-used material in the east wall of the enclosure around the garden court were three large blocks of coarse-grained brown granite that seem certainly to be of Egyptian origin, perhaps Syenite from Assuan. Each block has one face picked to a fairly smooth plane surface; the edges are treated with a rough anathyrosis which suggests that the blocks were intended originally for a heavy retaining wall. The use of Egyptian stone, imported at vast trouble and expense, can best be explained on the

supposition that the blocks derive from one or other of the monuments with Egyptian associations known to have existed in or near the Agora: the Sanctuary of Sarapis, the Gymnasium of Ptolemy, the statues of the Egyptian kings in front of the Odeion.

The north slope of the Areopagus was served by a road that ran from east to west and followed approximately the contours of the hill. Although most of the road-bed has been cut away by late building activities, its course may be plotted from the disposition of ancient foundations, wells, and cisterns. Coming from the direction of the Peiraeus Gate it took one eastward to the Panathenaic Way at a point opposite the Eleusinion, while a branch swept around the northeast shoulder of the Areopagus to pass through the saddle between Areopagus and Acropolis.

### THE AREA TO THE WEST OF THE AREOPAGUS (Pl. 44, Fig. 6)

The major effort of the season was devoted to the area west of the Areopagus, i. e., the valley between the Areopagus on the one side, the Hill of the Nymphs and Kolonos Agoraios on the other. Already in the seasons of 1939, 1940, and 1946 a great deal of earth had been removed but much still remained, for the area is large (*ca.* 9600 square metres, i. e., *ca.* 2 $\frac{1}{3}$  acres) and, on account of the hollow between the hills, it had become filled with vast masses of silt, the accumulation between bedrock and the modern surface attaining a maximum depth of over 11 metres. In view of the proposal to place the permanent Agora museum in this region it was desirable to complete the archaeological exploration. By the end of the season this exploration, although far advanced, was by no means completed. The character of the ancient remains exposed thus far, however, will necessitate a reconsideration of the advisability of erecting the Museum within the area.

The southern part of the area (Section NN) was supervised by Mr. Rodney Young, the northeastern part (Section OO) by Miss Margaret Crosby relieved by Mr. Eugene Vanderpool in the latter part of the season, and the northwestern part (Section III) by Mr. Roger Edwards.

A scattered series of burials, extending in date from the Bronze Age into the Hellenistic period, came to light. At the northeastern foot of the Hill of the Nymphs, in a region much disturbed by the laying of drains and of house foundations, a Mycenaean chamber tomb was found, its burials miraculously intact (Pl. 45). The small rectangular chamber, 1.80  $\times$  2.30 m. in plan, was entered from the east through a dromos 1.10 m. wide contracting to 0.92 m. at the doorway. In its lower part (0.50 m. at the most) the chamber had been cut from the soft bedrock; above this level it was scooped from the brown, very compact gravelly earth that overlies bedrock in this region. The ceiling of the chamber had already collapsed by the sixth century before Christ if not earlier. Much of the rough stone wall by which the doorway was closed



Fig. 6. Area West of the Areopagus

after the last interment was found by the excavator who could also distinguish the firm red earth with which the dromos had been packed by the ancient undertaker.

Two skeletons were found lying in order on the floor of the tomb, their heads to the east, their legs doubled under the thighs. The scattered bones of at least one and possibly two earlier burials were found, some in the corners of the chamber, others in a floor cist near the southeast corner.

The burial offerings as found comprised six vases complete or nearly so and fragments of two others (Pl. 45, 2). All are of familiar Late Helladic III shapes: an askos, a one-handled cup on a high base, a stirrup vase, its shoulder decorated with groups of diminishing chevrons, a three-handled jar with groups of vertical strokes on its shoulder, and two plain amphorae. The fragments (not illustrated) come from cups or goblets with everted rim, one with a vertical handle.

Only one of the vases can be attributed with assurance to a particular burial, viz., the plain amphora of Pl. 45, 2, *f* which was found standing upright at the feet of the northern skeleton, its top stopped with a stone. The other plain amphora, the three-handled jar and the cup all lay tumbled in the northwest corner of the room; this circumstance, combined with the fact that one handle is missing from both the amphora and the jar, suggests that these vases were swept aside from an earlier interment. The stirrup vase lay on the middle of the floor, and it too lacks a handle and the tip of its spout. The askos, though complete, was found in the extreme northeast corner, remote from the skeletons. The two fragmentary goblets are obviously relics of an earlier burial.

The modest scale and quality of these vases accord well with the small dimensions of the tomb itself, which clearly belonged to a humbler family than the great chamber tombs on the Areopagus. The chronological difference, however, is slight, for these vases, like those from the upper cemetery, are to be dated fairly early, though perhaps not quite so early, in the third Late Helladic period.

Some dozen metres to the southwest of the chamber tomb just described has appeared a cutting in the hillside that can best be interpreted as an unfinished chamber tomb of the Mycenaean period (Fig. 6). A "dromos" 0.80 m. wide and with a preserved length of 2.00 m. slopes down into a roughly circular chamber 1.20 m. in diameter, from the side of which opens a "side chamber" measuring *ca.* 1.20 × 0.85 m. in plan. If the circular chamber be regarded as working space and the "side chamber" as a beginning of the excavation for the chamber proper, it will be seen that the design envisaged a tomb of precisely the same scheme and dimensions as the neighboring tomb which was completed. The ceilings of the "dromos" and of the "side chamber" have survived intact; that of the circular chamber had collapsed in antiquity and the filling yielded only a few late Roman sherds.

An isolated chamber tomb would be unusual and further exploration in this area may bring to light other tombs which would form a group comparable with that on

the north slope of the Areopagus, reminiscent also of the grouping of tombs of the same period at such sites as Mycenae and the Argive Heraeum.

The Geometric Period is represented by a single burial laid in the very bottom of the valley between the Areopagus and the Hill of the Nymphs: a child's pot burial contained in a large banded amphora of the late 8th century B.C. Probably of the 7th century is a pot burial of a child made in a large coarse pithos which was set down in the rock of the western slope of the Areopagus.

In 1939-40 a family burial plot of the archaic period had been cleared on the lower west slope of the Areopagus, just below the early road that swung around the shoulder of the hill.<sup>17</sup> In 1947, some 15 metres to the northwest of the enclosure around that cemetery, appeared a cist grave furnished with the small black-figured lekythos of Pl. 46, 1. On the wall of the vase are three runners, on the shoulder a cock between lotus buds; the date will be the third quarter of the 6th century.<sup>18</sup> Although the area had been much disturbed in the Hellenistic period, traces were noted of two or possibly three other cuttings similar to that of the cist grave and around them were found fragments of black-figured lekythoi most likely deriving from disturbed burials. These indications suggest a second small family burial plot on the slope of the Areopagus. Directly across the valley, on the slope of the Hill of the Nymphs, there came to light remains of a cremation of the sixth century: a pit much reddened by fire, splinters of calcined bones, and three black-figured lekythoi, burned and broken but complete.

A fragmentary marble roof-tile inscribed with the name of Agonippos and found lying loose on bedrock on the lower slope of the Areopagus has every appearance of being a simple grave marker of about the middle of the fifth century; no certain trace of a grave, however, appeared in the neighborhood (Pl. 46, 2).

From the anthropological point of view the most interesting burials found in this area are those of the fourth and third centuries B.C.; four were cleared in 1947 among the foundations of the Hellenistic houses. All were cremation burials, the fires having been kindled either on the level ground or in a shallow pit. Among the ash and charcoal were found bits of calcined bone and the funeral offerings which are both numerous and distinctive. One typical grave group is shown in Pl. 46, 3. The furnishings normally comprise several ordinary black-glazed drinking cups and bowls together with a lamp of regular type. More characteristic are the numbers of small lidded casseroles, flat two-handled saucers with banded decoration, miniature open bowls and small pyxides. Two of the burials of 1947 contained each an alabastron of poros. Several of the types of vases found in these interments were obviously made for funerary use and were undoubtedly employed in the service at the pyre. The

<sup>17</sup> *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 302; X, 1941, p. 1.

<sup>18</sup> P 18,006. Height, 0.13 m. Cf. Haspels, *Attic Black-Figured Lekythoi*, pls. 11-13: "The Shoulder-Lekythos of ca. 540-530."

miniature scale of many of the offerings and the thinness of the bones suggest that the dead were children. Such burials are attested for a limited period within the fourth and third centuries. A few other examples are known from elsewhere in the Agora and from other parts of Athens. The whole series deserves a special study.

The work of the past season has considerably clarified the road system and the drainage of this part of the city (Fig. 6). As observed in the report for last season,<sup>19</sup> the very bottom of the valley was avoided by the roads of classical times in favor of the adjacent hillsides where they were less subject to disturbance from freshets. It was already clear that the principal road leading out of the southwest corner of the Agora proper swept around the west shoulder of the Areopagus. The excavations of 1947 brought to light a long stretch of a second road running roughly parallel to the first on the opposite side of the valley, i.e., on the northeast slope of the Hill of the Nymphs. Both these north-to-south thoroughfares were intersected by the westward continuation of the road that has been traced above along the north slope of the Areopagus (p. 163).

The newly found street is characteristic of the thoroughfares in this part of the city. Its width is normally three to four metres, enough, that is, to permit the passing of two loaded donkeys. The road metal consists of layer after layer of firm packed gravel. Beneath the middle of the street runs a large drain fed by many lateral tributaries in the shape of lesser channels which took the sewage from the individual houses flanking the street. The large drain consists of two U-shaped sections combined so as to form a channel oval in section with an inside height of *ca.* 0.84 m. and width of *ca.* 0.40 m.; this was just large enough to allow a workman to crawl through to clean out the drain or to make repairs. In many places the trench above the drain channel was filled with large wine jars to reduce the weight on the tiles.

The drains echo the history of the area. They show traces of repeated repairs and alterations down to the mid third century A.D., but all were allowed to silt up in the period of desolation that followed on the Herulian sack of A.D. 267 and only certain limited stretches of them were cleared out to be used again for a brief period in the fifth and sixth centuries. Thereafter they were abandoned.

The earliest, and probably the most important structure of a public nature in this region consists of a trapezoidal enclosure measuring *ca.* 16.50 × 38 m. set in at the westernmost foot of the Areopagus (Fig. 6). To receive the southeast corner of the enclosure the soft bedrock was cut down to a depth of some three metres. The bounding wall has now been traced from its few surviving blocks and from the bedding where no blocks remain throughout its south and west sides; the north end, the northeast corner and most of the east side have yet to be explored. A little remains of a cross wall some 12 metres from the south end. The foundations of both the outer wall

<sup>19</sup> *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 205.

and the cross wall consist simply of a single row of large poros blocks set on edge; of the upper wall nothing survives. Traces of lighter interior walls indicate the existence of small rooms, perhaps two series of five each separated by a corridor, in the northern part. The earth floor of the large south room slopes gently up from west to east, suggesting an auditorium. Toward the southwest angle of the southern room appeared a corner of rubble stone masonry covered on its outer face with red stucco of good quality; the associated floor level indicates that this may be part of the original construction. It would seem to be a remnant of a pedestal or bench.

A date in the second half of the fifth century is given by the pottery from beneath the floor level of the enclosure, by the material and by the workmanship of its foundations. From the plan (Fig. 6) it is clear that the enclosure was already in existence when the Great Drain was built in the early fourth century; the drain closely parallels the west side of the enclosure throughout its length but bends immediately on passing its northwest corner.

Conclusive evidence for the identification of the enclosure is still wanting. From its position, its size, and obviously public character, however, one might hazard the guess that it accommodated one or other of the law-courts that are known to have stood near the Agora. Some slight confirmation may be derived from the discovery of five of the characteristic wheel-shaped dikasts' ballots in this general area (Pl. 46, 4). It may be observed too that the newly found enclosure has much in common with the so-called "Greek Building" to the southwest of the Tholos; a number of dikasts' ballots have also been found in the immediate vicinity of that structure, not to mention the clepsydra or water clock of the type used in law courts which was recovered from a well of the late fifth century B.C. immediately to the east.<sup>20</sup> It must be emphasized, however, that both these identifications are still very tentative and that certainty can be hoped for only through the complete exploration and study of the areas in question.<sup>21</sup>

Whatever the original function of the enclosure, it would seem to have shared the devastation that all this district suffered from Sulla's soldiery in 86 B.C. The area was subsequently overlaid by one or more complexes of small rooms set about court-

<sup>20</sup> *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 274 ff.

<sup>21</sup> The site of the newly found enclosure would correspond to the lower of the two referred to in Bekker, *Anecd. gr.*, I, 253: Ἐπάνω δικαστήριον καὶ ὑποκάτω· ἐπάνω μὲν δικαστήριον τὸ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ· ἔστι γὰρ ἐν ὑψηλῷ λόφῳ· κάτω δὲ τὸ ἐν κοίλῳ τινὶ τόπῳ. It is reminiscent also of the entertaining incident that befell Sokrates' disciples as recorded in Plutarch, *de Genio Socratis*, X (580 E-F): πορευομένοις δ' αὐτοῖς διὰ τῶν ἐρμογλύφων παρὰ τὰ δικαστήρια, σίτες ἀπαντῶσιν ἀθρώποι βορβύρον περίπλειαι, καὶ κατ' ἀλλήλων ὠθούμεναι διὰ πλῆθος· ἐκτροπῆς δὲ μὴ παρούσης, τοὺς μὲν ἀνέτρεψαν ἐμβαλοῦσαι, τοὺς δ' ἀνεμόλυνον. As we shall see below (p. 172) there is good evidence for the activity of marble workers immediately to the south of the enclosure in the time of Sokrates. On the law-courts see Hommel, "Heliaia," *Philologus*, Supplementband XIX, Heft II, 1927; Dow, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, L, 1939, pp. 18 ff.

yards, the involved history of which in the early and later Roman periods has still to be unravelled; they have much more the character of private houses.

In the central part of the area stood two small baths of the Roman period, one overlying the Great Drain, the other set in the angle of the road on the slopes of the Hill of the Nymphs (Fig. 6). The western bath comprised one sizable room heated by a hypocaust and two smaller rooms to the north. In the eastern bath a large apsidal room was flanked by a chamber with hypocaust to the north and by lesser rooms to south and west. Both buildings had massive concrete foundations and underpinning for the floors; in the eastern establishment the central room was floored with marble slabs. The eastern bath may be dated as early as the second century A.D.; both were in use into the late Roman period. On the analogy of the Stabian Baths and the Baths near the Forum in Pompeii, it is tempting to see in the smaller and simpler building a bath for women and in the other a bath for men.

Although habitation in this region from the Protogeometric period onward is attested by the wells, the earliest recognizable houses date from the fifth century, and the remains of the houses of this and the following century are very tenuous. Rather better preserved (to employ a common paradox) are those dwellings that were destroyed in the Sullan sack of 86 B.C. and that lay deeply buried beneath their own debris during the subsequent period of comparative desolation. By careful study it will be possible to recover the ground plans of several of these houses with their paved courts, wells, cisterns, and modest living rooms.

Still better preserved and more comprehensible are the large houses that covered most of this area in the Roman period. After the sack of 86 B.C. there seems to have been little building until the turn of the era and most of the houses will probably prove to date not earlier than the second century. All suffered in the Herulian sack of A.D. 267; some were then abandoned, others were repaired and continued in use into the fifth century.

Among the houses of the Roman period attention may be drawn to a pair that lay below the road along the west slope of the Areopagus (Fig. 6). These share a party wall and each comprises a series of rooms set around a court; the southern court was served by a well. In view of the abrupt rise in level toward the east, it may be assumed that the houses had upper storeys opening directly on the street. Another large house in the bottom of the valley at the southwest corner of the area is remarkable for a suite of three rooms floored with mosaic in simple geometric patterns.

Most pretentious of all are the houses that rose on the east slope of the Hill of the Nymphs and of Kolonos farther to the north; from their terraces they commanded splendid views of the Agora, the Areopagus, and the Acropolis; the size of the houses and the quality of their furnishings suggest that they were the homes of substantial citizens of the Imperial period. The layout of the houses is involved and in no case

has an entire unit yet been cleared so that a discussion of the plans must be deferred to a subsequent report.

It may be noted, however, that the walls of these houses still stand in many places to shoulder height (Pl. 47, 1). They are normally plastered and treated in a simple scheme: a dado lined off and painted in imitation of mottled marble; the upper wall divided into broad, vertical panels separated by simple floral motifs and bordered by broad and narrow bands.

The floors of the houses of the Roman period were variously treated. In most of the rooms the flooring was of firm packed clay, in others of terracotta tiles; the courts were paved with marble. One of the largest rooms (*ca.* 8.00 × 8.80 m.) was floored with mosaic (Pl. 47, 2). The principal feature in the design, a large square panel, was thrust toward the northwest corner of the room; this panel was probably filled with some figured scene, now completely obliterated by late intrusions. The square panel was framed by two ornamental bands, a six-strand guilloche and a maeander, while the broad spaces to east and south were occupied by an interlocking design of eight-pointed stars and squares filled with a variety of geometric motifs. The mosaic consists of tesserae, 0.01-0.015 m. square, cut from white marble, black and red limestone and glass paste of various colors. Among the debris overlying the mosaic were fragments of an elaborately profiled plaster cornice and of a stuccoed ceiling with round and lozenge-shaped panels in high relief. The pottery from above the floor is of the fifth century A.D., proving that the mosaic continued in use that late, but no evidence is yet available from the excavation for the date of its laying. The house was undoubtedly damaged in the Herulian sack of A.D. 267 but may well have been repaired.

One of the most interesting results of the excavation of the area has been the discovery of evidence for artistic activity in clay, marble and bronze, and also for various small-scale industrial enterprises.

In 1939 and again in 1946 a certain amount of waste from coroplasts' workshops had been found at the west foot of the Areopagus. The season of 1947 brought to light the northward continuation of this deposit; in the northern area the material had been used in filling behind retaining walls and house foundations in the post-Sullan reconstruction. In addition to many fragmentary figurines of the familiar Hellenistic types were found not a few moulds for the making of figurines; a typical example is shown in Pl. 61, 3 together with a modern impression. In the same context appeared small bowls and saucers containing pigments (red, blue, and violet), presumably such as were used in painting the figurines. From here too came a mould for the making of Megarian bowls, possibly another product of the same shop. Perhaps from a neighboring shop derive a number of fragments from small marble statuettes, some of them unfinished.

On a natural bench low down on the west slope of the Areopagus came to light

a pit cut down in the soft bedrock, piriform in plan, 3.78 m. long, 1.70 m. wide and 1.20 m. deep (Pl. 48, 1; Fig. 7). Convenient access to its bottom was provided by a stairway neatly hewn from the rock at the narrow end of the pit. On the middle of the floor at the broad end rests a mass of coarse terracotta built up on a core of broken tile. This is undoubtedly the base of a mould for the casting of some large object in bronze. Numerous but much-broken pieces of the mould found in the filling of the pit and in its environs show that the object was a statue.

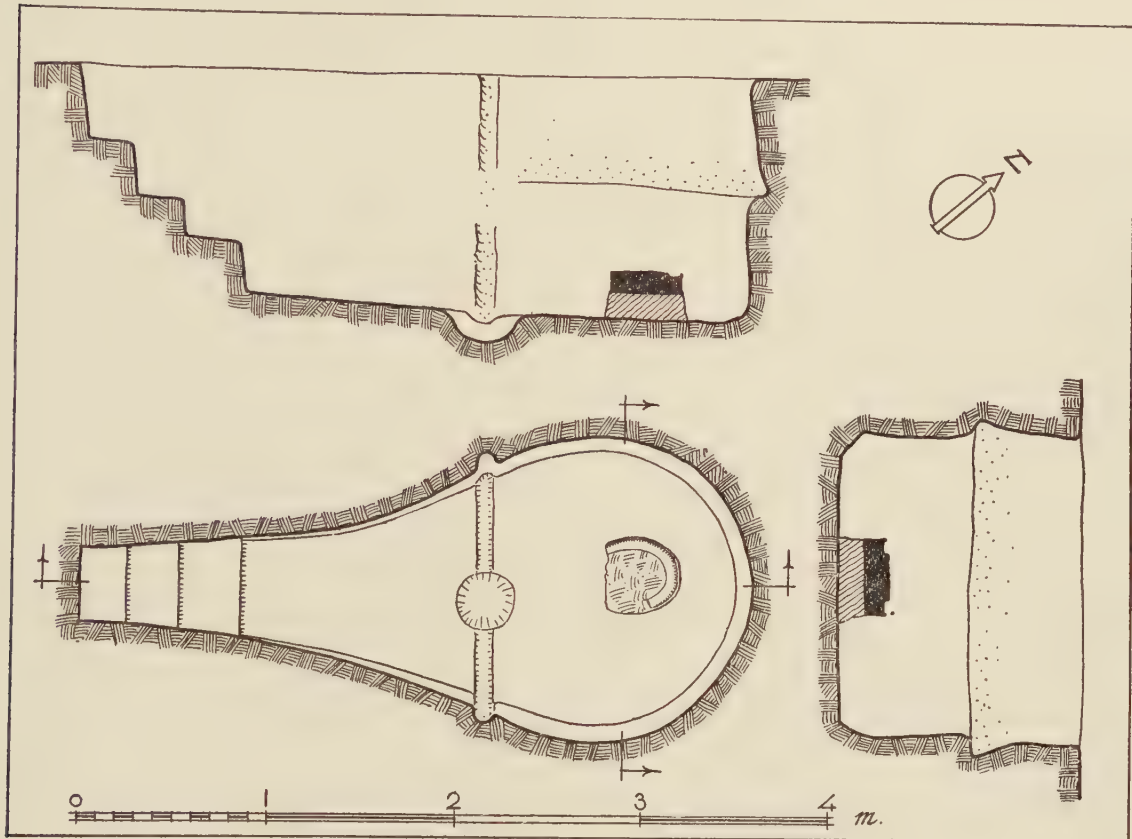


Fig. 7. Casting Pit on West Slope of Areopagus

We may suppose that the mould for the statue was erected on the base. Traces of burning on the floor of the chamber suggest that a fire was kindled around the mould, presumably to melt out the wax between core and outer envelope and also to heat the mould in order to insure a better cast. We may assume that in preparation for pouring the space between the mould and the walls of the pit was packed with fine earth; the shallow transverse trench in the floor of the pit and the corresponding grooves in the walls may have been intended to secure a rough partition to reduce the amount of packing required.

A date in the second century before Christ is indicated by the pottery found in the filling of the pit. Similar establishments of earlier date have been discovered in previous seasons: one of the mid-sixth century to the south of the Temple of Apollo Patroös,<sup>22</sup> one of the late fifth century within the peribolos of the Hephaisteion,<sup>23</sup> and one of the fourth century to the southwest of the Hephaisteion.<sup>24</sup> The study of this material should shed much light on the technique of ancient bronze working.

Evidence for the manufacture of marble basins in this area was noted in the report for the season of 1946.<sup>25</sup> In 1947 additional evidence was found for marble working at the very foot of the Areopagus. In a small building of the fifth century B.C. set in a cutting in the slope of the hill appeared a great mass of chips of Pentelic marble. This would seem to have been a gradual accumulation, heaped up first in one corner of the room and supported by a succession of loosely built retaining walls which kept the chips from flooding the whole room. Since there appears to have been no building of the period in the immediate vicinity in which marble was used architecturally, these chips probably derive from the shop of a sculptor working in marble. The broken pottery found among the marble chips is of the late fifth century B.C.

Above the layer of marble chips which eventually filled the room to a depth of 0.50 m. was installed an elaborate system of shallow drains and basins (Fig. 6, Pl. 48, 2). The room itself measures internally *ca.* 8.60 × 3.00 m., its long axis lying east and west. Across the west end was set a shallow basin roughly lined and floored with tiles; the east end was filled by a basin of similar construction and dimensions and by a much smaller basin toward the south. Between the basins lies the network of drains in the shape of a letter H with a very long horizontal bar which runs from east to west and lies closer to the north than to the south side of the room. Into the channels that formed the H flowed short tributaries, four into each of the vertical hastae so to speak and six or possibly seven into the horizontal bar. The combined yield of the whole system was led out through the northwest corner of the room into the Great Drain. All the channels were very roughly put together of concave cover tiles laid upside down. The main arteries of the system were found covered with broken roof tiles and scraps of basins both of marble and of pottery; the short tributaries were found open, at least toward their outer ends. No distinctive sediment was found either in basins or drains, nor has any other clue to the identification been produced by the excavation. In this region of shops it may be assumed, however, that the establishment served some industrial purpose. It was in use for a short period within the fourth and third centuries B.C.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>22</sup> *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 82 f., 343.

<sup>23</sup> *Hesperia*, Supplement V, p. 109.

<sup>24</sup> *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 342 f.

<sup>25</sup> *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 206.

<sup>26</sup> The identification as a latrine has been proposed. Apart from various technical difficulties,

Evidence for the working of clay in this area came to light in two small buildings of the late fifth and fourth centuries B.C. set on the lower west slope of the Areopagus. In the dirt floor of one of these buildings was a pit containing pure clay, while a coarse pot full of clay was found in a well that opened in the same room. One room of the adjoining building had its floor surfaced with hydraulic cement; in the floor of a neighboring room was set a terracotta basin and a shallow cement-lined pit suitable for the working of clay in such small quantities as might be used by a coroplast. In a house of the Hellenistic period on the east slope of the Hill of the Nymphs is another large shallow basin and nearby is a well that was filled in large part with clay similar to the "red clay of Chalandri" regularly used by the Attic potters of today.

The ceramic tradition persisted in this area even into the Dark Ages. To a time between the sixth and the eighth centuries may be attributed an establishment with three kilns set down among the ruins of older buildings on the northwest shoulder of the Areopagus (Fig. 6). The best preserved of the kilns measured about  $2.75 \times 5.50$  m. in plan. A fire chamber 0.80 m. wide ran the full length of the kiln, communicating with the stacking chamber above by means of lateral flues, a half dozen on either side. Of the upper chamber nothing remains. In the ashes at the bottom of the flues were found more than fifty small leaf-shaped kiln supports similar to those used in modern village potteries for separating roof tiles from one another in the kiln. It is probable that this old establishment also produced roof tiles. The clay for the purpose may have been dug nearby, and this, indeed, would account for the vast, amorphous pits that were detected in the course of the excavation in the valley to the west of the Areopagus. These pits had been carried down into the masses of clay left by the disintegration of the walls of ancient buildings and the cavities had then been back-filled with small stones, broken roof tiles, and such other material as would have been discarded by the mediaeval tile makers.

An establishment of Hellenistic date that may have served an industrial purpose lay to the west of the trapezoidal enclosure, between the Great Drain and the street on the slope of the Hill of the Nymphs (Fig. 6). Its overall dimensions are *ca.*  $6 \times 9$  m. At the foot of the wall on the south, east and west sides is a channel *ca.* 0.25 m. wide and 0.40 m. deep, its sides and floor carefully plastered with hydraulic cement. In addition to the long channels, there are traces of one large and one small basin with plastered interior at the north end of the room and of one small basin at the south end. The floor in the middle of the room was surfaced with mortar studded with pebbles. The layout of the room has something in common with latrines of a familiar ancient type well represented by a specimen to the east of the Market of Caesar and Augustus.<sup>27</sup>

however, this hypothesis would presuppose an inordinate expenditure of effort for the very simple object envisaged.

<sup>27</sup> Orlandos, *Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν*, 15, 1940, pp. 251 ff. For latrines of the Greek period see also Wiegand-Schrader, *Priene*, p. 294; Hiller von Gaertringen, *Thera*, III, pp. 157 ff.; Chamonard, *Délos*, VIII, pp. 181 ff.

Its identification as a latrine, however, is made dubious by the absence of any certain connection between the plastered channels and either the Great Drain to the east or the road drain to the west.

As was to be expected in a district of houses and shops, many ancient wells were encountered in this area. Some thirty were cleared, including one of the Protogeometric period, three of the Geometric, four of the sixth century, five of the fifth, three of the fourth, six of the Hellenistic period, and eight of the Roman. The clearing of several other wells was given up because of the collapse of their walls, cut as they were through a very treacherous rock formation, or on account of gas. The earlier wells were uncurbed, save for one of the sixth century which was walled with small stones; those of the Hellenistic and Roman periods exhibited the normal curbing of terracotta tiles. In the Hellenistic age the wells were supplemented by cisterns which provided soft water for household purposes; two such cisterns were cleared. The combined evidence to be gotten from the well and cistern deposits will be invaluable for the study of the history of habitation in this region, particularly for the pre-classical periods that have left so little in the shape of structural remains.

### SCULPTURE

The season of 1947 was exceptionally fruitful in sculpture, and the yield was not only numerous but varied in period and theme. The following notes will cover a selection of the more important pieces.<sup>28</sup>

The late archaic period is well represented by a marble head of Herakles from a late Roman context on the east slope of Kolonos (Pls. 49 and 50).<sup>29</sup> Its monumental quality belies its small size, which is little over half life. The inclination of the neck indicates that the hero was in action and he may be thought of as swinging his club with such vigor that it touched the left side of his head where it was held in place by two metal pins of which the drilled holes remain. The attitude is familiar from the representations of Herakles on the early red-figured vases and from the archaic poros pediment of Herakles and the Hydra on the Acropolis. These comparisons also indicate that Herakles' opponent is to be restored to the right. Such a disposition of the club, while it left the head admirably exposed in a painting or relief, would be hard to justify in a free-standing figure. We infer, therefore, that our head, though itself worked in the round, comes from a relief, and for this conclusion confirmation is found in the difficulty experienced by the sculptor in finishing the back parts of the head.

A little of Herakles' opponent is probably to be recognized in a crested, wattled, beaked head that was found within a few metres of the Herakles head (Pl. 50, 2-3).<sup>30</sup>

<sup>28</sup> A fragment of an archaic marble grave stele of the man-and-dog type (S 1276) will be published in the Shear Memorial Supplement of *Hesperia*.

<sup>29</sup> S 1295. Height, 0.147 m. Pentelic marble.

<sup>30</sup> S 1260. Height, 0.093 m.

In material, workmanship, and weathering the two heads are identical. The neck of the monstrous head is bevelled in such a way as to show that it had been attached to a background so as to project at an angle of about 45°; for the metal pin that held it in place a hole was drilled in the neck with the same diameter as those in the Herakles head. The bevel indicates that the head was set with its right side toward the wall and that it faced left, opposing the hero. The head defies classification in any of the normal zoological genera, but it may perhaps be recognized as of a Stymphalian bird.<sup>81</sup>

A date toward the close of the sixth century is indicated by the close similarity between the new Herakles head and the heads of the same hero on the metopes of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi. Beyond this we can scarcely at present go with any assurance. The group would appear to derive from the decoration of a building, but whether from the pediment of a small structure or from the metope of a large would be difficult to decide; in any case no suitable building of any size has yet appeared within the area in which the marbles were found.

The Athena torso of Pl. 51 comes likewise from a late Roman context at the west foot of the Areopagus.<sup>82</sup> The scale is slightly more than one-half life; the figure is carefully finished on all sides. Head and forearms were cut from separate pieces and attached; the snake heads of aegis and of girdle were doubtless of bronze and inset. A large round shield carried in the left hand would have concealed the ugly inventory letters, the deltas, on left shoulder and breast.<sup>83</sup> The right forearm may be thought of as thrust forward, holding in the hand some small attribute like a patera which would have left exposed for full enjoyment the rich drapery of the right side.

In stance, proportions, and scheme of drapery our small torso shows the influence of the great Pheidian creations, the Parthenos and the Lemnia. In these respects, however, it is less developed than works of the last quarter of the century such as the figures on the east frieze of the Temple of Nike Apteros, the treasure-record relief of 410/09 in the Louvre,<sup>84</sup> the female figure in Eleusis.<sup>85</sup> The drapery was presumably carved by someone who had worked or was working on the Parthenon frieze, who delighted in a rich voluminous effect with well-rounded ridges rather than in the sharper folds and the transparency that were already coming into evidence in the

<sup>81</sup> On the vase paintings Herakles is represented attacking the birds sometimes with bow and sometimes with club. On the coins of Stymphalus itself he uses the club. The coins of Stymphalus, moreover, give us the most circumstantial picture of the creatures' heads. Cf. Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, p. 99, pl. T, X-XII; Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds*, s. v. Στυμφαλίδες.

<sup>82</sup> S 1232. Height, 0.66 m. Pentelic marble.

<sup>83</sup> On the inventory marks on temple treasures see *Athenian Studies presented to W. S. Ferguson*, p. 205.

<sup>84</sup> *Ath. Mitt.*, 35, 1910, pl. 4, 2; Diepolder, *Attische Grabreliefs*, p. 22, fig. 4.

<sup>85</sup> Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, fig. 325; Bieber, *Griechische Kleidung*, pl. IV, 5.

pediments of the Parthenon and were well nigh irresistible to the next generation. The drapery on the back of our torso in its stiffness and the formality of its design is actually reminiscent of the Olympia pediments and the Mourning Athena of the Acropolis.

These arguments would suggest for the style of our figure a date early in the 30's of the fifth century; the exquisitely fresh quality of the modelling and of the surface finish are also worthy of that period.

As for the destination of the newly found Athena, we may conjecture that she, like several others of similar scale in the Acropolis Museum, was intended as a votive offering in some sanctuary; in which remains to be seen.<sup>36</sup>

A slighter but none the less delightful echo of the Parthenon style is afforded by the small marble plaque of Pl. 54, 1.<sup>37</sup> A solitary horseman, cloak on shoulder, sits his horse with all the easy nonchalance of the knights on the Parthenon frieze.

The kerchief-bound head of Pl. 52, slightly over half life size, brings us still closer to a monument of the Acropolis.<sup>38</sup> The marble was found at the west foot of the Areopagus in a late Roman context with Byzantine intrusions. Clear traces of heavy drillwork on the back of head and neck show that these parts were cut clear of a background on which the body was presumably carved in relief. The top of the head over the back two-thirds of its area is fresh and was obviously protected; the front third is heavily weathered. Despite the sadly battered state of the marble one can detect a masterly hand in the modelling and a very delicate surface finish. This combination of circumstances points inevitably to the parapet of the Nike Temple and, although no direct join has been established, the attribution would appear to be certain. Carpenter, writing on the parapet in 1929, knew one head still attached to its body, one head loose in the Acropolis Museum, and a plaster cast of a now missing head.<sup>39</sup> The Greek Archaeological Service, excavating in 1931 in the Market of Caesar and Augustus, came on another head which seems certainly to derive from the same source and which has suffered much as ours did in its long roll down the slope.<sup>40</sup> The head from the Agora, better preserved than any of the others, brings out the piquancy which the parapet gained from the contrast between the warm, vibrant bodies of the Victories and the chill, passive beauty of their faces.

<sup>36</sup> For the Acropolis Athenas cf. Casson-Brooke, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, II, pp. 238 ff., nos. 1336, 1337. Similar in style and close in date is the Athena in Venice (Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, p. 105, fig. 323).

<sup>37</sup> S 1289. Height, 0.16 m. Pentelic marble. The right edge only is original. Traces of a working boss on the back of the plaque may be presumed to give the mid point; they suggest an original width of ca. 0.27 m. The piece was probably intended as a votive offering.

<sup>38</sup> S 1246. Height, 0.152 m. Pentelic marble.

<sup>39</sup> Carpenter, *The Sculpture of the Nike Temple Parapet*, p. 29.

<sup>40</sup> Stavropoulos, 'Αρχ. Δελτίον, Παράρτημα, 1930-31, p. 7 and illustration on p. 9, fig. 8 (wrongly titled).

In a well at the northwest foot of the Areopagus (p. 162 above), in association with a number of marbles and other objects discarded at the time of the Herulian sack (A.D. 267), was found the life-sized head of a female figure, presumably a goddess (Pl. 53).<sup>41</sup> The root of the neck is worked for insertion in a draped torso. The back of the head was cut from a separate piece of marble and was secured by means of an iron pin one end of which appeared in the top of the head. Scraps of gold leaf adhere to face and hair, enough to indicate that the whole head was once gilded. The fact that the gold would effectually have concealed the head of the pin, as also the joint between front and back parts, suggests that the piece was intended to be gilded from the beginning. The impressionistic rendering of the hair, the small features, the prettiness indicate a date in the late fourth or early third century B.C., while the exceedingly soft surface, the very thin lower eyelid and the concave eyeball associate it more specifically with the head from Chios now in Boston and with several related works.

The small marble votive plaque of Pl. 54, 2 was found at the west foot of the Areopagus in the filling behind a retaining wall that is to be connected with the rebuilding of that area after the Sullan sack of 86 B.C.<sup>42</sup> The plaque is quite complete even to the tenon intended for insertion in a base and to traces of color: red on the hair, blue on the background. Comparison with the slabs from the Mantinea Base and with the Attic grave stelai would indicate a date in the latter part of the fourth century. The modelling is sketchy, to be sure, and no doubt depended in large part on the color, but the figures are well conceived and the composition is effective.

The theme is evidently Eleusinian. Demeter, seated with sceptre in left hand and patera in right, accompanied by her torch-bearing daughter receives a family group of worshippers who approach from the right. Between the goddess and the mortals stands a male figure marked by his scale as divine. On his left arm he carries a child, in his left hand a cornucopia and high in his right hand an obscure object: a drinking horn or short torch (?). Since the composition of this central group was probably inspired by the Eirene and Ploutos of Kephisodotos, one may conjecture some similarity in theme. The child, accompanied here as in the great group by the horn of plenty, may safely be identified as the infant Ploutos. Among the youthful male divinities who moved in Eleusinian circles in the fourth century the most likely candidate for identification with the standing figure is perhaps Iakchos who was addressed as Ploutodotes, Giver of Wealth.<sup>43</sup> Whatever the identification of the

<sup>41</sup> S 1242. Height, 0.235 m. Pentelic marble.

<sup>42</sup> S 1251. Width, 0.314 m. Pentelic marble.

<sup>43</sup> Scholiast, Aristoph., *Ranae*, 479:

ἐν τοῖς Ληναϊκοῖς ἀγῶσι τοῦ Διονύσου ὁ δαδούχος κατέχων λαμπάδα λέγει· καλεῖτε θεόν· καὶ οἱ ὑπακούοντες βοῶσι· ‘Σμελῆϊ Ἰακχε Πλουτοδότα.’

standing figure, our plaque is of considerable interest inasmuch as the association of Ploutos with Eleusis has hitherto been only slightly documented, viz., by several vase paintings of the Kertch period.<sup>44</sup>

Two other marble votive plaques were found in the area west of the Areopagus. One of them (S 1285), found in a late Hellenistic level in the Great Drain, is a small rectangular plaque with tenon, decorated with a coiled snake; it is uninscribed but very similar to the dedications from the sanctuary of Zeus Meilichios now in Berlin.<sup>45</sup> The other piece (I 5968, *supra*, p. 39), from a late and disturbed context, shows a human eye and bears the inscription, in letters of the third or second century B.C., "To the Hero Physician," obviously a thank offering for eyes healed.<sup>46</sup>

A number of notable additions were made this season to the series of portraits of the Roman period. A miniature but striking study of the Princeps Augustus is noted below (p. 181). A much-broken marble portrait head of the Julio-Claudian period (not illustrated) has the tremendous breadth of cranium and the prominent bony structure of the face characteristic of the ruling family; it may represent one or other of the youthful princes.<sup>47</sup>

The small marble head, about one-third life, shown in Pl. 55, though also sadly battered, reveals a masterly hand that has treated a foreign type with both skill and sympathy. The broad nose, thick lips and prominent cheek bones mark the woman as of negro origin. The bonnet-like coiffure is a modest civilian version of the style worn by the court ladies of the Trajanic period.<sup>48</sup>

Equally striking, though in quite a different way, is the life-sized marble bust of a man shown in Pl. 56.<sup>49</sup> This piece was found lying face down beneath the charred beams and broken roof tiles of one of the large houses of the Roman period on the east slope of Kolonos, one of those that were destroyed in the Herulian sack of A.D. 267 and never rebuilt. The highly polished flesh parts are set off effectively against the rasped surface of tunic and cloak; the eyebrows and the hair have been rendered by very light strokes of a single point; the eyeballs are smooth. The bust form would suggest a date in the late Flavian or early Trajanic period. In its masterly technique and dry realism this bust may be regarded as a somewhat earlier and more studied work of the school that produced the herm of Moiragenes, found a hundred metres to the north in 1935.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Nilsson, *Greek Popular Religion*, p. 62; Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, III, pp. 146 ff.

<sup>45</sup> *Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen*, nos. 722, 723.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 839: a decree of 221/0 B.C. in which provision is made for melting down silver offerings in the sanctuary of the Hero Physician; eyes occur three times.

<sup>47</sup> S 1287. Height, 0.20 m. Pentelic marble.

<sup>48</sup> S 1268. Height, 0.115 m. Parian marble. For the coiffure compare the portraits of Marciana (d. A.D. 113) and of Matidia (d. A.D. 119) in *Arch. Anz.*, 1938, cols. 276 ff.

<sup>49</sup> S 1299. Height, 0.475 m. Coarse grained, Parian (?) marble.

<sup>50</sup> *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 17.

Our next piece (Pl. 57) is of considerable interest not only stylistically but also technically since it was left in an unfinished state and in various stages of completion from bottom to top.<sup>51</sup> The head was intended, of course, for insertion in a draped torso. Eyes and eyebrows are rendered plastically; the hair is done in a tight marcel around the front, in a melon frisure at the back, ending in a small bun. This coiffure, which is exactly paralleled on certain issues of the coins representing Faustina the Younger, indicates a date in the middle of the second century.<sup>52</sup>

One of the latest portraits of the season is a marble head of life size found at the west foot of the Areopagus in a context of the third century probably to be associated with the Herulian sack of A.D. 267 (Pl. 58).<sup>53</sup> The rendering of hair and eyes would suggest a date in the second quarter of the third century. The plump, soft face is obviously that of a child. The head is bound by a wreath of tight packed leaves of schematic shape. Most distinctive is the coiffure. The stippling normal in this period suggests that most of the hair was short; but from the crown of the head hangs a single long lock.

This curious hairdress undoubtedly illustrates the ancient practice of growing a special lock for dedication to some river or divinity as described by Pollux (B. 30): "Ἐτρεφον δέ τινες ἐκ πλαγίου κόμην ἢ κατόπιν ἢ ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτωπον ποταμοῖς ἢ θεοῖς, καὶ ὠνομάζετο πλοχμὸς ἢ σκόλλυς ἢ σειρὰ τριχῶν. Our head wears the lock behind; two heads of the same period found at Eleusis illustrate one the frontal and the other the lateral position.<sup>54</sup> That the custom of dedicating a lock was widespread is sufficiently indicated by the literary and epigraphic sources; the most common occasion was probably on attaining manhood, i.e., on becoming an ephebe.<sup>55</sup> The subject of our study, however, is clearly of more tender years. His extreme youth and the distinctive wreath would appear to put him in the same category as the two boys at Eleusis. The Eleusinians have been identified by Kourouniotes as boys initiated from childhood into the Mysteries: *παῖδες ἀφ' ἑστίας μνηθέντες*.<sup>56</sup> Whether the newly found head derives from the Athenian Eleusinion, which appears to lie to the southeast of the Agora, or from some closer sanctuary is a question that had best be left open until the area at the northwest foot of the Areopagus has been more completely explored.

In addition to the portraits, several studies of divinities of the Roman period

<sup>51</sup> S 1237. Height, 0.45 m. Pentelic marble. From a well on the west slope of the Areopagus along with debris from the Herulian sack of A.D. 267.

<sup>52</sup> *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, IV, pls. 22 and 23. The closest parallels are with Issue III of Faustina, i.e., ca. A.D. 147-150 (Mattingly, *op. cit.*, pp. XLIII f.). Cf. also Lady Evans, *Num. Chron.*, 1906, pp. 37 ff.; M. Wegner, *Arch. Anz.*, 1938, cols. 276 ff., especially col. 281, fig. 2.

<sup>53</sup> S 1307. Height, 0.255 m. Pentelic marble.

<sup>54</sup> Kourouniotes, *Ἀρχ. Δελτίον*, 8, 1923, pp. 155 ff.

<sup>55</sup> Athenaeus (XI, 88, p. 494): οἱ μέλλοντες ἀποκείρειν τὸν σκόλλον ἔφηβοι.

<sup>56</sup> *Ἀρχ. Δελτίον*, 8, 1923, pp. 155 ff.

deserve notice. First a small head, about half life, with short hair drawn together at the crown, its loose ends rising in curls on either side (Pl. 59, 1).<sup>57</sup> The coiffure and the set of the head suggest Nike in forward movement, and raised wings may have concealed from ordinary view the rough finish of the back and the not entirely flattering profile. The high polish of the flesh parts, the coarse drill work and the vermicular treatment of the hair would place the head in the late Antonine period, toward the end of the second century. It was found along with the gilded marble head described above in the well at the northwest foot of the Areopagus, a context which indicates that it was damaged and discarded at the time of the Herulian sack of A.D. 267.

In the well along with the two heads was found a marble statuette of the Herakles Farnese type (Pl. 59, 2).<sup>58</sup> Our version varies from the normal in several respects, notably in the excessive scale and prominence given to the club by carrying its butt end down so far, and in the presence of a sword belt. The modelling of torso and head, although much simplified as one would expect in a work of small scale and no pretensions, nevertheless conveys something of the sombre bigness of the fourth century original. A date in the first half of the third century A.D. may be hazarded for the copy.<sup>59</sup>

### TERRACOTTAS AND LAMPS

The Agora collection of terracottas was enriched this season by some 200 catalogued specimens ranging in date from the archaic to the late Roman period.

One of the most pleasing of the early pieces is a corner fragment of a plaque pierced for suspension (Pl. 60, 1).<sup>60</sup> Comparison with two very similar though not identical plaques found on the Acropolis permits the restoration of the new piece as a girl seated on a bench spinning, distaff in left hand, spindle in right, the plaque being intended, presumably, for dedication to Athena Ergane.<sup>61</sup> Both the Acropolis and the Agora examples are of outstanding quality.

Another terracotta plaque with hole for suspension came from a Hellenistic context at the east foot of the Hill of the Nymphs (Pl. 60, 2).<sup>62</sup> Herakles wreathed urges

<sup>57</sup> S 1244. Height, 0.16 m. Coarse grained, Parian (?) marble.

<sup>58</sup> S 1241. Height, 0.37 m. Pentelic marble. Broken at several points but complete. Two miniature copies in bronze have been found elsewhere in the Agora: *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 19; IX, 1940, p. 296.

<sup>59</sup> The same well yielded also a small bearded marble head of a god in a dry archaistic style (S 1243). Other marbles worthy of mention are two statuettes of *Hermaphroditus sese ostendens*, one of them (S 1235) from a Hellenistic context to the west of the Areopagus, the other (S 1234) from a disturbed context in the same area.

<sup>60</sup> T 2480. Height, 0.108 m. From a fifth-century context at the west foot of the Areopagus.

<sup>61</sup> Hutton, *J.H.S.*, 17, 1897, pp. 308 ff.; Casson-Brooke, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, II, pp. 420 ff., nos. 1329-1330. I owe the reference to my wife.

<sup>62</sup> T 2466. Height, 0.165 m. Traces of white engobe both on figures and background.

on his donkey by applying his enormous club to the little creature's hindquarters; he uses his lion skin as a saddle cloth. The representation of Herakles mounted is rare, but recurs on a small limestone plaque from Rhodes which is inscribed as a dedication to Herakles.<sup>63</sup> The motivation of the scene clearly comes from without and it is tempting to suppose that the coroplast has adapted an excerpt from some monumental representation of Hephaistos' return to Olympus. If Hephaistos were substituted for Herakles the scene could be paralleled in several vase paintings of the sixth and fifth centuries which show Hephaistos, deliberately befuddled, being enticed heavenward by Dionysos and his accomplices.<sup>64</sup>

The terracotta bust of Pl. 61, 1 appeared in a late Hellenistic level in the filling of the Great Drain at the west foot of the Areopagus.<sup>65</sup> The Phrygian cap with its peak and flaps, and the curious sexual duality mark the figure as Attis, a common theme in Hellenistic terracottas.<sup>66</sup>

The further clearing of the west slope of the Areopagus produced in this season as in 1939 and 1946 numerous figurines of the third and second centuries B.C. together with moulds for their manufacture, coming no doubt, as noted above, from coroplasts' workshops within the area. This material will be the subject of a special study, so that for the present occasion samples only are illustrated: in Pl. 61, 2<sup>67</sup> some representative heads both male and female and in Pl. 61, 3 a characteristic mould, together with a modern impression, of a youthful torso, probably Eros.<sup>68</sup>

In the early Roman period in Athens terracotta figurines did not enjoy the popularity that had been theirs in the Hellenistic period and that they were to recover in the later Roman period. On the other hand the plastic decoration of vases, lamps, etc., sometimes attained a high level; a particularly fine piece is illustrated in Pl. 61, 4. It is a male head wearing a laurel wreath impressed in relief in the medallion on the floor of a small bowl.<sup>69</sup> The fabric of the bowl and such use of a medallion are characteristic of the Augustan period. The head is obviously a portrait, and comparison with coins leaves little doubt that we have to do with a slightly idealized representation of Augustus himself. In sheer beauty of design and competence of modelling the terracotta medallion invites comparison with some of the finer of the many cameos in which Augustus is represented.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>63</sup> *Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen zu Berlin*, no. 689.

<sup>64</sup> Schefold, *Ath. Mitt.*, 59, 1934, pp. 137-146; Talcott, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 47-49.

<sup>65</sup> T 2425. Height, 0.11 m. Traces of white engobe.

<sup>66</sup> For the type cf. Burr, *Terracottas from Myrina*, p. 57.

<sup>67</sup> T 2455, 2437, 2436, 2339, 2337, 2427.

<sup>68</sup> T 2454. Height, 0.132 m.

<sup>69</sup> P 18,314. Diameter of medallion, 0.055 m. Fine buff clay covered with thin glaze which has fired red on the underside, mottled brown and red on top. On the underside is the merest suggestion of a base-ring surrounded by scattered floral ornaments.

<sup>70</sup> Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, III, pp. 314 ff.; Schweizer, *Röm. Mitt.*, 57, 1942, pp. 97-99.

Various Athena types of the fifth century are faithfully reproduced in a number of minor terracotta works of the Roman period in a way paralleled by the representation of famous statues on Athenian coins of Imperial times. The most popular of these revivals is the bust of Athena Promachos, armed with Corinthian helmet, spear and aegis. She appears on a dozen or more lamps of the second and third centuries found in the Agora as well as on other lamps of the same types from the Athenian Kerameikos and from Corinth.<sup>71</sup> One of the finest of these representations occurs on a large lamp of the third century found in the Agora in 1939 (Pl. 62, 3).<sup>72</sup> Working even in this modest medium and small scale the late craftsman has caught not a little of the beauty of the original.

The Parthenos forms the subject of two closely related pieces which came to light in the seasons of 1939 and 1947. One of these (Pl. 62, 1) preserves the face and the bowl of the helmet,<sup>73</sup> the other (Pl. 62, 2) gives us the shoulder and the whole helmet.<sup>74</sup> The sphinx in the middle and the pegasus on either side of the helmet conform to the normal type; the lesser fauna that sometimes appear above the brow band are here entirely omitted as on the Varvakeion statuette. The most interesting variant occurs in the treatment of the cheek plate, which is decorated with a striding male figure cradling a club in his left arm; both the Aspasioi gem and the Koul-Oba medallion which show the cheek piece clearly have a griffin rampant.

Both the Parthenos pieces may be assigned on the basis of context and workmanship to the third century A.D. That which preserves the face may come from an extremely large lamp, more probably from a decorative medallion. The other fragment is part of a mould for the making of a medallion in high relief.<sup>75</sup> The beginning of an inscription in the bounding zone is tantalizing: Η ΑΘΗΝ[Α Η ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ?; but we do not know whether the text was continuous or interrupted below as above. Whatever the purpose of these two pieces, they are related to each other in a mechanical way. Both evidently derive from the same original, but the inscribed piece is shown to be the more remote by the greater coarseness of its detail and by its smaller scale (*ca.* 5/6 of the other).

A third Athena type is represented on a sadly broken fragment of a once magnificent lamp, again of the third century (Pl. 62, 4).<sup>76</sup> The head of the goddess is entirely

Among the coins one of the better parallels is the fine bronze piece illustrated in Rodenwaldt, *Kunst um Augustus*, p. 5, fig. 1.

<sup>71</sup> See the general study by Pick, "Promachos des Pheidias," in *Ath. Mitt.*, 56, 1931, pp. 59-74 and the additional comments by Pfuhr in *Ath. Mitt.*, 57, 1932, pp. 151 ff.

<sup>72</sup> L 3731. Diameter, 0.092 m. Pale buff clay, unglazed.

<sup>73</sup> L 3703. Found in 1939. Maximum dimension, 0.084 m. Dark buff clay, unglazed.

<sup>74</sup> T 2376. Found in 1947. Estimated diameter, *ca.* 0.24 m.

<sup>75</sup> That the mould was used for lamp making is ruled out by the absence of any trace of a handle in the normal position above the head. The overall diameter, 0.24 m., is also excessive for a lamp.

<sup>76</sup> L 4256. Overall diameter of lamp, 0.185 m.; diameter of inner medallion, 0.112 m. Pale buff clay, unglazed.

broken away. That she was helmeted is proven, however, by the tip of a crest in the field. She wears her aegis, not symmetrically like the Promachos and Parthenos, but diagonally in the manner of the Lemnia. She cannot, however, be the Lemnia, for a long ringlet falls over the shoulder whereas the Lemnia's hair is neatly held up by a band. The figure medallion is surrounded by an extraordinarily rich frame made up of imbricate and braided members interrupted by Amazon shields. A design so delicate is likely to have been created for metal and then borrowed by the worker in clay.<sup>77</sup>

From another lamp of the third century comes the delightful scene of Pl. 63, 1.<sup>78</sup> Leander swims vigorously shoreward, guided by Hero who leans out of a window high in a crenellated tower and holds a lamp outthrust in her right hand. The story is told in much the same terms on the coins of both Sestos and Abydos, the home towns of the lovers, as well as on gems and on terra sigillata.<sup>79</sup>

The activity of coroplasts in the Agora region in late Roman times was already well attested by numerous moulds found in earlier seasons. In the season of 1947 several more moulds came to light in a mass of rubbish that overlay the floors of the Civic Offices and that had evidently been dumped over the terrace of the Middle Stoa soon after the Herulian sack of A.D. 267. Among these pieces are moulds for hunting scenes and one for a curious assemblage of beasts which became intelligible only through the discovery of a more complete replica mould in the area to the west of the Areopagus (Pl. 63, 2).<sup>80</sup> The whole scene now appears as a semi-conical composition topped by Orpheus who sits with lyre on knee surrounded by beasts and birds in various stages of enchantment.

From the accumulations that gathered in wells in the third century before the Herulian sack of A.D. 267 come not a few terracotta figurines and plastic vases, of which two representative examples are here illustrated (Pls. 63, 3; 64). The cloaked youth stands near the end of a very long tradition that stretches clear back into the Tanagra period.<sup>81</sup> The gross disparity of the proportions and the dullness of the modelling are in some measure redeemed by the effective, impressionistic treatment of the features.

The plastic pitcher<sup>82</sup> was moulded in two pieces. Front and back the cylindrical body is decorated with labors of Herakles: the Stag and the Stymphalian Birds, the two scenes separated by Ionic columns, and, less formally, by a tree on one side and

<sup>77</sup> Compare the Hellenistic gold Athena medallions of the Benaki and Stathatou Collections. Segall, Museum Benaki, *Katalog der Goldschmiede-Arbeiten*, no. 36, pls. 13, 14.

<sup>78</sup> L 4251. Diameter of inner medallion, 0.06 m.

<sup>79</sup> The references are conveniently assembled by Chase, *Catalogue of Arretine Pottery in the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, no. 93, p. 89.

<sup>80</sup> T 2507. Height, 0.135 m.

<sup>81</sup> T 2327. Height, 0.215 m. Pale buff clay. Round vent hole between shoulders.

<sup>82</sup> P 17,877. Height, 0.24 m. Pale pink clay covered with thin dull red glaze, much of which has flaked off.

the hero's equipment hanging from the wall on the other side. The representations remind one of those on the famous silver Herakles cups from the House of Menander at Pompeii,<sup>83</sup> and they doubtless owe something to contemporary works in the nobler medium. In this respect our pitcher is to be compared with a large class of relief bowls made in the second and third centuries and well represented in the excavations both of Athens and of Corinth.<sup>84</sup> The shape of our pitcher, particularly the mouth and the mouldings, are reminiscent also of mould-blown glass of the period. The newly found piece is one of the finest examples of a small series of moulded pitchers that have turned up in widely separated parts of the ancient world.<sup>85</sup>

### POTTERY

In addition to the vases from various periods that have already been noticed above in relation to their contexts, a very considerable amount of pottery dating from the Protogeometric period onward was recovered from ancient wells. Only a few outstanding pieces will be illustrated here.

The medium-sized amphora of Pl. 65, 1 comes from a well on the lower slope of the Hill of the Nymphs along with a few other pieces of the second quarter of the sixth century.<sup>86</sup> The decoration is confined to base rays, a tongue pattern on the shoulder and a chain of lotus buds and flowers on the neck. Though very unassuming, the piece is thoroughly pleasing both in shape and ornament.

In a neighboring well of slightly earlier date was found the curious stand of Pl. 65, 2-3.<sup>87</sup> It consists of a drum-shaped upper member supported on a flaring base. Between these two members is a diaphragm pierced by a large round hole. The interior of the drum is accessible also through an opening with arched top in its side wall. The base proper is pierced with a much smaller round opening on each of two sides, and it is reinforced at its lower edge by two massive lugs each of which is pierced transversely by two small round holes. The walls are very heavy, having an average thickness of about one centimeter.

The stand is decorated in black-figure in a bold, open style. The side with the window was apparently regarded as the principal front. On this side the round hole

<sup>83</sup> Maiuri, *La Casa del Menandro*, pp. 310 ff., pls. XXV-XXX.

<sup>84</sup> Spitzer, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 162-192.

<sup>85</sup> Robinson, *C. V. A. Robinson Collection*, fasc. III, pl. XXXIX. A specimen in the Robinson Collection at Baltimore is inscribed on the bottom *οἰνοφόρος*. It would seem rash, however, to restrict this very general term to pitchers of this shape, particularly since it is applied also to the drunken old woman with a lagynos on her lap as represented in a Hellenistic terracotta in the National Museum, Athens (*Εφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1891, pp. 143 ff.).

<sup>86</sup> P 18,348. Height, 0.34 m. Broken but complete save for a fragment from the mouth. Cf. *Archaeology*, I, pp. 13-20.

<sup>87</sup> P 18,010. Height, 0.343 m. Pale buff clay, the paint fired to light brown.

in the base was flanked by a lion and a siren with a floral ornament below; the "window" in the drum has a siren to one side, its other side being broken away. On the reverse the hole in the base is flanked by a goose on either side while a large floral ornament of palmette and lotus fills the wall of the drum. Around the base of the drum runs a wavy line; around the foot of the base a row of loops at least on the reverse side, the other side being broken away.

The purpose for which the utensil was intended is puzzling and its interpretation is made more difficult by the lack of comparative material. That it was actually used is proven by the much worn state of the rim of the drum and of the front part of its floor, i. e., just within the window. The elaborate design shows that it was not, like so many black-figured stands, intended simply for the support of a round-bottomed lebes or the like. That it served as a brazier is ruled out by the absence of any trace of burning.

*Faute de mieux*, one might associate the stand with psykters (wine-coolers) of the black-figured type which consist of an amphora with double walls so arranged that the space between the walls could be filled through a spout on the shoulder and drained through a small hole in the bottom. To provide for the drainage it would be necessary to have the bottom of the psykter raised above the floor and it would be desirable also to have the bottom readily accessible for plugging and opening the drain hole. Both these conditions are met by our stand. The round openings in the base were probably to facilitate handling; the lesser holes in the lateral lugs may have been made only to assist the firing of these heavy masses of clay; they show no signs of wear.

The double-walled psykters are few in number and appear to be restricted in date to a short period, roughly the second quarter of the sixth century, to which period we may also assign our stand. The majority of those known, some four, are "Chalcidian"; at least two others, however, are of Attic manufacture and one of the two was painted by Sakonides.<sup>88</sup> It is perhaps significant that on three out of the four Chalcidian psykters the base rays are omitted as though in anticipation of the lower part of the vase being concealed; otherwise base rays are the rule on Chalcidean amphorai and hydriai.

Among the examples of red-figured vase-painting found in 1947 are two fragments which served as ostraka.<sup>89</sup> A ballot cast against Kallixenos is inscribed on the interior of a red-figured mug (Pl. 66, 1), attributed by Beazley to the painter of Berlin 2286,<sup>90</sup> who worked in the late sixth century. The mug was thus made some

<sup>88</sup> Rumpf, *Chalkidische Vasen*, nos. 109-112; *C.V.A. British Mus.*, III, pl. 25 (B 148); Rumpf, *Sakonides*, p. 27, no. 75; Heydemann, *Die Vasensammlungen des Museo Nazionale zu Neapel*, p. 646, no. 38; Karo, *J.H.S.*, 19, 1899, p. 141.

<sup>89</sup> The following notes on selected red-figure have been prepared by Peter E. Corbett, currently holder of the Macmillan studentship in the British School at Athens.

<sup>90</sup> Paralipomena to *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters* [*A.R.V.*], p. 115: "add as no. 49 bis." A typescript copy of these *Paralipomena* is deposited in the library of the American School of

twenty years before the fragment was used as a vote against Kallixenos, since the ostrakophoria with which his name is associated is assigned to the late 80's.<sup>91</sup> The scene on the fragment is a komos; the upper part of a youth is preserved, dancing to the right, with his cloak over his left shoulder, his left arm raised, and his right hand on his hip. Behind him is the outline of the back of the head and left arm of a second figure, with the end of a staff held in the latter's left hand—a staff, not a lyre, for the transverse "reserved" line is a scratch. We may compare komasts on two cups by the same hand, one in Amsterdam, one in Florence.<sup>92</sup> These comparisons suggest that our two figures are moving in opposite directions. Greater unity of composition is attained, however, if we suppose our left-hand komast to have resembled the maenad in the interior of a cup in Philadelphia<sup>93</sup> who dances right with her head turned to the left and her left arm raised. For comparison with this ostrakon another fragment by the same painter<sup>94</sup> is illustrated here (Pl. 66, 2). It is part of a similar mug, a favorite shape with him, and shows a bearded, garlanded man wearing a himation and leaning to the right upon his stick which rests under his armpit.

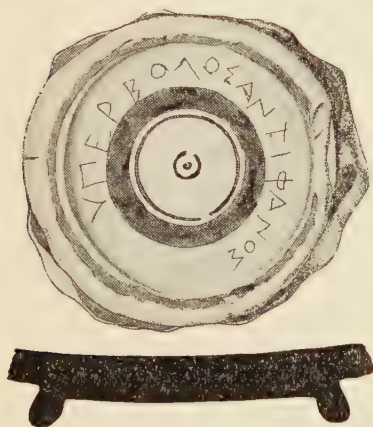


Fig. 8. Base of Bowl used as Ostrakon (P 18,495) Scale 1:2 (Drawing by Hazel S. Whipple)

A vote against Hyperbolos, the last victim of ostracism, banished in 417 B.C., is scratched on the underside of a red-figured bowl or cup (Pl. 66, 3 and Fig. 8).<sup>95</sup> Within, in a medallion banded by two reserved circles, is a goose. The shape presents a problem. The foot is plain, heavy and spreading; the fabric too thick for a stemless cup. The ringed decoration of the underside and the flatness of the floor are paralleled in a black-glazed one-handler<sup>96</sup> from a contemporary well-filling. Although red-figured decoration is not customary for one-handlers, it is not unknown,<sup>97</sup> and this ostrakon may be from a large and heavy example of this shape.

Classical Studies. Inv. P 17,620. Preserved height, 0.05 m.; diameter at rim estimated 0.12 m. Mended from four pieces; no relief contour.

<sup>91</sup> See below, p. 193, where the ostraka found in 1947 are discussed as such.

<sup>92</sup> *A.R.V.*, p. 113, no. 7; *C.V.A.* Scheurleer, III, Ib, pl. 8, 4; and *A.R.V.*, p. 114, no. 26; *C.V.A.* Florence, III, I, pl. 11, B3.

<sup>93</sup> *A.R.V.*, p. 114, no. 22; *A.J.A.*, 38, 1934, pl. 35, A.

<sup>94</sup> *A.R.V.*, p. 115, no. 50: "unusually careful." Found in 1932. Inv. P 447. Preserved height, 0.049 m.; width 0.057 m. Dilute glaze for the internal markings, white for the leaves of the garland; the letter kappa in the field neatly incised.

<sup>95</sup> Inv. P 18,495. Diameter of foot, 0.086 m. A single fragment, broken all around; the edges of the fracture worn smooth. From the filling of a well in the area west of the Areopagus, along with the two oinochoai figured below, Pl. 67.

<sup>96</sup> Inv. P 19,117; also similar in scale and massive fabric and from like contexts, the one-handlers Inv. P 18,912 and P 18,991.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pl. XLVII, 4 and 5.

The date of the ostracism of Hyperbolos gives us a firm *terminus ante quem* for the painting of the vase. The nature of the picture unfortunately precludes direct comparison with other red-figured pieces which have been dated on stylistic grounds. Similar birds occur on two squat lekythoi, one in Cracow,<sup>98</sup> the goose close to ours in body and attitude, and one in Würzburg.<sup>99</sup> There exist other lekythoi,<sup>100</sup> more elaborately decorated, whose similarity in shape suggests an approximate contemporaneity with the Cracow and Würzburg vases, and so with our piece. The ostrakon may thus serve as a check, albeit an indirect one, on the commonly accepted chronology of red-figured vases.

Two oinochoai from the same well-filling as the Hyperbolos ostrakon are illustrated on Pl. 67. The first<sup>101</sup> shows a komos: a wreathed, bearded man dressed in a himation walks to the right, his whole pose and every gesture eloquent, and his lips parted in song. Behind him follow two youths, with wreaths and fillets: a lyre player, his himation round his shoulders and his head inclined forward, absorbed in his music; and a nude youth with a torch, an oinochoe, and a hamper on his back. This was the standard equipment for dining out.<sup>102</sup> To judge by the attitude of the leading figure on our vase, this is the return from the party rather than the journey to it. A stamnos in Rome,<sup>103</sup> by Polygnotos, gives us an earlier version of the scene with its succession of figures—singer, musician and torch-bearer—in poses similar to ours; there the banquet itself is represented on the front of the vase. The style of our picture suggests a date towards the end of the third quarter of the fifth century. For the drapery of our bearded komast we may compare the figure of Erechtheus on a cup by the Codrus painter in Berlin.<sup>104</sup>

The second oinochoe<sup>105</sup> figures activities of the palaestra. In the centre stands a male figure, in a decorated himation; his right hand holds a tall staff whose forked top identifies him as the trainer. He looks right to a nude male, who faces him with a pair of javelins in his left hand, and with his right hand raised in gesture to the

<sup>98</sup> *C.V.A.* Cracow, Musée Czartoryski, pl. 13, no. 5.

<sup>99</sup> Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg*, pl. 209, no. 588.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. *C.V.A.* Vienna, pl. 11, no. 7, less developed in shape and described as third quarter of fifth century; *C.V.A.* Hoppin and Gallatin Collection, Hoppin, pl. 17, no. 2; *C.V.A.* Copenhagen, III I, pl. 167, no. 1.

<sup>101</sup> Inv. P 18,799. Height preserved, 0.22 m.; diameter, 0.177 m. Much mended; lip, handle and fragments of foot and body missing. The glaze of the drawing much worn, especially on the leading figure. Partial relief contour on all three figures; white for the fillets and the torch flame.

<sup>102</sup> Compare the two oinochoai, Oxford, *C.V.A.* pl. 43, 4 and Baltimore, Robinson, *C.V.A.* III I, pl. 10.

<sup>103</sup> *A.R.V.*, p. 678, no. 9.

<sup>104</sup> *A.R.V.*, p. 739, no. 2.

<sup>105</sup> Inv. P 18,800. Preserved height, 0.14 m.; diameter, 0.144 m. The lower part only is preserved, put together from many pieces, the highest point giving the start of the curve of the neck. The glaze is much worn above the foot, which is badly chipped.

trainer. Between them sits a shaggy dog, looking up at the right-hand figure. To the left is another athlete, striding right and raising his lead jumping-weights<sup>106</sup> before him as he prepares to jump.<sup>107</sup> Stylistically our vase should belong to the last decade of the fifth century; the drapery of the central figure on a hydria<sup>108</sup> of the same period bears some resemblance to that of our trainer.

The lekythos on Pl. 67, 3, is assigned by Beazley to the Icarus painter.<sup>109</sup> On it is the figure of a maenad who stands facing right, wearing a full-sleeved, decorated chiton, a himation and a wreath. Her long hair flows down her back; she holds in her left hand a large thyrsus.

A tantalizing fragment of a calyx-krater (Pl. 67, 4), assigned by Beazley to the manner of Polygnotus,<sup>110</sup> shows a male figure right, wearing a himation and holding a lyre; in front of him are the hand and arm of one holding a sword. Below the sword is the corner of a chiton, the inner edge of its broad lower hem being marked by two parallel relief lines.<sup>111</sup> The scene is hard to interpret. The death of Orpheus seems impossible, since the armed figure is turned away from the lyre-player. In view of the stress laid by the tragedians on the fact that Orestes slew Klytemnaistra on Apollo's direct injunction, and in default of other interpretations, one may hazard a tentative suggestion that our piece is from a representation of the murder in which Apollo's share in the responsibility is indicated by his presence as an onlooker.

Plate 68 illustrates six fragments, all but one (no. 3) from the 1947 season. The first (Pl. 68, 1) is a fragment of a kylix<sup>112</sup> in the ripe archaic style. From the interior medallion there survives part of the head of a satyr, looking right. His forehead is wrinkled and hide-bound; above his long, sensitive horse's ear a magnificent wreath sits rakishly; in the field above is a kappa, as if for the first letter of *καλός*. Behind him can be seen part of the reserved line which enclosed the scene.

<sup>106</sup> For the difference in shape between these and stone weights, see Caskey and Beazley, *Attic Vase-Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, text to pl. VII.

<sup>107</sup> On the position, see the note on an amphora in the Gallatin collection, *C.V.A.*, pl. 54, no. 1a.

<sup>108</sup> *Monumenti Inediti*, IV, pl. 47.

<sup>109</sup> *Paralipomena to A.R.V.*, p. 482: "Add as no. 18 bis." Inv. P 17,601. Preserved height, to top of handle, 0.142 m.; diameter, 0.069 m. Mended from several pieces; the mouth, neck and small fragments from the body missing. On the shoulder, a double row of rays. Partial relief contour. White for the wreath, the sprays from the thyrsus and the wine. From a filling over bedrock, in the area west of the Areopagus.

<sup>110</sup> *Paralipomena to A.R.V.*, p. 682: "No. 6 bis." Inv. P 18,279. Preserved height, 0.079 m.; preserved width, 0.081 m. Mended from three pieces. Relief contour; dilute glaze for the bridge of the lyre. The glaze fired red and grey in places. From the filling behind the east wall of the Great Drain, in the area west of the Areopagus.

<sup>111</sup> Compare a vase by Polygnotus, *A.R.V.*, p. 677, no. 1; and one by the Niobid painter, *A.R.V.*, p. 419, no. 15, the left-hand hoplite on B.

<sup>112</sup> Inv. P 18,346. Max. dim., 0.044 m. Relief contour. Dilute glaze for the wrinkles on the forehead. Purple for the wreath and for the kappa in the field above. From the area west of the Areopagus; mixed context, fifth to third centuries B.C.

The second piece (Pl. 68, 2) is also from a kylix;<sup>113</sup> here we have part of the external decoration. The fragment, assigned by Beazley to the Colmar painter,<sup>114</sup> bears the head and shoulders of a youth, muffled in his himation, facing left. Before him hangs a round, three-footed bird cage, of which we have only the lower right corner, with the lower part of the bird.

The next fragment (Pl. 68, 4) is from a deep, plain-rimmed cup, possibly a kantharos.<sup>115</sup> A nude girl stands facing, her head turned to the left, a fillet round her hair. Her right forearm is raised parallel to the ground: she may have been a bather with an alabastron in one hand and a garment, or her boots, in the other.<sup>116</sup> A connection with the late followers of Douris, such as the Euaion painter, has been suggested by Beazley;<sup>117</sup> and for the pose of our figure we may compare a draped woman on a cup in the Cabinet des Médailles<sup>118</sup> by the Euaion painter himself.

The laureate head of Apollo, facing right, shown in Pl. 68, 3, comes from the hand of the Niobid painter in his early period.<sup>119</sup> It is of much the same date as his hydria in Leningrad.<sup>120</sup>

Possibly by the same hand is the figure of Odysseus (Pl. 68, 5) represented on a fragment of a closed pot, perhaps a pelike.<sup>121</sup> An inscription, ]ΣΣΕΥ[, near the top of the fragment, identifies the well-groomed, bearded figure. He bends forward to the left, his right arm extended, his left hand holding both the top of a cross-topped stick and the end of a crooked staff which rests on his shoulder. Remains of two transverse lines at the extreme preserved point of the staff may indicate where a bundle was once attached.<sup>122</sup>

<sup>113</sup> Inv. P 17,531. Max. dim., 0.051 m. Broken all around. Relief contour. Dilute glaze for the bird. From a mixed filling on the north slope of the Areopagus.

<sup>114</sup> *Paralipomena* to *A.R.V.*, p. 228: "Add as 26 bis."

<sup>115</sup> Inv. P 18,604. Preserved height, 0.038 m.; estimated diameter at the rim, 0.110 m. Relief contour. Dilute glaze for the line at the base of the neck, and pubes; white for the fillet. From a fifth-century level in the area west of the Areopagus. For the shape compare the kantharos *C.V.A.* Brussels, III Ic, pls. 5, 6.

<sup>116</sup> Cf. (a later vase) the central figure on the stamnos in Munich, Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, fig. 564; also the girl on a cup in Oxford, *C.V.A.*, pl. 51, 8.

<sup>117</sup> *Paralipomena* to *A.R.V.*, p. 536: "Undetermined followers of Douris: add, as no. 28 bis. . . . Recalls the Painter of Louvre CA 1694 and the earlier work of the Euaion Painter."

<sup>118</sup> *A.R.V.*, p. 530, no. 75.

<sup>119</sup> *Paralipomena* to *A.R.V.*, p. 420: "Add as no. 24 bis: early." Inv. P 16,616. Max. dim., 0.047 m. Fragment from a bell-krater. Partial relief contour. From a filling dug in 1940 on the lowest slopes of the Hill of the Nymphs; context as late as the mid fifth century.

<sup>120</sup> *A.R.V.*, p. 423, no. 53.

<sup>121</sup> *Paralipomena* to *A.R.V.*, pp. 418 ff.: "It might be a very early work by the Niobid painter." Inv. P 18,538. Preserved height, 0.068 m. A single fragment, broken all around; the fabric rather too thick for an oinochoe. Partial relief contour. Dilute glaze for the hair, beard and eyelashes and for the markings on the left upper arm. The lettering in white, now faded.

<sup>122</sup> The drapery is puzzling, as are the markings on the left upper arm. The horizontal line above the left elbow suggests the end of a short, close-fitting sleeve. The rest of the body appears

The hair is too tidy to fit any obvious occasion when we might expect to find Odysseus depicted as a wanderer, with his bundle on his back. On his home-coming he was transformed into an aged beggar (*Odyssey*, XIII, 430-435); for his secret entry into Troy he disfigured himself (*Odyssey*, IV, 244-245). Another possibility which has been suggested is his mission to Skyros. This interpretation is particularly tempting since we know that Achilles on Skyros formed the subject of a painting by Polygnotus (Pausanias, I, xxii, 6). Later versions of the episode show the moment of Achilles' self-betrayal, either in reaction to a sudden trumpet-call<sup>123</sup> or simply from the natural attraction of weapons for his heroic spirit.<sup>124</sup> In the Pompeian pictures Odysseus is shown seizing the detected youth or raising his right hand in triumphant recognition. The lack of tension in the pose of our figure and in the extended right arm would scarcely accord with either of these actions. However, on the Chertomlyk bow-case Odysseus leans on his stick, with his right arm raised in a gesture of display. It may be that our vase portrayed an earlier moment in the story, the laying of the trap. Odysseus, disguised as a pedlar, with his bundle still over his shoulder, is attracting the hero's attention with some trinket proffered in his extended right hand, but the women's clothes and ornaments and the guilefully added weapons are not yet laid out.

The last of these fragments (Pl. 68, 6) is from an oinochoe.<sup>125</sup> On it we see the head of a youth, facing left. Slight traces of drapery over his right shoulder suggest that he had a himation. Behind him hangs a bag, before him a writing tablet with a round-headed stylus stuck through the strings.<sup>126</sup> The style of the piece places it around the time of the Calliope and Washing-painters, thus about the end of the third quarter of the fifth century.

however to be nude, with such details as the collar-bones visible, and moreover the lines which survive below the hem of the sleeve appear to indicate drapery falling in vertical folds on either side of the arm. It is hard to see how any garment worn beneath the sleeve could give this effect, yet the absence of bunched-up drapery at the elbow, and of any continuation of the folds above the hem seems to exclude the possibility of a chlamys or himation worn as an over-garment.

<sup>123</sup> As on the Pompeian wall-paintings: Hermann-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler der Malerei des Altertums*, plates 5; 137; p. 189, fig. 55; and the sarcophagus reliefs: Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs*, Bd. II, plates VI to XX.

<sup>124</sup> As on the Chertomlyk bow-case: Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 285, fig. 206.

<sup>125</sup> Inv. P 18,286. Max. dim., 0.062 m. No relief contour. From the filling behind the east wall of the Great Drain, in the area west of the Areopagus.

<sup>126</sup> Bone and metal styli which have survived are either plain tapering shafts, or square-ended; see Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 335, the examples figured there, and the references cited. Representations in vase-painting do however include the round-headed version: compare Orvieto, *C.V.A.*, Musei Comunali Umbri, III I d, pl. 15, no. 5; Brussels, *C.V.A.*, III I d, pl. 6, no. 1 d; Fogg Museum, *C.V.A.*, III I, pl. 15, no. 1 d; Oxford, *C.V.A.*, pl. 7, no. 2. The care with which the round head is drawn on our vase militates against the view that it is merely a simplification, to save the trouble needed for the drawing of a small rectangle. One might suggest that it is a representation of a type of which no examples have survived, and since the form is better suited to metal than to bone, we may perhaps think of this as a bronze stylus.

Arretine ware, indeed western sigillata of any sort, is rare in Athens by comparison with a western site or with the Roman colony of Corinth. Yet occasional pieces occur in contexts of the Augustan period, and among the examples found in 1947 are fragments of a krater of Dragendorff's Form 11 and of first-rate quality.<sup>127</sup> The decoration on the wall of the vase was Dionysiac; the bearded Dionysos himself appears with thyrsus in hand while a leafy thyrsus stands in the field (Pl. 69, 1).

The pottery of the later Roman period may be represented by two pieces found at a level of the third century A.D. in a well at the north foot of the Areopagus. One of the pieces is a small globular pitcher, coated in its upper part only with thin brown glaze, a type of vase exceedingly common in the period (Pl. 69, 2).<sup>128</sup> The particular interest of the present example is the inscription incised on its shoulder: *ξέστης δίκαιος*, i. e., "fair measure." The vessel, filled to the brim, holds *ca.* 890 cubic centimetres, i. e., just short of one quart, U. S. liquid measure. One would gladly take the measure, or the tavern keeper, at his word; if, however, this boast be taken at its face value, we must be sceptical of another measure of approximately the same period which proclaims itself *οἰνηρὸς* (sc. *ξέστης*) *δίκαιος*, but which holds only 820 cc.<sup>129</sup>

The second piece, from the same well and context as the jug, is a small incense burner (Pl. 69, 3).<sup>130</sup> When the vessel was heated in mending it gave off the fragrance of incense.

Finally, mention may be made here of three small containers, not of pottery but of lead, found at the west foot of the Areopagus, in a Hellenistic context in the filling of the Great Drain (Pl. 69, 4).<sup>131</sup> About the size of a thimble, they were cast in two-piece moulds. Two of them bear inscriptions cast in relief, one *Ἀρτεμιδώρου λύκιον*, the other *Κλεάν(θου?) λκκιον* (*sic*). On the reverse of the first is a tripod, of the second a palm branch, both emblems of victory. *Lykion* was one of the common drugs of antiquity, a decoction with purgative qualities made from the root of a buckthorn native to Lycia and Cappadocia. The name in the genitive might be taken most naturally as that of the manufacturing druggist; in similar instances, however, it was sometimes that of the prescribing physician, and occasionally such little drug containers bear the official stamp of the state, no doubt as a precaution against the adulteration of drugs that is referred to by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, xxvi, 59-61).<sup>132</sup>

<sup>127</sup> P 18,243. Diameter of rim, *ca.* 0.19 m.

<sup>128</sup> P 17,499. Height, 0.145 m.

<sup>129</sup> P 928. A jug of much the same scheme but more elongated. A third jug of the same type but still more slender (P 10,556) has incised on its neck ΔΙΚΕΟ[.

<sup>130</sup> P 17,529. Height, 0.09 m. Brownish clay covered with white engobe. Traces of burning in its bottom.

<sup>131</sup> IL 853, 854, 904. Height, 0.026, 0.023, 0.024 m.

<sup>132</sup> On the drug trade in antiquity see Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, I, p. 241; Wiegand-Schrader, *Priene*, p. 429. For the references I am indebted to Miss Virginia Grace who will deal with the subject in greater detail elsewhere.

## COINS

The number of coins found during the season was 3,460, bringing the total for the first twelve seasons to about 94,000. Of the season's finds about one-third came from the gravelly filling of the Great Drain to the west of the Areopagus, a Hellenistic context, about one-third from late Roman levels in the same general area, the rest from various places and contexts. With the exception of an Athenian tetradrachm of the fourth century and eight tetrobols of Histiaea in northern Euboea all this season's coins were of bronze.

Two groups deserve special mention. The eight silver pieces of Histiaea were found together in the cistern on the north slope of the Areopagus mentioned above (p. 161). They had obviously been held at one time in a purse, but how they reached the cistern is not clear, whether they were secreted there deliberately or were thrown in by error along with some of the rubbish. All eight are tetrobols, bearing on the obverse a female head of maenad or nymph, on the reverse the nymph Histiaea seated on the stern of a vessel with a stylis or ship's ornament in her left hand, a type that is assigned to the period *ca.* 197-146 B.C.<sup>133</sup> Our coins show the great irregularity in weight, the careless workmanship, and the variety in detail common to this numerous series.<sup>134</sup> The marked difference in condition suggests a considerable range in date within the general period.

Interesting also as a group are the coins found on the floor of a room in one of the large houses on the lower slopes of the Hill of the Nymphs, the same room in which lay the marble bust noted above (p. 178). Since the coins lay within a small area directly on the floor it may be assumed that they fell from a purse or a money box dropped in the confusion that must have attended the burning of the house. The 55 identifiable pieces have been assigned as follows: Athens, New Style, 1; Athens Imperial, 12; Chios, Imperial, 1; Trajan ? (A.D. 98-117), 1; Hadrian (A.D. 117-138), 2; Sabina, 1; Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138-161), 1; Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161-180), 1; Faustina the Elder, 3; Faustina the Younger, 1; Lucilla, 1; Commodus (A.D. 177-192), 3; Julia Domna, 1; Julia Maesa, 1; Severus Alexander (A.D. 222-235), 4; Maximinus I (A.D. 235-238), 7; Gordian III (A.D. 238-244), 4; Philip I (A.D. 243-249), 5; Otacila, 2; Trajan Decius (A.D. 249-251), 2; Gallienus (A.D. 253-268), 1.<sup>135</sup> This sequence, taken in combination with similar series of coins found in other burned buildings of the Agora, notably the Odeion, indicates clearly that the destruction was caused by the Herulian sack of A.D. 267.

<sup>133</sup> Head, *Historia Numorum*, ed. 2, p. 364; *B.M.C., Central Greece*, p. lxvi; Grose, *Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean Bequest*, II, p. 342.

<sup>134</sup> The weights are gr. 1.77, 2.05, 1.60, 1.49, 1.47, 2.05, 1.82, 1.72.

<sup>135</sup> For the identification we are indebted to Verna Broneer.

OSTRAKA <sup>136</sup>

A great many ostraka were discovered in 1947, five hundred and twenty-four in all, nearly as many as in all the previous campaigns put together. All were found in the same general area, the deep valley between the Areopagus and the Hill of the Nymphs. It will be seen from the table below that most of the new pieces come from a single large group consisting of 491 ostraka, the largest ever discovered, and that the relatively few remaining pieces come from various other scattered deposits. The large group is unfortunately, however, not from a closed contemporary deposit. The ostraka were found in an area about six to eight metres across in either direction. The deposit from which they came was a metre to a metre and a half deep. It divided into three layers, but all three are apparently contemporary, for ostraka with the same name appear in all of them and there are several instances where fragments of the same ostrakon were found in different layers. Moreover, the pottery found with the ostraka in each of the layers contains some pieces, including fragments of red-figure, which must be dated in the second quarter of the fifth century B.C. whereas the known names on the ostraka are all of persons active in the early part of the century. It is apparent, therefore, that the ostraka were not dumped here immediately after the ostrakophoria in which they were cast but were originally dumped elsewhere and only reached the place where we found them a generation or two later. The very fragmentary condition of many of them suggests the same thing. Therefore, while it is probable that all, or at least most of the pieces derive from a single ostrakophoria, the point cannot be pressed, for there was ample time for both earlier and later pieces to have intruded. Attention may be called to the rather striking fact that in this group the ostraka of Kallixenos are almost equal in number to those of Themistokles, whereas the latter usually has a large majority. The almost complete lack of Aristides ostraka, which usually appear in considerable numbers in ostrakon dumps of this period, is also noteworthy.

Among the new ostraka are three unique and tantalizing pieces that bear names apparently connected with the great Alkmeonid family. On one of them we read *Κλαλίσενος Κλεστένος*, i.e., Kallixenos (?), son of Kleisthenes, probably an otherwise unknown son of Kleisthenes the legislator. Another reads *Ἀριστονύμο Καλλισθένης*, probably a brother of Kallixenos, son of Aristonymos whose name appears frequently on ostraka of the late eighties of the fifth century B.C. A third reads *Κλισένης Ἀρισνύ[μο]* and may be interpreted either as Kleisthenes or Kallisthenes, son of Aristonymos.

<sup>136</sup> An ostrakon of Hyperbolos and one of Kallixenos, interesting chiefly for the red-figured sherds on which they are written, are published above in the section on pottery. The section on ostraka has been written by Eugene Vanderpool who is engaged on the definitive study of this material in collaboration with Mr. A. Raubitschek and Mr. Rodney Young.

Three ostraka of Kimon, son of Miltiades, the first to be found at the Agora, are a welcome addition to the collection. One of them is an especially good specimen, completely preserved, with the name incised in bold letters through the black glaze of a piece of tile (Pl. 69, 5). It is interesting to note that the Agora examples have the Ionic lambda (in the two cases where this letter is preserved) like the piece found in 1937 on the North Slope of the Acropolis.<sup>137</sup> In the large group of Kimon ostraka found at the Kerameikos<sup>138</sup> only the Attic *lambda* occurs.

TABLE OF OSTRAKA FOUND AT THE AGORA IN 1947

	Large Group	Elsewhere	Total
Acharnion Xypetaion .....	1	0	1
Alkibiades Kleiniou Skambonides (the elder) .....	0	1	1
Aristeides Lysimachou Alopekethen .....	4	0	4
Athlo-- Pono-- .....	1	0	1
Charias Ph--dou (A) .....	1	0	1
Eret[rieus ?] (B) .....	1	0	1
Habron Patrokleous Marathonios .....	2	0	2
Hippokrates Alkmeonidou Alopekethen .....	36	6	42
Hippokrates (uncertain) .....	10	1	11
Hyperbolos Antiphanous (Perithoides) .....	0	1	1
Kallias Didymiou .....	0	1	1
Kallisthenes Aristonymou .....	1	0	1
Kallixenos Aristonymou Xypetaion .....	144	4	148
Kallixenos (?) Kleisthenous .....	1	0	1
Kimon Miltiadou (Lakiades) .....	0	3	3
Kleiboulos Nikodemou (C) .....	2	0	2
Kleisthenes (?) Aristonymou .....	1	0	1
Kydrokles Timokratous Kriothen .....	6	1	7
Megakles Hippokratous Alopekethen .....	2	0	2
Onomastos Konthyleus .....	1	0	1
Phaiax Erasistratou Acharneus .....	0	1	1
Themistokles Neokleous Phrearrios .....	145	13	158
Fragments which admit of identification with two or more names .....	115	0	115
Fragments of unidentified names .....	17	1	18
Total .....	491	33	524

- (A) Letter forms and circumstances of finding suggest that this Charias was active in the early fifth century B.C. He is therefore to be distinguished from Charias Paianieus whose name is found on another ostrakon probably to be dated in the second half of the fifth century. See the article on ostraka by Eugene Vanderpool to appear shortly in *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII.
- (B) For the name Eretrieus cf. *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 950, 14 and *B.C.H.*, 31, 1907, p. 348; Sundwall, *Nachträge*, p. 72.
- (C) For an early fifth-century Kleiboulos, possibly the same as ours, cf. *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 986. Nikodemos might possibly be identical with the archon of 483/2 B.C. (Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 22, 7).

<sup>137</sup> *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 241-2, fig. 71.

<sup>138</sup> W. Peek, *Kerameikos*, III, *Inschriften, Ostraka, Fluchtafeln*, pp. 51 ff.

## INSCRIPTIONS

The season's work yielded some 120 marble inscriptions, which brought the total of the Agora collection to 6079. The majority of the season's finds came from the area at the west end of the Middle Stoa. One stele was found re-used as a threshold in the Civic Offices, having perhaps been damaged in the Roman sack of 86 B.C. Another large fragment of a stele had been used as a cover slab on the drain that ran past the end of the Stoa. Many pieces of an inscribed base were incorporated in a wall of late Roman date. Still others were found lying at random in the deep and much disturbed accumulation in this area. Most of the large inscribed pieces found in the region were prytany decrees, naturally enough in view of the proximity of the Prytanikon, i.e., the area of the Tholos in which these inscriptions were normally erected. Some, however, came from farther afield, among them a small scrap from the stele recording the sale of Alcibiades' chattels, a stone which is known to have stood in the Eleusinion at the extreme southeast corner of the excavated area.

The more important inscriptions of the Greek period are published above by B. D. Meritt (pp. 1 ff.) and W. S. Ferguson (pp. 112 ff.). Particularly interesting among texts of the Imperial period is a large fragment of a stele of which pieces have been found previously in various sections of the Agora and as far afield as the south slope of the Acropolis (I 5984). The new piece comes from an early Byzantine level to the west of the Areopagus. The whole document comprises a series of official letters addressed to the *Gerousia* of Athens by Marcus Aurelius and Commodus regarding various matters such as the cutting of trees and the setting up of imperial portraits. The newly found fragment proves that there was at least one and possibly two more imperial letters before what had been previously conjectured to be the beginning of the text.<sup>139</sup>

It is a far cry from these imperial rescripts to the private and highly personal documents that came from a level of the third century A.D. in a well at the west foot of the Areopagus. Here were found seventeen thin tablets of lead, some flat and some rolled, all of them inscribed on one face with a sharp point. They are defixiones or curse tablets of a type already well represented in the Agora by specimens from a well, likewise of the third century, near the southwest corner of the market square.<sup>140</sup> The messages are addressed to the divinities of the underworld, usually to Typhon, whose curse is invoked against the enemy of the writer. There is a liberal scattering of magical names and jumbled lines.

Two of the defixiones (IL 948 + 949 and 952) refer to a love affair in which several persons are concerned.<sup>141</sup> In the first tablet Leosthenes and Pius are cursed

<sup>139</sup> Oliver, *The Sacred Gerousia*, in *Hesperia*, Supplement VI, pp. 108 ff., No. 24.

<sup>140</sup> *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 43; VI, 1937, p. 383.

<sup>141</sup> The readings are due to Mr. G. A. Stamires who is preparing a study of the defixiones.

and delivered to mighty Typhon, so that they may not be able to visit, write to, or talk to a certain Juliana, daughter of Marcia. The writer appears to have been in love with Juliana and afraid lest Pius or Leosthenes might win her from him. In the second tablet some other victim of Juliana's charms, perhaps Leosthenes or Pius, curses the fair Juliana herself because she does not requite his love, and curses also her lover Polynicus. Polynicus, therefore, may have been the writer of the first tablet.

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CORRIGENDUM

In *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 142, line 1 of no. 3 for  $\epsilon\theta\nu\sigma\alpha\nu$  read  $\epsilon\theta\nu\sigma\epsilon\nu$ .

## A CROSS-SECTION OF CORINTHIAN ANTIQUITIES (EXCAVATIONS OF 1940)

(PLATES 70-88)

IF THE excavators of ancient Corinth had sought for a small area which would afford a relatively complete sampling of the material remains from the site, they would probably not have been able to find a better one than that which was excavated in 1940 along the east side of the Museum.<sup>1</sup> Only about twenty by thirty-four meters in extent (Fig. 1) and much disturbed in Classical, Byzantine, and Turkish times, the finds from here yet include well-dated groups of many periods. There were several pockets of Neolithic and Early Helladic pottery and a fine well-group of the latter period, an Early Geometric grave with several vases, an important group of Late Geometric and Early Protocorinthian pottery from a well, a great mass of Early Corinthian vases from which many fine examples have been added to the rich collections of the Museum, a well containing late fifth-century and fourth-century pottery, terracottas, and lamps, other late fourth-century remains of similar type from a cistern, and many objects of Roman, Byzantine, and Turkish date.

When, in 1940, war interrupted for the third time the excavations at Corinth, these important finds from the area east of the Museum, as well as the equally rich remains from a Greek kiln of the fifth century B.C. which was excavated that spring,<sup>2</sup> remained unstudied; in fact, there had not even been time to complete the cleaning, mending, and inventorying of the large quantity of objects from these two areas before the staff had to leave Corinth. When investigations were resumed in the fall of 1946, the unfinished work of 1940 was completed. The results of the excavations in the area east of the Museum are reported herewith; the excavations at the kiln or "Tile Factory," will be the subject of a separate report.

The section dug in 1940 (Fig. 1), an area averaging twenty meters in width and 34 meters in length, was bordered on the east by the West Shops and on the

<sup>1</sup> When plans were made for the building of a new museum at Corinth in 1931, the area within the limits of the proposed museum was excavated. The general area between the West Shops and Temple E had been tested in 1901 and 1905 by trenches XXXIII and XXXIIIa, the former running northwest from the northeast corner of the podium of Temple E and the latter extending westward from the second West Shop (from the north end) and extending well into the area of the present museum. In 1931, a trench was dug parallel to the back wall of the West Shops and ten meters to the west of it; it was two meters wide and thirty-four meters long. These trenches had all been filled in before the areas to the west and east of the museum were investigated further. In 1938 and 1939 the author cleared an area to the west of the Museum in order to prepare it for landscaping (*A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, pp. 592-600). The area to the east of the Museum (Fig. 1) was excavated the following year to prepare for a proposed addition to the Museum.

<sup>2</sup> *A.A.*, 1940, cols. 205-206.

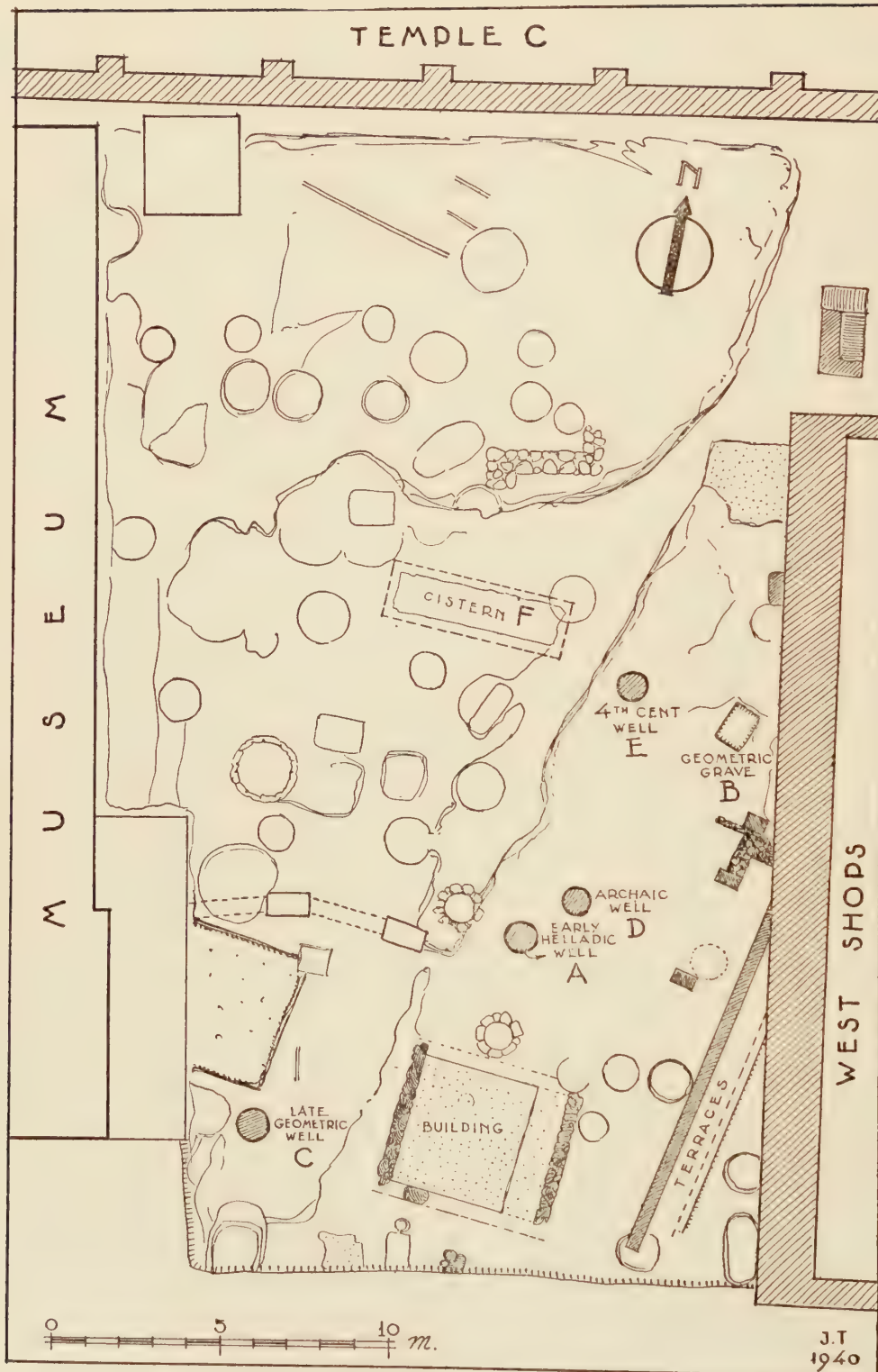


Fig. 1. Plan of the Area East of the Museum, Corinth

west by the Museum; at the north it ended in a scarp which continued roughly the line of the north side of the Museum and to the south it was extended to the line of the north side of the central stairway of the West Shops. The excavations were begun on March 20 and continued until May 30, with several short interruptions caused by the unsettled political conditions. The excavations were supervised by John H. Kent, with the assistance at various times of Arthur W. Parsons, Carl A. Roebuck, and Miss Margaret E. MacVeagh (now Mrs. Samuel Thorne).<sup>3</sup>

In his good report written at the close of the excavations, Kent remarks: "In this area the bed-rock seems to be level, but before the site was first inhabited there had formed a low hill of pebbly red earth, rising from two to ten meters above bed-rock level. The excavated area lies on the east and north slopes of this hill." The first human occupation of the site is to be dated to the Neolithic period, for along the eastern side of the excavated area, in many small pockets that remained undisturbed as well as in much disturbed fill, were found quantities of Neolithic pottery of all the kinds already well known from the Temple Hill and the area west of the Museum.<sup>4</sup> A few small stretches of prehistoric fill still remain undug for future study, but in general the area was too disturbed to offer any good stratification. Many of the sherds are valuable additions to the already large collection from Corinth, but the only Neolithic object of note discovered in this area is a fragment of a figurine which was found in one of the small deposits of Neolithic pottery, composed largely of Neolithic Urfirnis ware, but including as well some Early Neolithic pottery. The description of the figurine follows:<sup>5</sup>

1 (MF 8797). Middle Neolithic Terracotta Figurine. Plate 70. Preserved height, 0.046 m. Preserved width, 0.06 m.

Upper part of body preserved. Clay reddish-buff, slight impurities. The figurine had a tall cylindrical neck, which is broken off near the base, sharply slanting shoulders, at the ends of

which are the beginning of arm stubs, and a thin slab-like body. At the bottom of the neck is a thick clay fillet which knots in back and hangs down between the shoulders. Surface smoothed and decorated with stripes in Neolithic Urfirnis glaze on front and back, forming rough zigzags; the fillet about the neck is glazed.

Such flat, glaze-painted figurines, which resemble remarkably the typical Mycenaean figurines, have only recently been identified in Neolithic context and the

<sup>3</sup> I am indebted to Professor Oscar Broneer, in charge of the excavations at Corinth, for permission to publish this report. For all of the information concerning the excavation, I have been completely dependent on the excellent diaries kept by Dr. John H. Kent, on his report written at the end of the excavations, and on his excavation photographs. Both he and Professor Arthur W. Parsons spent much time in sorting the finds; some inventorying was done by Miss Margaret MacVeagh and it was finished this year by Dr. G. Roger Edwards. The plan of the area (Fig. 1) is the work of John Travlos; the other drawings are by Dr. Marian Welker.

<sup>4</sup> Weinberg, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 487-524; *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, pp. 599-600.

<sup>5</sup> The groups of objects found in this area have been lettered A to F and the objects themselves numbered consecutively within each group. Isolated finds have not been given letters and have been numbered consecutively through the report.

only ones published are from Asea (Holmberg, *Asea*, p. 115, fig. 111, 7-9 and pl. II, j-k). Holmberg cites other Neolithic figurines of similar shape from Thessaly and Macedonia, some painted but not in Urfirnis technique, and he mentions also another example from Corinth, which was found in the St. John's area in 1938 in a deposit which contained only Neolithic Urfirnis pottery (*ibid.*, p. 116, note 1). This figurine, hitherto unpublished, is the following:

2 (MF 8065). Middle Neolithic Terracotta Figurine. Plate 70. Preserved height, 0.038 m. Preserved width, 0.052 m.

Upper part of body preserved. Clay buff on exterior and orange-buff at core; slight impurities. The figurine had a tall cylindrical neck and wide sloping shoulders ending in arm stumps. Just below the armpits is an incision

marking the waist; above it are two pellet breasts. The thin body is decorated with lines in dark or dilute Urfirnis glaze; there are crossed lines between the breasts, parallel lines below the breasts, chevrons on the arms, dilute wavy vertical lines down the front, back, and sides of the neck, diagonal lines over the back of either shoulder and a stripe about the waist.

That the area continued to be inhabited in the Early Helladic period, is shown by the many fragments of the typical pottery of the period which appeared, often mixed with Neolithic pottery. But besides these broken bits, there is a fine group of vases from one of the many wells in the area—Well A, which was clearly in use in the third millenium B.C. The shaft was cut through hardpan for a depth of 9.60 m.; its section was oval at the top, *ca.* 1.10 m.  $\times$  1.20 m., and its diameter at the bottom was *ca.* 1.00 m. At about 8.50 m. from the top the sides belled out sharply to form a small cistern which extended to a depth of 9.30 m.; the main shaft went below this some 0.30 m. to form a settling basin. From about 6.00 m. from the top the shaft and cistern were lined with a hard water deposit; all down the east and west sides of the shaft were cut shallow toe-holds, set only *ca.* 0.30 m. apart. Except for the bottom 0.50 m., the shaft was filled with large field stones and loose brown earth containing only a minimum of pottery. The silt at the bottom, however, produced a considerable quantity of Early Helladic pottery, consisting mostly of various types of water jars and jugs which were certainly from the period of use of the well.

Besides the eight vases catalogued below, which are typical of Group A, there were fragments of many other similar jars. There was at least one jar like A1, four like A2, two rather complete jugs like A3 to A5, and the fragments of at least a dozen similar jugs, one of which had been covered with black glaze. Larger jars, or pithoi, are represented by small fragments belonging to at least three vessels. There are small fragments of other common Early Helladic vases, both glazed and unglazed, which would not have been used for drawing water.

The shapes of the vases catalogued below occur elsewhere in Early Helladic II and Early Helladic III context and it is likely that the well belongs to the latter part of the Early Helladic period, that is, the latter part of the third millenium B.C. At such an early period deep wells are uncommon but there are a few other examples,

notably one found at the northern base of the Cheliotomylos hill at Corinth.<sup>6</sup> Here the well shaft was cut through solid rock for a depth of 16.50 m.; it had a diameter of 1.00 m. and there were toe-holds on either side. It was full of Early Helladic pottery, much of it similar to that found in the well reported here. The excavators of the Athenian Agora have found a large series of wells on the slopes of the Akropolis near the Klepsydra, and seventeen of these belong to the Late Neolithic Period.<sup>7</sup> Most of them are very shallow, but there is one neatly cut shaft which has a depth of 7.70 m. Two other wells of the third millenium B.C. were found at Poliochni on Lemnos, one with a rectangular, well-built shaft that was about 8.00 m. deep and the other with a pentagonal mouth and a cylindrical shaft which was reported preliminarily as having been dug for 6.00 m., but apparently was not yet finished.<sup>8</sup>

The digging of such wells in the third millenium B.C., if not even earlier in the case of the wells in Athens, is a remarkable achievement and illustrates the degree of technical accomplishment of these early peoples. Well A, dug vertically through hardpan, is not as neatly cut as wells of the first millenium. Cutting the shaft of the other Corinthian well (at Cheliotomylos) through rock for 16.50 m. is a much greater feat and must have called for long-sustained effort on the part of a group of people in possession of a large supply of good cutting tools. The Poliochni wells are both lined with squared blocks of stone for their entire depth, and in the case of these two wells it is indicated in the very brief preliminary reports that both of them occupied the centers of small open squares and so must have been community watering places. This is probably to be assumed also for the other wells because of the effort involved in making them. They thus confirm what we already know concerning the well-established community life of the Early Helladic inhabitants of Greece.<sup>9</sup>

#### CATALOGUE OF GROUP A

**A1** (C-40-351). Large Jar. Plate 70. Height, 0.315 m. Greatest diameter, 0.335 m.

Fragments of lip, body, and one handle restored. Clay greenish-buff at surface and reddish at core, very impure. Slightly convex bottom, globular body, small mouth with wide-flaring rim, wide band handles set vertically at belly. Surface roughly smoothed, unglazed; plastic band at belly between upper part of handles.

Large jars of this type are fairly common in the latter part of the Early Helladic period;

in fact, most of the jars of similar shape from Asine, Tiryns, and Chaeronea that are cited below are much larger than our example, but two from Chaeronea (Kunze, *Orchomenos* III, pls. II, 1 and III, 1) are about the same size as this vase. The Peloponnesian examples from Asine (Frödin-Persson, *Asine*, p. 215, fig. 159, 1 and 4; p. 218, fig. 160, 1; p. 222, fig. 162, 1) and Tiryns (Müller, *Tiryns* IV, pl. XI), while much larger, all have the same kind of handles with plastic band between them. They are generally unglazed, but the largest have big

<sup>6</sup> Shear, *A.J.A.*, XXXIV, 1930, pp. 404-406, fig. 1; *Art and Archaeology*, XXXI, 1931, p. 155.

<sup>7</sup> Shear, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 335; VIII, 1939, p. 221; IX, 1940, p. 297.

<sup>8</sup> *A.A.*, 1932, p. 168; 1933, p. 245; 1934, p. 185.

<sup>9</sup> See Goldman, *Eutresis*, p. 229.

swirls of thin glaze over their surface. Except for one jar from Asine, which has a low collar for a lid, they have mouths similar to our example. The vases from Chaeronea are completely glazed and while they have similar mouth and handles, they do not have the plastic band between the handles. The only examples of this shape for which there is good context are those from Asine, which are dated Early Helladic III.

**A2** (C-40-352). Large Jar. Plate 70. Height, 0.274 m. Greatest diameter, 0.314 m.

Large fragments of lip and body and one handle restored. Clay dark reddish-buff, with many impurities. Bottom lightly convex, body slightly biconical with flaring lower part and rounded upper section; low, widely-splayed lip; horizontal cylindrical handles at belly. Surface roughly smoothed, unglazed.

This jar differs from A1 in the form of the handles and the shape of the rim. This shape too has many parallels among vases from the Peloponnesos and Central Greece; most closely resembling our jar is one from Eutresis (Goldman, *Eutresis*, p. 118, fig. 159), which is also unglazed. From Eutresis there are a few somewhat larger jars of similar shape which are partially glazed (*ibid.*, p. 115, fig. 153, 3; p. 118, fig. 157); an example from Chaeronea is also similar (Kunze, *Orchomenos* III, p. 21, pl. III, 2). One large jar from nearby Korakou resembles our jar except for its neck, which has been completely restored (Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 8, fig. 8); the Korakou jar was apparently completely glazed. Three jars from Asine are very similar to ours (*Asine*, p. 213, fig. 158, 1; p. 215, fig. 159, 3; p. 222, fig. 162, 2), and one also has a biconical body; they are entirely or partially glazed and all have plastic bands about the belly, as did A1. Of two similar jars from Tiryns (*Tiryns*, IV, pl. X, 1-2), one is glazed and the other unglazed; both have plastic bands at handle level. The three jars from Asine and the three from Eutresis were all found in Early Helladic III context; so the date of such large jars as A1 and A2 would seem to be well established in the last phase of the Early Helladic period.

**A3** (C-40-355). Beak-spouted Jug. Plate 70. Height, 0.23 m. Greatest diameter, 0.216 m.

Lip and body fragments restored. Clay buff, shading to green and red, somewhat impure. Slightly convex bottom, globular body contracting to short neck, beaked lip; cylindrical handle from lip to shoulder with wide, flat flange at shoulder attachment. Surface roughly smoothed, unglazed.

There is a beak-spouted jug from Ithaka, of greenish-white clay and unglazed, which Heurtley says may possibly be Corinthian (*B.S.A.*, XXXV, 1934-35, p. 19, pl. 6, no. 43); another unglazed jug comes from Asine (*Asine*, p. 208, fig. 156, 1). Such jugs occur at Zygouries among the partially glazed wares (Blegen, *Zygouries*, p. 82, fig. 70; p. 84, fig. 72). From Eutresis there is a very crude, unglazed, beaked jug (*Eutresis*, p. 105, fig. 136), but from the same site comes one of the finest beak-spouted jugs, which is not glazed but has its surface coated with a fine slip in the color of the clay (*ibid.*, p. 105, fig. 137). Its broad ribbon handle widens at the bottom to form a flange very similar to that on the Corinthian jugs. Farther north the beaked jug appears in Macedonia in Early Bronze Age context (Heurtley, *Prehistoric Macedonia*, p. 182, No. 248; p. 186, No. 273; p. 187, No. 275), but nowhere in Greece does it seem to be as common as in the Troad. Examples from this region have been discussed most recently in the publication of many found at Thermi in Lesbos (Lamb, *Thermi*, p. 76, fig. 26). The dated examples of such jugs from Greece, found at Asine and Eutresis, are from Early Helladic II context.

**A4** (C-40-354). Beak-spouted Jug. Plate 70. Height, 0.25 m. Greatest diameter, 0.233 m.

Lip and body fragments restored. Clay greenish-buff, gritty. Shape and surface treatment same as preceding, except for short deep incision along handle at lip end.

**A5** (C-40-357). Beak-spouted Jug. Plate 70. Height, 0.212 m. Greatest diameter, 0.191 m.

Small lip and body fragments restored. Clay dark buff with small red spots, poorly levigated. Shape and surface treatment same as A3, but the fabric is heavier.

**A6** (C-40-359). Beak-spouted Jug. Plate 71. Height, 0.159 m. Greatest diameter, 0.142 m.

Lip and body fragments and handle restored. Clay buff, well levigated. Small bottom very slightly convex, body slightly biconical with wide, rounded shoulders; cylindrical handle with flat lower end. Whole exterior and interior of neck covered with light red to brown glaze, much chipped.

This jug is a smaller and finer version of the unglazed jugs catalogued above and was probably for "table" use rather than "kitchen" use.

**A7** (C-40-353). Beak-spouted Jug. Plate 71. Height, 0.212 m. Greatest diameter, 0.151 m.

Body fragments and handle restored. Clay buff, not well levigated. Bottom slightly convex, body slightly biconical with wide shoulders; high neck and cutaway beak; band handle with a ridge along the top. The whole of the exterior and the interior of the neck covered with a matt black glaze which is somewhat chipped.

The essential difference between this jug and the preceding ones is that the spout is not drawn out to a pointed beak, but is truncated. The jug has a higher neck, more sharply separated from the body of the vase than in the preceding examples. The spout rises very high and its underside is almost straight, while the lip has a strong curve to the point where it is cut off. These features, together with the ridge on the band handle, suggest that the vase might have been made in imitation of metal work.

There are numerous parallels for this jug with a cutaway beak. Some of the first ever found were discovered in 1896 in rock-cut tombs at Corinth (Heermance and Lord, *A.J.A.*, I, 1897, pp. 318-322). All but one of these (no. II, 5) is unglazed; a few have the ridge across the top of the handle, including no. II, 5, which is very similar to our jug. One partially glazed jug from Zygouries has a shape much more like the preceding jugs than like this one, except for its long, cutaway beak (*Zygouries*, p. 84, fig. 71). Two such jugs occurred in an Early Helladic III deposit at Asine, one slipped, the other glazed, and both with imitation rivets

on the handles (*Asine*, p. 214, fig. 158, 6-7). The several examples from Tiryns (*Tiryns*, IV, p. 21, pls. VI, 3; VIII; IX, 4) comprise slipped, partially glazed and glazed wares, and again almost all of them have either pellets or bands at the upper end of the handle. In connection with these Peloponnesian examples, it is interesting to note that the same kind of cutaway beaked spout and broad band handle are sometimes set on a large jar of the type of A2, producing a sort of hydria (*Asine*, p. 215, fig. 159, 6; *Tiryns*, IV, pl. X, 3; *Orchomenos*, III, pl. IV, 2-3). The jug type itself occurs in Macedonia (Heurtley, *Prehistoric Macedonia*, p. 176, no. 211, and probably also p. 168, nos. 174 and 175) and, like the preceding jugs, is a common shape in the Troad (*Thermi*, p. 75, fig. 26, Jugs 3 and 4). Dated examples belong again to the Early Helladic III period.

**A8** (C-40-360). Bowl on high foot. Plate 71. Height, 0.171 m. Greatest diameter, 0.185 m.

Fragments of body and base restored. Clay buff to reddish-buff, some impurities. Widely splayed foot with curved transition to high-flaring body, contracting slightly to simple, rounded lip; four wavy plastic bands set just below and along lip. Surface roughly smoothed, unglazed.

Very similar bowls have been found in the well at Cheliotomylos mentioned above (Shear, *A.J.A.*, XXXIV, 1930, p. 405) and the shape also occurs in two bowls from Ithaka, both of which were glazed and one of which had plastic knobs below the rim (Heurtley, *B.S.A.*, XXXV, 1934-35, p. 18, nos. 18-19, pl. 4). Two unglazed bowls on high feet were found in Early Helladic II context at Eutresis, but their bases are not as high as in the Corinthian examples (*Eutresis*, p. 103, fig. 131). A much larger bowl on a stand of very similar shape was found at Corinth (Weinberg, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 520, fig. 40) and from Zygouries there is a small goblet with a very high foot (*Zygouries*, p. 125, fig. 117). Only the bowls from Eutresis come from datable context and this is Early Helladic II.

After the Early Helladic habitation of the area, there are no remains of settlement until the beginning of the Geometric period, early in the ninth century B.C. The area produced the remains of two, or perhaps three, graves of the Geometric Period, only one of which was well preserved and contained notable objects. This grave had been partially disturbed when its northeast corner was cut off by the back wall of the West Shops, but the rest of it remained intact. The grave consisted of a large rectangular cutting in hardpan, 2.50 m.  $\times$  1.80 m., oriented roughly north-south and within it a smaller rectangular cutting 1.15 m.  $\times$  0.80 m. and 0.60 m. deep, in which was the burial. This smaller rectangle was covered by a large stone slab, 1.20 m.  $\times$  0.80 m. and 0.10 m. to 0.20 m. thick. The corpse, apparently of a man, had been laid in the grave on its back with its head to the south. The legs were probably drawn up, but they had collapsed and lay on their sides. On one finger was found a large bronze ring (B8); an iron knife blade (B9) was beside the right shoulder and close to it was found what seems to be an iron arrowhead (B10).

The four oinochoai (B1-4) and the skyphos (B7) were all found on the shelf about the inner covered rectangle, on which, along the west side of the grave, was also found an iron spearhead that had almost completely disintegrated. At the south end of the larger rectangle, an oval pit, *ca.* 1.00  $\times$  0.45 m., had been dug and in it were found the lekythos (B5) and the coarse aryballos (B6). The earth in the pit contained a few fragments of small bones, which may have been from a separate burial of a child. Such a child burial is paralleled at Corinth among the Geometric graves found in 1937, at the end of one of which, Grave D, there was a niche, separated from the grave proper by a stone slab, in which were the bones of an infant and an oinochoe.<sup>10</sup>

The five decorated vases from the grave are among the simplest in the Corinthian Geometric series, employing only those decorative motives which were in use very early in the ninth century B.C. The shapes, too, are of the early globular type rather than the later ovoid form; in fact the lekythos B5 has a shape which elsewhere is known only in the Protogeometric Period. The combination of shapes and decoration suggests that this group must date early in the ninth century B.C.

#### CATALOGUE OF GROUP B

**B1** (C-40-343). Oinochoe. Plate 71. Height, 0.234 m. Greatest diameter, 0.162 m.

Whole. Clay buff; fabric hard. Low ring base; high bulbous body with wide shoulders curving into high cylindrical neck; trefoil lip; band handle lip to shoulder. Glaze light red to dark brown, somewhat chipped. Wide reserved zone on front of neck decorated with one stripe

above, two stripes below and three parallel zigzag lines between upper and lower stripes. Handle decorated at the top with a panel containing a large X; below this are eight horizontal stripes.

The shape of this oinochoe is very similar to that of another early Geometric oinochoe found at Corinth (Weinberg, *Corinth*, VII, 1, p. 10,

<sup>10</sup> Morgan, *A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, p. 543, pl. XII, 2.

no. 25, pl. 3), but while the neck of the latter is undecorated, several other examples found with it have the same zone filled with zigzags, as on our vase. The motive was common in Corinth during the ninth century (*ibid.*, pls. 4-6, 9-11; see bibliography p. 11, no. 28).

**B2** (C-40-342). Oinochoe. Plate 71. Height, 0.231 m. Greatest diameter, 0.167 m.

Lip partly broken, one chip missing. Clay reddish-buff, sandy; fabric hard. Wide, low ring base; globular body with high, sloping shoulders curving into high, cylindrical neck; trefoil lip; band handle lip to shoulder. Fine red-brown to black glaze; reserved zone on front of neck with two stripes above and below and four parallel zigzag lines between; three reserved bands on body of vase with two stripes in each; seventeen horizontal stripes on handle.

Several other oinochoai found at Corinth are similar to this in both shape and decoration (*Corinth*, VII, 1, pls. 4, no. 30; 5, no. 31; 9, no. 57; 11, no. 71). The system of decoration differs from that of B1 in the multiplication of the reserved and striped bands about the body of the vase, a tendency which grows steadily throughout the Geometric Period. The number of separate bands on the body is never more than four, for later, wide sections of the body of the vase, a half or more, are reserved and striped. The decoration and shape of this particular vase would place it among the pottery of the ninth century.

**B3** (C-40-341). Oinochoe. Plate 71. Height, 0.265 m. Greatest diameter, 0.182 m.

Badly broken; several body fragments restored. Clay grayish-buff, sandy; fabric hard. Low ring base, high ovoid body with wide shoulder curving to high, concave neck; trefoil lip; band handle lip to shoulder. Black glaze, mostly chipped off; reserved band about belly filled with two stripes and zigzag in pale glaze between them; fifteen horizontal stripes on handle.

The jug is almost identical with another found earlier at Corinth (*Corinth*, VII, 1, p.

10, no. 23, pl. 3), which belongs to a group of pottery of the early ninth century. The extremely simple decoration occurred at Corinth already in the early Protogeometric Period (*ibid.*, pl. 1, no. 4) but it does not seem to have lasted far into the early Geometric Period of the ninth century.

**B4** (C-40-344). Unglazed Oinochoe. Plate 72. Height, 0.291 m. Greatest diameter, 0.25 m.

Piece of lip and small body fragments missing. Clay buff on surface and gray at core, somewhat impure. Very low base with flat bottom; globular body with wide shoulder, low cylindrical neck, trefoil lip; band handle lip to shoulder. Surface roughly smoothed and coated with fine, light buff clay. On handle and running a little below it are very irregular, roughly vertical, incised lines.

The shape of this oinochoe can be paralleled in Corinthian glazed ware of the ninth century (*Corinth*, VII, 1, pl. 10, no. 67; pl. 11, Oinochoe from Megara). While there are several coarse hydriai from this period, this is the only large unglazed Corinthian oinochoe of Geometric date that I know of.

**B5** (C-40-346). Lekythos. Plate 71. Height, 0.102 m. Greatest diameter, 0.076 m.

Small fragments of lip and body missing. Clay light buff, well levigated. Low ring base, ovoid body, small high cylindrical neck, widely flaring round lip, band handle lip to shoulder. Fine reddish-brown glaze, somewhat chipped; reserved band about belly filled with two stripes; nine horizontal stripes on handle.

This lekythos is, as far as I know, unique in Geometric context, for its shape is that of a common Protogeometric type especially well known in Attica. From the Athenian Kerameikos come numerous sub-Mycenaean and Protogeometric examples (Kraiker and Kübler, *Kerameikos*, I, pls. 12-15, 30, 36-37, 62, 65, 67; *Kerameikos*, IV, pls. 16-19) which illustrate the development of the shape through the tenth century B.C. Many more Protogeometric examples come from the Athenian Agora (*Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 24, fig. 22; VI, 1937, p. 367,

fig. 30). Most of these differ from our example in the decoration of the shoulder, which in the Protogeometric lekythoi is reserved and filled with geometric ornament, except for four examples from a grave in the Kerameikos (*Kerameikos*, IV, pl. 19) which is dated to the end of the Protogeometric period (*ibid.*, p. 23), and in the shape of the foot, which is rather high and splayed in the earlier vases. However, there is one Protogeometric lekythos from the Athenian Agora (Inv. No. P6850) which has a low ring foot similar to that on our jug, while two of the lekythoi from the Kerameikos have a foot which approaches the Geometric form. Our lekythos would seem, then, to be an adaptation of a Protogeometric type with the foot and manner of decoration changed to suit the new style. As such, it must belong to the very beginning of the Geometric Period.

**B6** (C-40-347). Coarse Aryballos. Plate 71. Height, 0.072 m. Greatest diameter, 0.066 m.

Small chip missing from lip. Clay greenish-buff, very impure; fabric hard. Irregular globular body without base; low, small cylindrical neck; wide-flaring, round mouth; band handle lip to shoulder. Body only roughly smoothed. Unglazed.

Such small, coarse aryballoi occur in Protogeometric groups at Corinth (*Corinth*, VII, 1, pl. 2, nos. 16-18) and they continued to be made throughout the Geometric Period (*ibid.*, pls. 9, no. 51; 10, no. 66; 14, nos. 89-96).

**B7** (C-40-345). Skyphos. Plate 71. Height, 0.067 m. Diameter of lip, 0.113 m.

Whole. Clay buff, fabric hard. Low ring base, high flaring body with slight contraction to low, splayed lip; horizontal cylindrical han-

dles. Glaze red-brown to black on interior and exterior except for reserved zone between handles with two stripes in each zone.

The shape of the skyphos is similar to those reported in *Corinth*, VII, 1, p. 17, nos. 59-60, pl. 10; the very simple decoration occurs on the earliest Geometric skyphoi (*ibid.*, pl. 7, no. 39; pl. 8, no. 43).

**B8** (MF 8812). Bronze Finger-ring. Plate 72. Width, 0.017 m. Greatest diameter, 0.028 m.

Ring badly corroded, not cleaned. Wide, thick band, still on finger bone.

Such heavy bronze rings are rather common in the Geometric Period, many of them coming from the Argive Heraeum (Waldstein, *Argive Heraeum*, II, pl. XCI).

**B9** (MF 8813). Iron Knife-blade. Plate 72. Preserved length, 0.115 m.

End of blade missing, preserved part broken into two pieces; badly corroded and not cleaned. Blade curved; at one end a section 0.023 m. long for attachment of handle with single iron rivet; bits of wooden handle still adhering to blade. Thick corrosion beyond handle may be due to sheath.

Curved iron knives were found in Schiff's grave on Thera (Dragendorff, *Thera*, II, p. 304, fig. 491g), in two graves in the Athenian Agora (Young, *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, p. 49, no. XI; p. 94, no. XIX; p. 104, fig. 73), and at Eleusis ('Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1889, col. 181-2, fig.); all of these are of late Geometric date.

**B10** (MF 8814). Iron Arrowhead(?). Plate 72. Preserved length, 0.045 m. Badly corroded, not cleaned. Form originally triangular.

Another grave, probably of Geometric date, was found a short distance to the west of the first one. It consisted of a roughly rectangular cutting dug into hardpan for a depth of 0.60 m. and measuring *ca.* 1.60 m × 0.80 m. Its west side was formed by a loosely built wall of rough stones *ca.* 0.60 m. thick. The grave was oriented almost exactly north-south and the skeleton lay on its side in a crouching position. Besides the skeleton, the grave contained at the north end a large coarse aryballos very similar to, and even slightly larger than, the one shown in *Corinth*, VII, 1, pl. 14, no. 89.

and, at the south end, two small coarse aryballoi like those found together with no. 89. Such aryballoi are not closely datable, but the fill above the grave contained a few fragments of late Geometric pottery and hence the grave is probably to be dated in the eighth century B.C.

It is possible that there was another grave to the south of this one which also had a stone wall on one side, but a pit had later been dug into it and the area is too much disturbed to make the existence of the burial certain.

A well to the north of the building at the south end of the area, probably filled as late as the sixth, or even fifth, century B.C., contained a small, mixed lot of fine pottery and much badly shattered coarse ware. Among them were the following interesting fragments:

**3** (C-40-453). Amphora Fragment. Plate 72. Preserved width, 0.223 m. Preserved height, 0.175 m.

Section at handle-level preserved, badly broken. Clay buff, well levigated. Handle zone divided into large square panels, separated by vertical band filled with horizontal zigzags; each panel filled with four concentric, compass-drawn circles, inner circle containing large cross with corners filled by chevrons. In corners of panel are stars; row of dots across panel above circles. Horizontal stripes above panel, number unknown; four stripes below panel and above wide band containing row of pointed leaves with hatched centers; more stripes below.

I have not been able to find any parallel for the combination of motives represented on this fragment, although the separate motives appear in both Attic and Cycladic Geometric fabrics. One large amphora from Thera, said to be Attic (Dragendorff, *Thera*, II, p. 187, fig. 379a), has a handle zone very similar to that of our fragment, but the minor zone is simply hatched. Another Attic amphora from Thera (Pfuhl, *A.M.*, XXVIII, 1903, p. 179, Beil. XXIV, 3) is very similar except for the central panel, which contains a meander; the minor zone contains a flame pattern. An Attic amphora found at the Dipylon (Kahane, *A.J.A.*, XLIV, 1940, pl. XXIII, 3) also combines meanders and circles in the handle zone and has a flame pattern in the minor zone. None of these amphoras carries the leaf pattern, but it does occur on the great Attic amphoras and craters (*ibid.*, pls. XXIV-XXV) and it is

common on small Attic vases of the Late Geometric period (Young, *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, p. 31, fig. 18; p. 83, fig. 55; p. 84, fig. 56). The panelled handle zone with circular filling in the panels is common on Cycladic geometric vases (*Délos*, XV, pls. XV-XVI, XVIII, XXX, XXXVIII; *Thera*, II, p. 17, figs. 11-12; p. 30, fig. 81; p. 39, fig. 122a; p. 41, fig. 132; p. 44, figs. 141-142; p. 47, fig. 152; p. 54, fig. 178; p. 58, fig. 199; p. 62, fig. 213; *A.M.*, XXVIII, 1903, Beil. II, X), but on none is the pattern as similar to ours as are those on the Attic examples cited above. Again, the leaf pattern does not occur with the circles, but it is found on small Cycladic vases (*Délos*, XV, pl. XXXIII; *Thera*, II, p. 47, fig. 153). The evidence of design would suggest that the fragment may be Attic, but the fabric favors rather a Cycladic provenience.

**4** (MF 9038). Terracotta conical loomweight. Plate 72. Height, 0.048 m. Greatest diameter, 0.059 m.

Top gone. Clay light buff, grayish at core; well levigated. Flat bottom, lightly convex sides; trace of beginning of suspension hole along break. Surface well smoothed, decorated with horizontal stripes in brown to black glaze; seven stripes on preserved part.

From its provenience, the loomweight could date anywhere from the Late Geometric Period to the sixth century, but the technique is exactly that of the late linear geometric pottery of the eighth century B.C. and it is probably to that period that this loomweight should be assigned.

To the end of the Geometric Period belongs the pottery from Well C, a circular shaft with a diameter of 1.05 m. which remains unusually constant throughout its depth of 10.10 m. The shaft was cut in hardpan for 9.20 m. and below this in the underlying conglomerate; very shallow toe-holds were cut into the east and west sides of the shaft at intervals of about 0.60 m. The shaft was lined with a water deposit for about six meters from the bottom, but the well is now dry.

Throughout the depth of the well the fill produced quantities of potsherds, always with a great preponderance of coarse pottery. Most of the vases which mended fairly well have been catalogued below, forming a representative group. Some of them are duplicated many times among the more fragmentary remains and the number of such duplicates will be listed for each item in the catalogue. The pottery from this well resembles strongly that in two groups which have already been published in *Corinth*, VII, i, nos. 103-115, from a pithos discovered in excavating for the museum, only a short distance to the west of our well, and nos. 116-134 from a well in the Agora South-Central area. In the latter group occur already the zone of rays on the shoulder or at the base, a motive unknown in our present group. In fact, the only sign of orientalizing influence in our group is the fine decorative motive on the oinochoe C3, which is still so angular in character and is accompanied by such simple geometric patterns on the rest of the vase that the oinochoe itself, and consequently the group as a whole, need not be dated much later than 725 B.C. and belongs in general to the third quarter and early fourth quarter of the eighth century B.C.

#### CATALOGUE OF GROUP C

**C1** (C-40-452). Krater Fragment. Plate 72. Preserved height, 0.206 m. Greatest diameter, 0.27 m.

About one-third of body preserved, badly broken. Clay buff, well levigated. High-flaring body with slight shoulder contraction, offset low concave rim, horizontal rolled handle rising at an angle from the shoulder, joined with rim by broad band handle. Rim zone decorated with groups of eight vertical zigzags, below this four stripes and then handle zone divided into triglyphs and metopes. Five triglyphs, each formed of seven vertical stripes; metopes beside handles filled with seven concentric arcs bending towards handles; next pair toward center filled with six horizontal zigzag lines; left one of center metopes has large X with small zigzag above and below; right one seems to have a head of a ram facing right, but this is very indefinite as only a faint impression is left.

Upper two-thirds of body striped, lower third glazed except for narrow reserved stripe at center of zone.

This fragment is part of a krater of a shape which is particularly well represented among the Late Geometric pottery from the North Cemetery at Corinth (Shear, *A.J.A.*, XXXIV, 1930, p. 413, fig. 7; Platner, *Art and Archaeology*, XXXI, 1931, pp. 156-157, figs.) and in one fine example from Delphi (Weinberg, *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, p. 33, fig. 5). One of the kraters from the North Cemetery (*Art and Archaeology*, XXXI, 1931, p. 156, fig.) has the same decoration on the rim, the same arrangement of the decoration of the handle zone, including the filling of horizontal zigzags in some of the metopes, and the same treatment of the body. Such vases are among the finest products of the linear Geometric style, which began in the mid-eighth century B.C.

**C2** (C-40-361). Krater. Plate 72. Height, 0.257 m. Greatest diameter, 0.271 m.

Large lip and body fragments restored. Clay buff, well levigated. Low ring foot, high-flaring body with slight shoulder contraction, offset rim flaring slightly, horizontal band handles. Reddish-brown to black glaze on interior and on exterior except for reserved hourglass at center of each handle zone. Horizontal stripes in white paint around body above and below handles, vertical lines between them alongside handles; and between vertical lines, about one-third way down the handle zone, another horizontal stripe. Another single horizontal white stripe about at mid-body, one near base and one on interior at bottom of rim.

I know of no other krater of the same shape and decoration. The shape is apparently derived from that of late Geometric kraters such as those shown in *A.J.A.*, XLV, 1941, p. 31, fig. 1b and p. 33, fig. 4, but our example is more elongated and less rotund, following the tendency of the late eighth century that saw a similar development from skyphos to kotyle. The further development of the shape can be seen in kraters nos. 116 and 135 in *Corinth*, VII, i. The system of decoration is the same as that common on the earliest kotylai from Corinth (cf. especially *Corinth*, VII, i, pl. 16, no. 113; pl. 17, no. 128); the use of white paint for the simplest linear decoration must have begun early in the last quarter of the eighth century.

**C3** (C-40-362). Oinochoe. Plates 72, 73, and 74. Height, 0.315 m. Greatest diameter, 0.187 m.

Body and small lip fragments restored. Clay buff, well levigated. Low ring foot, ovoid body with rather flat shoulders; high, concave neck, flaring slightly towards top, trefoil lip, band handle lip to shoulder. Covered with reddish-brown to black glaze, somewhat chipped, and decorated with the following designs in white paint: horizontal stripe at top and bottom of neck, stopping at handle in back and joined by vertical white stripe at either side of handle; on front of neck two vertical stripes joining

horizontal stripes and between them a simple meander running vertically; another horizontal stripe on both sides between vertical stripes and ca. 0.02 m. below stripe at top of neck, connected with the latter by three short vertical lines; two horizontal lines on handle. On body, single horizontal stripe at bottom of handle, at mid-body and ca. 0.03 m. above base. Between the two upper lines is a large white floral design on the front of the vase and a large triangle on the back below the handle, with its base on the line about mid-body. The floral design consists of two trefoil arrangements made of triangular leaves, above and below, and on the sides two spirals contiguous at the point where the trefoils meet and then curving down to meet the base line away from the bottom trefoil. While much of the white paint is gone, the impression on the glaze is clear and the design unmistakable.

This oinochoe is most interesting for the unusually bold use of white paint at so early a period, for it was commonly employed for only the simplest geometric designs. The designs themselves are not common and even the simple meander on the neck is not often to be found, though it does occur on a ring-vase from Cumae (*Mon. Ant.*, XXII, 1913, pl. XXXIX, 2). Strangely enough, the other designs are also paralleled only at Cumae on vases decorated in black on white. The large floral design on the front of our oinochoe is almost identical with that on an oinochoe from Cumae (Plate 73; *ibid.*, pl. XXXI, 1a), the only difference being that on the Cumae jug the spirals curve in to meet the bottom trefoil, while on ours they end on the base line some distance apart from the trefoil. Again, the large triangle on the back of our vase is like that on another oinochoe from Cumae (*ibid.*, pl. XXX). The Cumae oinochoai have often been republished, most recently by Payne in *Protokorinthische Vasenmalerei*, where they are dated in the second half of the eighth century. The development of the floral design on the Cumae vase and on our oinochoe can be seen on a jug from Arkades in Crete (*Annuario*, X-XII, 1927-29, p. 369, fig. 485) and on a fragment from

Corinth (*Corinth*, VII, i, pl. 17, no. 129), which date from the end of the eighth century. This early use of white paint for large designs is paralleled, as far as I know, only on another Corinthian vase, the fine krater from the North Cemetery which is decorated with large white snakes (*A.J.A.*, XXXIV, 1930, p. 411, fig. 5). Young dates this krater to the end of the eighth century (*Hesperia*, Suppl. II, p. 217, note 2). From this well there are fragments of another black-glazed trefoil oinochoe decorated with white paint.

**C4** (C-40-363). Oinochoe. Plate 75. Height, 0.25 m. Greatest diameter, 0.168 m.

Small body fragments, much of lip and all of handle restored. Clay greenish-buff, well levigated. Low ring foot, squat ovoid body; tall, thick cylindrical neck, trefoil lip, band handle lip to shoulder. Black glaze on lip and wide band on lower part of body; rest covered with horizontal stripes except for zone on upper part of neck with horizontal zigzag and other zone just below handle on shoulder filled with alternating groups of five vertical lines or five vertical zigzags.

The neck of this oinochoe is unusually thick. Its decoration consists of the simplest geometric motives and the vase need not date later than the third quarter of the eighth century. (Cf. Johansen, *Les vases sicyoniens*, pl. VII, 1-2).

**C5** (C-40-447). Oinochoe. Plate 75. Preserved height, 0.112 m. Greatest diameter, 0.148 m.

Lip, neck, and handle missing; large body fragments restored. Clay buff, well levigated. Low ring foot, ovoid body. Lower part of body glazed, upper part striped horizontally except for reserved band on shoulder filled with groups of vertical zigzags or straight lines.

Very similar to C4, except that the glazed band on the lower body is wider. From the well there are fragments of two more similar oinochoai.

**C6** (C-40-448). Oinochoe. Plate 75. Preserved height, 0.175 m. Greatest diameter, 0.129 m.

Lip, handle and fragments of neck missing; large body fragments restored. Low ring foot, tall ovoid body, high cylindrical neck. Exterior covered with reddish-brown glaze except for wide reserved zone about mid-body in which are three horizontal stripes.

The system of decoration is extremely simple for this period and harks back to that on the earliest Geometric oinochoai such as B1.

**C7** (C-40-364). Oinochoe. Plate 75. Height with handle, 0.21 m. Greatest diameter, 0.166 m.

Lip and body fragments restored. Clay buff, well levigated. Low foot with flat bottom, squat ovoid body, low wide cylindrical neck, trefoil lip, band handle rising above lip and curving down to shoulder. Covered with red to black glaze, much chipped; horizontal single white lines about top and bottom of neck, around body of vase at base of handle, mid-body, and near base; swastika in white paint on front of shoulder.

The rather unusual shape of this oinochoe has already been discussed in connection with a very similar jug published in *Corinth*, VII, i, p. 41, no. 130, pl. 17; the latter is decorated in a manner resembling that of C6 instead of with white paint. A Corinthian fragment very much like our jug in shape and decoration came from an early deposit in the Athenian Agora (Burr, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 557, fig. 15, no. 100); it is dated about a half-century too late. The swastika in white paint occurs on Cretan (*Délos*, XV, pl. XLIX, 4) and Proto-Attic vases (*Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 588, fig. 50, no. 195; p. 592, no. 211), but I know of no other examples on early Corinthian pottery; it does occur in black on white on one of the earliest Proto-Corinthian conical oinochoai from Cumae (*Mon. Ant.*, XXII, pl. XXXVII).

**C8** (C-40-449). Broad-bottomed Oinochoe. Plate 75. Preserved height, 0.066 m. Greatest diameter, 0.09 m.

Lip and part of neck and handle missing; body fragments restored. Fine buff clay. Broad, flat bottom; squat body, flaring a little from base and then contracting in a broad, sloping shoulder; low, wide neck, probably tre-

foil lip, band handle lip to shoulder. Covered with reddish-brown glaze, somewhat chipped; double stripe in white paint around body below handle, single one above near neck and below near base; on front four vertical lines between double line and one above and large white X between middle two lines.

The occurrence of the broad-bottomed oinochoe at such an early date was already suspected on the basis of the fragment no. 131 published in *Corinth*, VII, i, pl. 17; it is confirmed by this more complete example, which may be even slightly earlier in date. The shape may ultimately derive from such early Geometric oinochoai as no. 32 in *Corinth*, VII, i, pl. 5, but the intermediate stages are not preserved, if they existed. The decorative device of the X between vertical lines is common on early kotylai decorated with white paint, such as *Corinth*, VII, i, pl. 17, no. 126, but is not usual on other types of vases.

**C9** (C-40-450). Pyxis. Plate 75. Height, 0.06 m. Greatest diameter, 0.14 m.

Handles missing, large body fragments restored. Fine buff clay. Small ring foot, wide-flaring body, inset rim for cover. Interior and lower half of exterior covered with black glaze; upper half of body striped except for handle zone which has group of vertical lines on either side of handles and short vertical zigzags at center.

In both shape and general system of decoration this pyxis is very similar to no. 120 in *Corinth*, VII, i, p. 38, pl. 17, where the shape is discussed. Our example has the simple zigzags in the center of the handle zone rather than the cross-hatched lozenges, thus resembling more an Attic example from Phaleron (Young, *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, p. 28, fig. 5, no. 56, 2) which imitates the Corinthian style.

**C10** (C-40-451). Skyphos. Plate 75. Height, 0.034 m. Greatest diameter, 0.12 m.

Handles missing, large body fragments restored. Fine buff clay. Low ring foot, wide-flaring body, sharply offset, low concave rim. Broad wavy line on rim, rest of exterior striped

horizontally; interior glazed except for broad band around middle in which is a stripe.

**C11** (C-40-367). Skyphos. Plate 75. Height, 0.12 m. Greatest diameter, 0.144 m.

Body fragments restored. Fine buff clay. Low ring foot, high-flaring body with sharp shoulder contraction, low vertical lip, horizontal rolled handles. All covered with reddish-brown to black glaze except lip, which is reserved and has band painted about it.

This would seem to be an early version of the skyphos with vertical, banded rim which remained popular throughout the seventh century, becoming lower and wider. The next stage after ours is probably to be seen in a skyphos from Grave 83 at Phaleron (Young, *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, p. 26, fig. 3, no. 83, 6), which is dated around 700. The shape of the body is the same as that of the kotylai C12 and C13; only the lip differs. There are fragments of another similar skyphos from this well.

**C12** (C-40-366). Kotyle. Plate 75. Height, 0.118 m. Greatest diameter, 0.146 m.

Small body fragments restored. Fine light buff clay. Low ring foot, high-flaring body with slight contraction to lip, horizontal rolled handles. Interior and lower half of exterior covered with reddish-brown glaze, except for a narrow reserved band at middle of exterior zone; upper half of body covered with horizontal stripes except for the handle zone which is decorated with group of vertical lines on either side of handles and a central group of stylized birds facing left; horizontal line along handles.

This kotyle is a good example of a type which is common in the latter part of the eighth century B.C. For both shape and decoration see the discussion of the very similar kotyle from Corinth, no. 123 in *Corinth*, VII, i, p. 39, pl. 17. From this well there are fragments of at least ten more similar kotylai, though the majority of these have a group of zigzags at the center of the handle zone rather than the birds, which occur on only three other examples. The quality of the fabric, glaze, and decoration of all of these kotylai is exceptionally good.

**C13** (C-40-368). Kotyle. Plate 75. Height, 0.09 m. Greatest diameter, 0.108 m.

About one-third of body and both handles restored. Fine buff clay. Low ring foot, high-flaring body with slight contraction to lip. All covered with reddish-brown glaze; horizontal stripe in white paint around body near foot.

The shape is similar to that of C12, but the decoration probably consisted of a few white lines about the body, possibly delineating a handle zone, but only the line at the base is still visible. There are fragments of about a dozen more such kotylai with black glaze and sparse decoration in white paint.

**C14** (C-40-369). Pyxis. Plate 75. Height, 0.04 m. Diameter of lip, 0.087 m.

Large body fragments restored. Fine buff clay. Flat bottom, high sides slightly concave, reflex handles at lip. All covered with fine red glaze except narrow reserved line on interior at lip and wider band below handles in which are two stripes; double vertical line on either side of handles.

In this pyxis is already visible the slight concavity of the sides which develops into the typical Protocorinthian pyxis of the seventh century. The shape is like that of the pyxis from Phaleron shown in Johansen, pl. XII, 3, but the decoration of our example is much simpler.

**C15** (C-40-365). Oinochoe cover. Plate 75. Height, 0.045 m. Greatest width, 0.09 m.

Handle and few small fragments restored. Fine buff clay. Deep cover with trefoil lip, basket handle. Interior covered with brownish-black glaze, exterior unglazed.

**C16** (C-40-370). Coarse Amphora. Plate 76. Restored height, 0.367 m. Greatest diameter, 0.267 m.

Base and body fragments restored. Clay buff, slightly gritty. Bulbous body, high cylindrical neck, wide flat lip, rolled handles from top of neck to shoulder. Unglazed, surface roughly smoothed; three vertical incisions at top of one handle.

Among the previous finds of ninth and eighth century pottery from Corinth the amphora has been a rare shape. There are two glazed amphoras of the ninth century (*Corinth*, VII, i, nos. 35 and 58), and to the following century belongs a fine amphora found in the North Cemetery (*Art and Archaeology*, XXXI, 1931, p. 159, fig.) and a handle of a large coarse amphora (*Corinth*, VII, i, p. 41, no. 134, pl. 18). Now from this well group there are the three amphoras catalogued here, the necks of three others of the same type as C16, one much larger than C16, and the handles from two amphoras like no. 134, thus tripling the number of examples in the Corinth collection. The very globular form of these amphoras seems characteristic of this period, for shortly afterward the shape became more elongated (cf. *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, p. 29, fig. 7 and *Corinth*, VII, i, pl. 24, no. 171).

**C17** (C-40-371). Coarse Amphora. Plate 76. Height, 0.327 m. Greatest diameter, 0.273 m.

One handle and large lip and body fragments restored. Gritty, buff clay. Small flat bottom, swelling rapidly to high, bulbous body; low, wide cylindrical neck, wide flat lip, vertical loop handles on shoulder. Unglazed, surface roughly smoothed.

This shape, with its very wide neck and loop handles, is unique. It does not seem well designed as a water jar, but its presence in the well among numerous other types of water jars suggests that it was meant as such.

**C18** (C-40-372). Coarse Amphora. Plate 76. Height, 0.185 m. Greatest diameter, 0.143 m.

Much of lip and large body fragments restored. Light buff clay, very gritty. Flat bottom, bulbous body, high cylindrical neck, flat lip, vertical rolled handles from top of neck to shoulder. Unglazed, surface roughly smoothed.

**C19** (C-40-379). Coarse Hydria. Plate 76. Height, 0.285 m. Greatest diameter, 0.199 m.

Small lip fragments restored. Buff, gritty clay. Small flat bottom, bulbous body, high cylindrical neck, flat wide lip, horizontal rolled

handles on sides at mid-body and one vertical rolled handle from top of neck to shoulder at back. Unglazed, surface roughly smoothed; two mammiform pellets on front of shoulder.

Coarse hydriai with pellets on the shoulder are found commonly in graves of the Geometric Period, such as *Corinth*, VII, i, pl. 9, no. 53 of the Early Geometric period and nos. 77, 82 (pl. 13) and 86 of the Late Geometric period. The series is brought down to the latter part of the eighth century by this example, but thereafter the place of the hydria seems to have been taken by the large coarse amphora, which is seen to be coming into prominence in this very group. From this well there is the neck of another round-mouthed, coarse jug with only one handle, which is probably from another similar hydria.

**C20** (C-40-375). Coarse Oinochoe. Plate 76. Height, 0.217 m. Greatest diameter, 0.188 m.

Small lip chip missing, rest whole. Buff, gritty clay. Flat bottom, bulbous body, cylindrical neck, trefoil lip, thick band handle lip to shoulder. Unglazed, surface roughly smoothed; two mammiform pellets on front of shoulder.

The oinochoai C20-C22 have been chosen to represent a group of at least twenty-six similar large coarse oinochoai that were found in this well, most of them in a more fragmentary state than the catalogued examples. Of these, at least five have the pellets on the shoulder like C20; the others do not. These, then, were the standard water jars of the period, the ones that were brought to the well to draw water and often stayed at the bottom by mishap. The shape is only a coarse version of the trefoil oinochoe that was standard even in Protogeometric times. The solid base with flat bottom is typical of all the large coarse jugs and the squat, fat bodies are more usual in the coarse wares than in glazed examples.

**C21** (C-40-380). Coarse Oinochoe. Plate 76. Height, 0.27 m. Greatest diameter, 0.217 m.

Most of lip missing. Buff, gritty clay. Flat bottom, bulbous body, high cylindrical neck, heavy rolled vertical handle lip to shoulder. Unglazed, surface roughly smoothed.

**C22** (C-40-373). Coarse Oinochoe. Plate 76. Height, 0.338 m. Greatest diameter, 0.257 m.

Body fragments restored. Buff, gritty clay. Shape similar to C21. Unglazed, surface roughly smoothed.

**C23** (C-40-378). Unglazed Oinochoe. Plate 76. Height with handle, 0.175 m. Greatest diameter, 0.145 m.

Small lip and body fragments restored. Fine buff clay. Bulbous body with slightly flattened bottom, high cylindrical neck, trefoil lip, high band handle from lip to shoulder. Unglazed, surface pared smooth.

This seems to be the earliest example of a type of vase which remained common throughout the seventh century and well into the sixth century. Two early seventh century examples, probably Corinthian, were found in the Phaleron graves (*A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, p. 29, fig. 6, no. 27.6; fig. 8, no. 70.1). From Corinth there are examples of the Early Corinthian period (*Corinth*, VII, i, p. 70, no. 301; *A.J.A.*, XXXIII, 1929, p. 541, fig. 21) and from the Middle Corinthian period (*Corinth*, VII, i, p. 79, nos. 356-357). They differ from the average unglazed vase in that the surface is very well smoothed, usually after close vertical paring.

**C24** (C-40-381). Coarse Oinochoe. Plate 76. Height, 0.16 m. Greatest diameter, 0.122 m.

Whole. Light buff clay, very gritty. Wide flat bottom, irregular bulbous body, cylindrical neck, trefoil lip, vertical rolled handle lip to shoulder. Unglazed, surface very coarsely pared vertically.

**C25** (C-40-387). Coarse Bowl on Stand. Plate 77. Height with handles, 0.251 m. Diameter of lip, *ca.* 0.335 m.

About one-half of bowl and fragments of base restored. Buff, gritty clay. High stand with wide-flaring convex foot and high sides sloping slightly inwards; wide-flaring open bowl with convex sides, simple rounded lip, loop handles rising above lip. Unglazed, surface roughly smoothed. Three narrow vertical

slits cut into stand, evenly spaced, and between them vertical rows of impressed wedges.

Three more similar, sturdy stands were found in the well, but they do not have the rows of wedges between the slits. The bowls, being more fragile, were much less well preserved and only this one could be restored with certainty. The stand with both slits and decoration of wedges has occurred before at Corinth (*Corinth*, VII, i, pl. 25, no. 182), but in a much larger bowl of the mid-seventh century.

**C26** (C-40-384). Coarse Bowl. Plate 77. Height with handles, 0.078 m. Width across sides, 0.172 m.

Small chips restored. Clay buff, gritty. Flat bottom, high-flaring sides forming oval bowl, loop handles rising from lip. Unglazed, surface roughly smoothed.

Fragments of two other similar bowls were found in this well.

**C27** (C-40-385). Coarse Bowl. Plate 77. Height, 0.051 m. Diameter of lip, 0.035 m.

Body fragments and one handle restored. Gritty, buff clay. Flat bottom, oval bowl having wide-flaring sides with offset rim, flat lip with handles extending out from rim level with lip. Unglazed, surface roughly smoothed.

Just as the earlier centuries are represented in this area largely by deep deposits, such as wells and graves, which escaped later levelling operations, so the seventh century B.C. is represented almost entirely by a group of Early Corinthian pottery found in Well D. Much the largest of any of the pottery groups found in this area, this is one of the finest groups thus far found in Corinth. The pottery resembles very strongly that from another well on the same terrace, at a considerable distance to the west; this is the well excavated in 1932 to the north of Temple E and published first by Boulter in *A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, pp. 217-236 and later by the author in *Corinth*, VII, i, pp. 60-71. The pottery from the new well is probably a little earlier in date than that found in 1932, for there seem to be no vases as late as nos. 260 and 277 of the 1932 well. Our well contains several shapes which are not included in the 1932 group; the latter, on the other hand, yielded other shapes not found in this well. On the whole, however, the pottery from the two wells is remarkably similar and together they must give a rather complete picture of the average production of the Corinthian Kerameikos in the last quarter of the seventh century B.C.

Well D has a circular shaft cut in hardpan with a constant diameter of 0.90 m.

**C28** (C-40-389). Coarse Basin. Plate 77. Height, 0.28 m. Diameter of lip, 0.44 m.

Large body fragments and one lug restored. Clay buff, gritty. Flat bottom, high convex sides, flaring slightly; wide vertical rim and bevelled lip; large lug handles below rim. Unglazed, surface roughly smoothed.

**C29** (MF 8698). Conical Loomweight. Plate 77. Height, 0.061 m. Diameter of base, 0.048 m.

Whole. Irregular, truncated cone, flaring more sharply near base and rounding off to flat bottom; suspension hole near top. Unglazed, surface roughly smoothed.

**C30** (MF 9037). Conical Loomweight. Plate 77. Height, 0.085 m.

Large fragment of bottom missing, edges chipped. Irregular truncated cone splaying at bottom; suspension hole near top. Unglazed, surface roughly smoothed.

These two loomweights belong to the beginning of the series of Corinthian conical loomweights. Many similar weights have been found at Corinth, some in context which indicates that they came into use in the late eighth century B.C., to which time our examples belong.

from top to bottom, which was found at 9.10 m. Toe-holds were cut in the east and west sides of the shaft, *ca.* 0.40 to 0.50 m. apart. The well was completely filled with loose dark earth, thick with potsherds. In the bottom few meters of the fill the proportion of coarse pottery to fine wares became larger. After mending, some 250 pieces were inventoried and of these eighty vases and one lamp are catalogued below. The rest are duplicates of the catalogued items and will be mentioned in the catalogue.

Among the vases decorated in the animal frieze style there are oinochoai and alabastra of very good quality, but the workmanship of the numerous kotylai is bad, on the whole. Many vases are decorated in a simple Subgeometric manner and others are glazed and decorated with bands of red and white paint. The imported pieces include the Rhodian oinochoe D5, Rhodian bowls D53 and D54 and one other similar to the latter, Attic cups D58 and D59 and the Attic amphora D69, the Etruscan bucchero kantharos D68 and fragments of another like it.

#### CATALOGUE OF WELL GROUP D

**D1** (C-40-96). Oinochoe. Plate 77. Preserved height, 0.142 m. Greatest diameter, 0.168 m.

Neck, handle, and part of shoulder missing. Fine buff clay. Small splayed foot, wide-flaring body with very full belly and sharply contracting shoulder. Incised tongues on shoulder with red paint in some; double red line with white border below tongues, above and below animal frieze, and above a band of rays at base; animal frieze with double-lotus pattern at center, flanked by lions facing center; on left side beyond lion water bird facing right and lion facing left (other animals not recognizable); scattered dot rosettes and a few crosses in animal frieze; band of rays at base.

The shape of this oinochoe, with its narrow base and wide-bellied body, is more like Payne's Shape C of the Transitional period (*Necrocorinthia*, p. 33, fig. 10) than like the more slender Early Corinthian shapes. The use of dot rosettes, beginning to merge in part, the rather scant use of incision to show anatomical details, the careful drawing of the eye and the rounding of the ends of the tongues on the shoulder all point as well to a date in the Transitional period. On the other hand, Payne says that the double-lotus motive, often used as the central member of a heraldic group, is an invention of the Early Corinthian period (*ibid.*,

p. 145). However, the lotus flowers on this vase are very different from the earliest ones shown by Payne in fig. 52 and they resemble much more the lotuses on Late Protocorinthian pottery (cf. especially those painted in white on the neck of the Chigi vase, Johansen, *Les vases sicyoniens*, pl. XXXIX). Thus it would seem that rather than precluding an earlier date because of the double-lotus pattern, it is necessary to revise Payne's observation and say that the motive came into use as early as the Transitional period, making this the earliest instance of its use thus far known. This oinochoe seems to be the earliest piece in Group D and the only piece that can be dated with assurance before the last quarter of the seventh century.

Besides the oinochoai catalogued below, there are seven more oinochoai found in this well; two of them are decorated with animal friezes, but too little remains to make much of them, and the rest, glazed and decorated with incised tongues on the shoulder and rays at the base, are of the type exemplified by no. 227 in *Corinth*, VII, i, pl. 31.

**D2** (C-40-97). Oinochoe. Plate 77. Height to lip, 0.203 m. Greatest diameter, 0.167 m.

Handle and small body fragments restored. Fine buff clay. Low splayed foot, full ovoid

body, high neck slightly concave, trefoil lip, double rolled handle rising high from lip. Neck and lip glazed, double animal frieze on shoulder and belly with double red line between friezes; broad glazed band on mid-body and band of rays at base; on glazed band is a red stripe bordered by white stripes both below lower animal frieze and above band of rays at base. Upper animal frieze contains a goat, lion, bull, and water bird; lower frieze has a water bird, goat, lion, bull, lion, and goat; red overpaint on animals, incised rosettes and blobs as fill ornament.

The shape is typical of Early Corinthian oinochoai; it has a wider foot and slightly taller body than the oinochoe D1; the neck is somewhat concave. The animal drawing is average work of the Early Corinthian period, the incised details rather carelessly drawn, and the fill ornament messy.

**D3** (C-40-94). Oinochoe. Plate 78. Restored height with handle, 0.225 m. Greatest diameter, 0.163 m.

Base and much of lower body restored. Fine buff clay. Very wide ovoid body, low wide, slightly concave neck, trefoil lip, double rolled handle rising high from lip. Black glaze on lip, neck and handle; wide animal friezes on shoulder and belly, narrow black band with two double purple lines painted on it below each animal frieze; band of rays at base. Upper frieze contains a boar, lion, and goat in preserved part, and lower frieze has a boar, goat, and panther; large incised rosettes and a few blobs.

The shape is similar to that of D2. The frieze on the body is unusually wide, leaving no room for the usual glazed zone or another animal frieze above the band of rays. The quality of the drawing is better than that on D2, but unfortunately the state of preservation is much worse.

**D4** (C-40-91). Oinochoe. Plate 78. Height with handle, 0.268 m. Greatest diameter, 0.198 m.

Fragments of body, neck, lip, and handle

restored. Fine buff clay. Small splayed foot, wide ovoid body, slightly concave neck, trefoil lip, double rolled handle rising high above lip. Neck, lip, and handle glazed; wide glazed band around body just below handle; shoulder and lower part of body unglazed, but five large dot rosettes in shoulder zone and double stripe about middle of lower body zone.

The shape of this oinochoe is similar to that of D2. The very simple decoration with dot rosettes is unique as far as I know. The carefully made rosettes suggest a date early in the Early Corinthian period, which the shape would allow.

**D5** (C-40-95). Rhodian Oinochoe. Plate 78. Preserved height, 0.18 m. Greatest diameter, 0.188 m.

Lip and handle missing; body fragments restored. Clay reddish-brown, well levigated. Low, wide-splayed foot; high-flaring body bending sharply to wide shoulder; low cylindrical neck, probably trefoil lip, double rolled handle. Vase covered with buff slip on which the following designs are painted in black: three bands around neck, three wide bands about mid-body, one band about lower body and band on foot; wide shoulder zone decorated with five long rays pendant from neck on either side and geometric designs in central panel.

This is an example of a relatively common type of Rhodian oinochoe, some of the best examples of which have been found on Rhodes itself. They usually have a bird or animal figure, often the head of an animal, in the center of the shoulder panel, where our oinochoe has a large geometric pattern (*Clara Rhodos*, VI-VII, p. 86, fig. 96; p. 350, fig. 97; VIII, p. 33, fig. 14). The oinochoe shown in *Clara Rhodos*, VI-VII, p. 86, fig. 96, which is closest to ours in shape and general scheme of decoration, was found in a tomb with several Early Corinthian vases quite similar to those from Well Group D (*ibid.*, p. 81, fig. 91). While several other Rhodian vases have been found at Corinth, this is the first oinochoe of this type to be added to the Corinthian collection.

**D6** (C-40-86). Beak-spouted Oinochoe. Plate 78. Restored height, 0.325 m. Greatest diameter, 0.216 m.

Lower part of body and base restored. Fine buff clay. Tall ovoid body, sharp angle to high cylindrical neck, which flows into pinched beak cut away at the back; thick band handle lip to shoulder. Exterior covered with fine reddish-brown glaze, somewhat chipped.

The only other vase of similar shape which I know is the large Attic black-glazed oinochoe that was found in a Corinthian well of the second half of the sixth century (Campbell, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 581, fig. 10). Our vase, which is certainly Corinthian, is thus about a century older than the Attic example. It is taller and more slender than the wide-bellied Attic form, but in all essential features the two are the same. Miss Campbell knew of no parallel for the Attic oinochoe, and I find none published in recent years.

**D7** (C-40-87). Round-mouthed Oinochoe. Plate 78. Height to lip, 0.162 m. Greatest diameter, 0.169 m.

Handle and large body fragments restored. Greenish-buff clay, well levigated. Wide low ring foot, globular body, splayed round lip, high band handle lip to shoulder. Unglazed, wide frieze on body with broad black band below and then narrow band of rays at base, foot unglazed; in frieze figures of three (?) padded dancers moving to right, the one best preserved looks back over his shoulder.

This oinochoe is similar in both shape and decoration to no. 231 in *Corinth*, VII, i, p. 62, pl. 32, which came from the other Early Corinthian well on the museum terrace. The development of the shape after the Early Corinthian period has been discussed in connection with no. 231, which until now was the only example from this period. The figures of the dancers are well drawn, the action very spirited.

**D8** (C-40-99). Broad-bottomed Oinochoe. Plate 78. Preserved height with handle, 0.185 m. Greatest diameter, 0.202 m.

Lip, most of neck and one-half of handle missing; body fragments restored. Gray clay, well levigated. Very wide low splayed foot; body with high convex sides and rather sharp bend to wide sloping shoulders; high cylindrical neck, double rolled handle lip to shoulder. All covered with black glaze, much chipped.

The fabric of this jug is not Corinthian. I have not been able to find any parallel for the shape, though it is not far different from the Rhodian oinochoe D5.

**D9** (C-40-101). Conical Oinochoe. Plate 78. Height, 0.227 m. Diameter of base, 0.146 m.

Small body fragments restored. Fine buff clay. Flat bottom, slightly convex body contracting to very narrow, very high neck; trefoil lip, band handle lip to shoulder. All black glaze except narrow reserved band with rays at base; incised tongues on shoulder, every fourth one filled with red paint; double red stripe with borders below tongues, triple red stripe with white borders above rays.

The black-polychrome style of the Early Corinthian period is well exemplified in this fine vase. It is unusually tall and very well made, as is shown by the careful rounding of the tongues. An almost identical oinochoe was found in a grave at Ialysos on Rhodes, together with a large group of Corinthian alabastra and aryballoi which seem to belong to both the Early and Middle Corinthian periods (*Clara Rhodos*, III, p. 58, fig. 49). Another very similar example was in Würzburg (Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg*, pl. 9, no. 111).

**D10** (C-40-109). Olpe. Plate 78. Preserved height, 0.167 m.

Large fragment of body preserved. Fine buff clay. Tall ovoid body. Two wide animal friezes partly preserved with wide glazed band between, white bordered red bands above and below animal friezes; upper frieze has panther, lower band shows a stag and a panther; red paint on animals, incised rosettes and blobs.

The fragment seems to be from an olpe of the shape of *Corinth*, VII, i, pl. 30, no. 219, from an Early Corinthian well. The drawing is mediocre.

**D11** (C-40-104). Olpe. Plate 78. Height with handle, 0.238 m. Greatest diameter, 0.128 m.

Most of lip and neck missing; large body fragments restored. Fine buff clay. Wide ring base with concave bottom, high ovoid body, high neck and high band handle lip to shoulder. Exterior all covered with black glaze except neck.

An olpe of somewhat similar shape was found in Corinth in a group of the third quarter of the seventh century (*Corinth*, VII, i, p. 48, no. 167, pl. 23); the present example should date from the following quarter-century. These black-glazed olpai differ considerably in shape from those decorated in the animal style, which have their greatest diameter near the base and have a very sharp separation between body and neck (cf. *Corinth*, VII, i, pl. 20, no. 142; pl. 30, no. 219).

**D12** (C-40-108). Jug. Plate 79. Height to lip, 0.111 m. Greatest diameter, 0.08 m.

Handle and body fragments restored. Fine buff clay. Flat bottom, tall ovoid body, splaying neck, high band handle lip to shoulder. Unglazed; four red bands around body on outside and one on interior at lip. Fragments of another similar jug were found in this well.

**D13** (C-40-308). Krater. Plate 79. Height, 0.193 m. Greatest diameter, 0.265 m.

One handle and half of rim and neck restored. Light buff clay, well levigated. High splayed foot, squat bulbous body, wide mouth with low vertical neck and wide horizontal lip, horizontal rolled square handles rising almost vertically from mid-body and connected to lip by short flanges extending out from it. All black glaze interior and exterior; red band with white borders around mid-body just below handles.

The shape is very similar to that of no. 233 in *Corinth*, VII, i, p. 63, pl. 32, which also comes from an Early Corinthian well. In the present example the body is somewhat squatter and the handles do not rise quite so high above the lip. The base of no. 233 is probably incorrectly restored and should be like that of our krater. For the discussion of the shape see no. 233.

**D14** (C-40-260). Alabastron. Plate 79. Height, 0.171 m. Greatest diameter, 0.093 m.

Small body chips restored. Fine light buff clay. Long ovoid body with very slightly flattened bottom, at the center of which is a small depression; wide flat lip, small handle under lip. Tongues around mouth alternately red and black, dots on edge of lip, pendant tongues on neck and radiating tongues on bottom, two black bands above and below animal frieze; single animal frieze whole height of body contains large figure of a griffin facing left, seated on haunches, wings spread, and behind it a lioness facing left, also seated on haunches; red overpaint on animals, red dots on right wing of griffin, incised rosettes and blobs.

The discussion of this fine alabastron will be given below, together with that of its mate, D15.

**D15** (C-40-259). Alabastron. Plate 79. Height, 0.165 m. Greatest diameter, 0.091 m.

Small body chips restored. Fine buff clay. Shape same as D14. Decoration same as D14, except for the animal frieze, which here contains an owl at the center facing left, flanked by lions facing center; red overpaint on the animals, red dots on the wing of the owl, inscribed rosettes and blobs.

The alabastra D14 and D15 are almost identical in shape and general scheme of decoration; D15 is slightly smaller. The drawing of the animals and of the fill ornament on the two vases is so similar that they must be the products of the same vase painter, who is characterized especially by the use of red dots, which occur on both vases on the wings. The workmanship is among the best of the Early Corinthian period, the drawing very clean and precise, the composition well arranged, and the fill ornament placed with thought for its decorative effect, especially in framing the owl in D15 and in making a pattern about the tail of the lioness in D14.

In size and general scheme of decoration, these alabastra are closely related to the group of the "White-dot Style" (Payne, *Necrocorinthia*, pp. 284-285) and the use of dots would also suggest such an affiliation. The style

of the artist is easy to distinguish, particularly in the drawing of the legs of the lions and the griffin and the carefully cross-hatched manes of the animals. These characteristics may be the traits of a new artist, who may be named the "Red-dot Painter."

**D16** (C-40-269). Alabastron. Plate 79. Height, 0.086 m. Greatest diameter, 0.044 m.

Large body fragments restored. Fine buff clay. Shape same as D14, but smaller. Radiating tongues on mouth, neck, and bottom, dots on edge of lip; on front of body a winged Boread running to right, wings spread and upturned, on back a water bird; incised rosettes and crosses.

The Boread is of the type common on Early Corinthian vases and discussed by Payne in *Necrocorinthia*, p. 78. Besides the ten alabastra in the catalogue, D16-D25, nine other similar alabastra were found in this well.

**D17** (C-40-264). Alabastron. Plate 79. Height, 0.086 m. Greatest diameter, 0.044 m.

Small body fragments restored. Fine buff clay. Shape as above. Radiating tongues on lip and neck, circle of dots on bottom, dots on edge of lip; animal frieze with large lion on front facing right, inscribed rosettes and blobs.

**D18** (C-40-267). Alabastron. Plate 79. Height, 0.085 m. Greatest diameter, 0.05 m.

Body fragments restored. Fine buff clay. Shape as above. Radiating tongues on lip, neck and bottom, dots on edge of lip; animal frieze with eagle flying to right, wings spread above and below; incised rosettes at back and around eagle.

**D19** (C-40-270). Alabastron. Plate 79. Height, 0.092 m. Greatest diameter, 0.049 m.

Body fragments restored. Fine buff clay. Shape as above. Radiating tongues on lip, neck and bottom, dots on edge of lip; animal frieze with lion and panther facing center, incised rosettes.

**D20** (C-40-273). Alabastron. Plate 79. Height, 0.076 m. Greatest diameter, 0.044 m.

Large lip fragment missing. Fine buff clay.

Shape as above. Radiating tongues on lip, neck and bottom, dots on edge of lip; animal frieze with goat on front, water bird under handle, incised rosettes.

**D21** (C-40-262). Alabastron. Plate 80. Preserved height, 0.09 m. Greatest diameter, 0.054 m.

Lip, neck, and handle missing. Fine buff clay. Shape as above. Radiating tongues on bottom; animal frieze has two cocks facing snake at center, incised rosettes.

**D22** (C-40-263). Alabastron. Plate 80. Height, 0.094 m. Greatest diameter, 0.047 m.

Lip and body fragments restored. Fine buff clay. Shape as above. Radiating tongues on lip, neck, and bottom, dots on edge of lip; animal frieze has two owls facing center, incised rosettes.

**D23** (C-40-265). Alabastron. Plate 80. Height, 0.087 m. Greatest diameter, 0.044 m.

Small body fragments restored. Fine buff clay. Shape as above. Radiating tongues on lip, neck, and bottom, dots on edge of lip; animal frieze has large griffin facing left, wings outspread and upturned, incised rosettes.

The griffin is similar to that on the large alabastron D14; a comparison of the workmanship on the two vases illustrates well the great difference in quality among contemporary products of the Corinthian workshops.

**D24** (C-40-231). Alabastron. Plate 80. Preserved height, 0.065 m. Greatest diameter, 0.047 m.

Lip, handle, part of neck and lower part of body missing. Fine buff clay. Tongues on neck; animal frieze has large siren facing right, wings outspread and upturned, wearing polos; incised rosettes.

**D25** (C-40-261). Alabastron. Plate 80. Preserved height, 0.084 m. Greatest diameter, 0.097 m.

Only lower part of body preserved. Greenish-buff clay, well levigated. Radiating tongues on bottom, two stripes above tongues, then animal frieze with large quadruped facing left and flying eagle in front of it, incised rosettes.

To judge from the preserved portion, this alabastron would have been even larger than D14 and D15. The workmanship is fairly good, though not so fine as that of the other two large alabastra.

**D26** (C-40-237). Aryballos. Plate 80. Height, 0.069 m. Greatest diameter, 0.067 m.

Complete, but broken. Fine buff clay. Globular body with slight depression at bottom, small cylindrical neck, wide flat lip, wide band handle lip to shoulder. All black glaze; incisions dividing lip into segments, a few filled with white paint; body divided by incised lines into melon sections, every second one filled with white and red paint in upper and lower half alternately.

Payne has called these "football aryballoi" (*Necrocorinthia*, p. 291) and suggests they may be imitations of leather aryballoi. There are several similar aryballoi from Delos (*Délos*, X, pl. XXII, nos. 172-176) and some from Rhodes (*Clara Rhodos*, III, p. 81, fig. 71; VI-VII, p. 81, fig. 91), one of which was found in the same grave as was the oinochoe similar to D5. None of these examples has the sections filled half with white paint and half with red, as does our example. There are fragments of two more similar aryballoi from this well, but they too seem to have only white filling.

**D27** (C-40-247). Aryballos. Plate 80. Height, 0.075 m. Greatest diameter, 0.075 m.

Half of lip and handle and small body fragments restored. Fine dark-buff clay. Shape as above. Radiating tongues on lip, shoulder and bottom, dots on edge of lip; animal frieze has lioness on left facing water bird on right, red overpaint, incised rosettes and blobs.

Besides the four figured aryballoi catalogued here, fragments of seven more were found in the well; together with the three melon aryballoi there was thus a total of fourteen aryballoi in the well.

**D28** (C-40-248). Aryballos. Plate 80. Height, 0.061 m. Greatest diameter, 0.067 m.

Much of lip and small body fragments restored. Fine buff clay. Shape as above, but body more squat. Radiating tongues on lip,

shoulder and bottom, dots on edge of lip, vertical zigzag on handle; animal frieze has water bird on left facing lion on right, incised rosettes and blobs.

**D29** (C-40-244). Aryballos. Plate 80. Height, 0.071 m. Greatest diameter, 0.061 m.

Fragments of lip and body missing. Fine buff clay. Shape as above. Radiating tongues on lip, shoulder and bottom; large incised rosette on front, small incised rosette on back, alternate sections of large rosette filled with red paint.

**D30** (C-40-249). Aryballos. Plate 80. Height, 0.066 m. Greatest diameter, 0.056 m.

Small body chips missing. Fine buff clay. Shape as above; body slightly pointed to bottom. Radiating tongues on lip and shoulder, circle of dots on base, dots on edge of lip; animal frieze with water birds facing central floral motive, red dots on birds, incised rosettes and blobs.

**D31** (C-40-200). Skyphos. Plate 80. Height, 0.105 m. Diameter of base, 0.061 m.

About one-third of body and one handle preserved. Fine buff clay. Low ring foot, high-flaring body with slight shoulder contraction, vertical lip, horizontal rolled handles. Interior covered with brown glaze, exterior with red to brown glaze except lip, which is reserved and has three horizontal stripes around it, and reserved handle zone with two stripes.

This shape is common throughout the seventh century and the present example is more like those from the beginning of the century, resembling most closely the skyphos from grave 83 at Phaleron (Young, *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, p. 26, fig. 3, no. 83, 6), which is dated about 700 B.C. The wide foot is characteristic of the earlier forms. For a discussion of the shape see no. 157 in *Corinth*, VII, i, p. 46. The lack of the usual decoration in the handle zone also suggests an early date for this skyphos; the Phaleron example likewise has no shoulder decoration.

**D32** (C-40-187). Skyphos. Plate 80. Height, 0.074 m. Greatest diameter, 0.121 m.

Small lip and body fragments restored. Fine

buff clay. Small ring foot, wide-flaring body with slight shoulder contraction, low lip splaying slightly, horizontal rolled handles. All covered with red to black glaze except lip and handle zone which are reserved; neck decorated with horizontal stripes, handle zone divided into three sections, side ones filled with vertical lines and center with short vertical zigzags.

This skyphos is taller than is usual in this period, but the base is as narrow as in most late examples; the Subgeometric decoration is that common on such late skyphoi.

**D33** (C-40-189). Skyphos. Plate 80. Height, 0.062 m. Greatest diameter, 0.116 m.

Body fragments restored. Fine, light-buff clay. Shape as above; body lower. Decoration as above; zigzags in center of handle zone longer and more carefully made.

This is the standard Subgeometric skyphos of the Early Corinthian period and from this well there are eight more examples of the same type. Other examples of the same date are nos. 212 and 213 in *Corinth*, VII, i, pl. 29.

**D34** (C-40-183). Skyphos. Plate 80. Height, 0.065 m. Greatest diameter, 0.118 m.

Lip and body fragments restored. Fine buff clay. Shape as above. All covered with reddish-brown to black glaze except handle zone, which is reserved, and narrow reserved line at lip.

These skyphoi, of which there are ten from this well including the two catalogued here, have the same shape as the skyphoi of the type of D33, but differ in decoration. There is a similar skyphos from the Early Corinthian well found in 1932 (*Corinth*, VII, i, pl. 36, no. 278).

**D35** (C-40-181). Skyphos. Plate 80. Height, 0.062 m. Greatest diameter, 0.121 m.

Small body and lip chips restored. Fine buff clay. Shape and decoration as above; foot extremely small.

**D36** (C-40-206). Skyphos. Plate 80. Height, 0.048 m. Greatest diameter, 0.132 m.

One handle and body and rim fragments restored. Fine buff clay. Very low base, almost flat; very wide-flaring body with sharply contracting shoulder, high splayed rim, horizontal

rolled handles. All covered with brown to black glaze except exterior of rim, which is reserved.

I know of no similar vase, but this skyphos seems to be merely an exaggeratedly low and footless variation of skyphoi such as D39, the type Payne has called the "cup with offset rim" (*Necrocorinthia*, p. 296).

**D37** (C-40-203). Skyphos. Plate 80. Height, 0.063 m. Greatest diameter, 0.132 m.

Handles and body fragments restored. Fine buff clay. Low wide ring foot, wide-flaring bowl with full convex sides, slight shoulder contraction, low splayed lip, horizontal rolled handles. Exterior has red glaze on upper shoulder and rim and on lower body and base; interior all covered with red glaze.

This skyphos, another one like it of which there are fragments from this well, and Nos. D38 and D39, differ from the other skyphoi in the fullness of their body as compared with the rather straight-sided forms of D31-D36. This form, with its large unglazed areas, is not very common, but there was part of such a skyphos in the 1932 well (*Corinth*, VII, i, p. 69, no. 287).

**D38** (C-40-204). Skyphos. Plate 80. Height, 0.062 m. Greatest diameter, 0.14 m.

One handle and large body fragments restored. Fine buff clay. Shape as above. Decoration similar to above, but wider glazed zone on shoulder and lower body and narrow reserved stripe on interior near lip.

**D39** (C-40-202). Skyphos. Plates 80 and 81. Height, 0.065 m. Greatest diameter, 0.129 m.

Lip and body fragments restored. Fine buff clay. Low splayed foot, wide-flaring bowl with full rounded shoulders, offset splayed rim, horizontal rolled handles. Exterior covered with black glaze except for lower half of body and narrow reserved band between handles; interior glazed black except for narrow stripe at lip; on exterior two red stripes on rim, on interior two red stripes on rim, three stripes about middle of bowl and two small red circles on bottom.

**D40** (C-40-174). Kotyle. Plate 81. Height, 0.087 m. Greatest diameter, 0.116 m.

One handle and large body fragments restored. Fine buff clay. Low ring foot, high-flaring sides, slight lip contraction, horizontal rolled handles. Interior glazed black; on exterior handle zone delimited above and below by broad black band and filled with vertical zigzags; on body wide animal frieze with lion, water bird and bull, red overpaint on animals; fill ornament of dot rosettes, largely merging into circles, and incised rosettes; band of rays at base.

Well D yielded a total of forty-four figured kotylai, of which only six representative examples will be catalogued here. Of these, the kotyle D40 is much the best in quality of workmanship, and even it is not first rate. The drawing is relatively careful, however, and the use of dot rosettes, or circles as most of them have become, suggests a date near the beginning of the Early Corinthian period for this vase.

**D41** (C-40-162). Kotyle. Plate 81. Height, 0.085 m. Greatest diameter, 0.123 m.

One handle and body fragments restored. Fine buff clay. Shape as above, but slightly lower and wider. General decoration as above, except that two stripes between animal frieze, band of rays at base, and stripes above and below handle zone are narrower; animal frieze has goat, lion and goat, incised rosettes and blobs.

The animal figures are very elongated, the quality of the drawing rather poor. This cup would seem to be an average example of the mass-produced kotylai of the Early Corinthian period.

**D42** (C-40-163). Kotyle. Plate 81. Height, 0.089 m. Greatest diameter, 0.123 m.

Body fragments restored. Fine buff clay. Shape and general decoration as above; animal frieze has goat, panther and goat.

**D43** (C-40-161). Kotyle. Plate 81. Height, 0.095 m. Greatest diameter, 0.127 m.

Body and handle fragments restored. Fine buff clay. Shape and general decoration as above; animal frieze has lion, front part of a

lion, lion and panther, blobs and crosses as fill ornament.

The workmanship on this vase has reached an extreme degree of carelessness in which the painter resorted to using only part of one animal figure because he apparently had not spaced them out properly and so was short of room for one figure. He has simply dropped the hind part of one lion. The fill ornament, too, has here reached the ultimate in carelessness.

**D44** (C-40-142). Kotyle. Plate 81. Height, 0.065 m. Greatest diameter, 0.093 m.

Body fragments restored. Fine buff clay. Shape as above, size much smaller. Handle zone divided into triglyphs and metopes, former made of five vertical zigzags, latter decorated with two birds in each metope; around body two broad red bands with checkered band between; band of rays at base.

Small kotylai with Subgeometric decoration are common in the last half of the seventh century, but most of them are similar to D45 rather than to the more carefully made type of this vase. A similar vase, which has been dated in the Transitional period, is no. 183 in *Corinth*, VII, i, pl. 25

**D45** (C-40-139). Kotyle. Plate 81. Height, 0.068 m. Diameter of lip, 0.089 m.

Both handles and almost one-half of body gone. Fine buff clay. Shape as above. Handle zone with three triglyphs made of four zigzags each and two plain metopes; below handles purple band with double glazed stripe above and below it, animal frieze with very crudely drawn figures, no fill ornament; three stripes and then band of rays at base.

Several examples of similar small kotylai of both Transitional and Early Corinthian date have been found at Corinth (*Corinth*, VII, i, p. 47, no. 160, where the type is discussed and the numbers of the other examples given). For others see *Necrocorinthia*, p. 279, no. 191.

**D46** (C-40-123). Kotyle. Plate 81. Height, 0.145 m. Greatest diameter, 0.179 m.

One handle and body fragments restored. Fine grayish-buff clay. Low ring foot, high-flaring body, very slight lip contraction, hori-

zontal rolled handles. All black glaze, much chipped, except reserved zone at base with rays; double white painted lines about vase below handles, above rays and on interior at lip.

Such black-glazed kotylai were apparently the common cups of the Early Corinthian period and have been found in large quantities. There are fragments of nineteen such kotylai from this well, of which seven are catalogued. They vary considerably in size and the present example is one of the largest. The Early Corinthian well found in 1932 also contained a large number (*Corinth*, VII, i, p. 67, nos. 261-277) and there have been scattered examples in the other groups of this date from Corinth. This type of kotyle, glazed except for the band of rays at the base, was already in use in the Late Protocorinthian period (*ibid.*, p. 43, no. 140, pl. 18). With some change in shape and in the number of rays in the band at the base, the type continued to be popular through the rest of the Corinthian period.

**D47** (C-40-122). Kotyle. Plate 81. Height, 0.123 m. Greatest diameter, 0.158 m.

Body fragments restored. Fine buff clay. Shape as above. Reddish-brown to black glaze except for band of rays at base; double red stripe with white stripes above and below occurs below handles and above rays, single white line on interior at lip.

The use of red stripes, either broad single ones or multiple narrow ones, with white borders is common on black-glazed areas of vessels of the Early Corinthian period and has already been seen on oinochoai; it is particularly common on all kinds of cups.

**D48** (C-40-124). Kotyle. Plate 81. Height, 0.107 m. Greatest diameter, 0.153 m.

One handle and body fragments restored. Fine buff clay. Shape as above, but base much wider in proportion to body and body rather squat. Black glaze except for rather narrow band at base with larger number of short rays; thin red band with white borders below handle, triple red line with white borders above rays, single white line on interior at lip.

The squat shape with wide base approaches that of the Middle Corinthian period, but the rays, though greater in number, are still full triangular rays rather than the degenerate, almost linear, ones of the later period, such as are shown in *Corinth*, VII, i, pl. 36, no. 277.

**D49** (C-40-137). Kotyle. Plate 81. Height, 0.065 m. Greatest diameter, 0.086 m.

Handles and body fragments restored. Fine buff clay. Red to black glaze, except for band of rays at base, white stripe below handle, triple red line with white line above over rays, white line on interior at lip.

**D50** (C-40-136). Kotyle. Plate 81. Height, 0.066 m. Greatest diameter, 0.088 m.

One handle and body fragments restored. Fine buff clay. Shape as above. Reddish-brown to black glaze, except for band with rays at base; broad red band with white borders below handles, white line above rays and one on interior at lip.

**D51** (C-40-135). Kotyle. Plate 81. Height, 0.066 m. Greatest diameter, 0.093 m.

Part of one handle and body fragments restored. Fine buff clay. Shape as above. Black glaze, much chipped, except for band of rays at base; graffito M on one side.

**D52** (C-40-152). Kotyle. Plate 81. Height, 0.061 m. Greatest diameter, 0.083 m.

Large body fragments restored. Fine buff clay. Shape as above. Brown to black glaze, except for band of rays at base; below handles double red stripe with white stripe above, above rays triple red stripe with white lines above and below, white line on interior at lip.

**D53** (C-40-115). Two-handled Bowl. Plate 82. Height, 0.079 m. Greatest diameter, 0.178 m.

Only about one-third of bowl preserved. Dark red clay, well levigated. Small ring foot, wide-flaring bowl with convex sides, slight contraction at lip, horizontal rolled handles. Interior covered with reddish-brown glaze, red circular band about bottom and another higher up; exterior unglazed, separated into handle

and body zones by double red-glazed band, unfilled rays in lower zone, upper zone divided into panels by vertical lines, bird in central panel, geometric design in side panels.

This is a common type of Rhodian bowl. Many good examples have been found in graves on Rhodes which seem to date largely from the Late Protocorinthian or Transitional periods (*Clara Rhodos*, III, p. 48, fig. 37; p. 64, fig. 54; VI-VII, p. 65, fig. 66; p. 67, fig. 70), and they sometimes occur with Early Corinthian vases as well (*ibid.*, IV, p. 58, fig. 30; VI-VII, p. 61, fig. 61). Another large group of such Rhodian bowls comes from Delos (*Délos*, XV, pl. XLVIII, nos. 30-35). Their date is, in general, the second half of the seventh century B.C.

**D54** (C-40-92). Two-handled Bowl. Plate 82. Height, 0.095 m. Greatest diameter, 0.212 m.

Small chips missing. Fine reddish-buff clay. Small splayed foot, wide-flaring bowl with slightly incurved lip, horizontal rolled handles. Interior black glazed except for small reserved circle on bottom; exterior unglazed and decorated with five narrow bands about body and one broad one on foot.

There are fragments of another similar bowl from this well. The type is also Rhodian; similar vases have been found on Delos (*Délos*, XV, pl. XLVIII, nos. 36-37).

**D55** (C-40-110). Two-handled Bowl. Plates 81 and 82 and Fig. 2. Height, 0.053 m. Greatest diameter, 0.158 m.

Handles and small body fragments restored. Greenish-buff clay, well levigated. Small ring foot, low wide-flaring body with slight contraction to lip, horizontal rolled handles. Exterior has reserved handle zones, wide glazed band on body and band of rays at base. Interior has glazed band at lip, rest of bowl filled by large figure of Typhon, a winged monster with human head and torso, and a snake's body. The wings are curved upward; reptilian body forms S-curve to fill lower part of bowl; incised rosettes and crosses; glaze almost entirely gone.



Fig. 2. Drawing of Interior of D55 (by Marian Welker)

Cups of this shape have been found in other Early Corinthian groups from Corinth (*Corinth*, VII, i, p. 59, pl. 29, no. 211; p. 69, nos. 288-289, pl. 37), but none is decorated on the interior. The large figure of Typhon is well adapted to fill the whole interior of the bowl; the drawing is good and the effect must have been very fine when the glaze and paint were intact. Typhon first appears on Transitional pottery at Corinth and was used largely during the last quarter of the seventh century B.C., most often on alabastra (*Necrocorinthia*, pp. 76-77), where the figures are much smaller.

**D56** (C-40-211). Two-handled cup. Plates 81 and 82. Height, 0.05 m. Greatest diameter, 0.141 m.

One handle and body fragments restored. Fine buff clay. Shape as above; foot even lower. Black glaze on interior and exterior except for reserved band at base filled with rays; below handles and above rays are double red stripes with white stripe above, on interior white stripe at lip and at bottom broad red circle with double white stripes around inside and outside of circle.

This cup, and the two other similar ones from the same well, are like the vase shown in *Corinth*, VII, i, pl. 37, no. 289, in both shape and decoration.

**D57** (C-40-215). Two-handled Cup. Plate 82. Height, 0.035 m. Diameter of lip, 0.079 m.

One handle and body fragments restored. Fine buff clay. Shape as above, but smaller. Handle zones reserved, with vertical lines at sides; horizontal stripes on body, two wider ones in red paint instead of glaze; interior covered with red glaze.

**D58** (C-40-89). Attic One-handled Cup. Plate 82. Restored height, 0.06 m. Greatest diameter, 0.087 m.

Large body fragments and base restored. Dark buff clay, well levigated. Full rounded body curving into high flaring lip, vertical band handle lip to mid-body. All red to black glaze except reserved band on interior at lip and small section at top of handle.

The cups D58 and D59 and the amphora D69 are the only Attic imports from this well. The presence of the two Attic cups is especially interesting as an explanation of the unique Corinthian cup, D60. The Attic cup D58, with its very gentle transition from body to lip is not so common as the more sharply offset type, as exemplified in D59, but there are similar cups from Attic groups of the third quarter of the seventh century (Young, *A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, p. 37, fig. 22, no. 71, 1B; *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 413, fig. 1, D6).

**D59** (C-40-116). Attic One-handled Cup. Plate 82. Preserved height, 0.046 m. Greatest diameter, 0.10 m.

Handle, one-half of rim and about one-fourth of body preserved. Fine reddish-buff clay. Full rounded body, sharply offset splayed rim, vertical band handle from lip to mid-body. All reddish-brown to black glaze, except handle which has wide vertical band running down it.

This type of cup is common in Attica in the last half of the seventh century (*A.J.A.*, XLVI, 1942, p. 40, fig. 23, no. 74, 1B; fig. 25, no. 50,

1A; *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 415, fig. 1, nos. D7-D8).

**D60** (C-40-88). One-handled Cup. Plate 82 and Fig. 3. Height, 0.064 m. Greatest diameter, 0.083 m.

Small body fragments and part of handle restored. Fine buff clay. Low ring foot; body flares widely at bottom and then rises almost vertically with only slightly convex sides and a minute contraction to the lip; vertical band handle lip to mid-body. All black glaze on interior and exterior; red band with white borders just below handle and just below lip on interior.

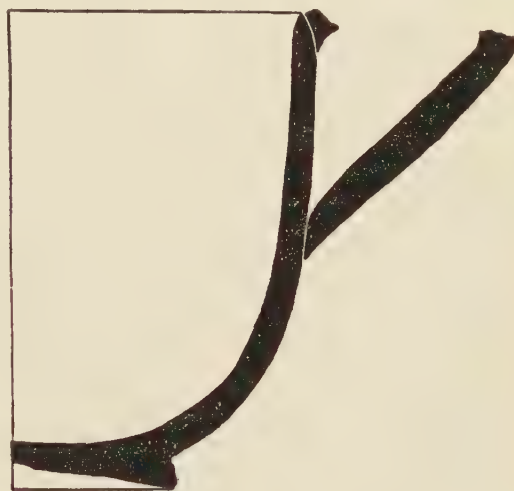


Fig. 3. Profile of D60

This Corinthian cup is unique, as far as I know. It can probably be explained as an adaptation of the popular Attic cups of the type shown in D58 and D59, for the handle is especially close to the Attic type. The almost straight-sided form is not particularly Attic, though at times the Attic cups do have fairly straight sides (see Young, *Hesperia*, Suppl. II, p. 157, fig. 111, no. C56). The decoration is that typical of the black-polychrome Early Corinthian ware.

**D61** (C-40-228). Shallow Bowl. Plate 82. Preserved height, 0.042 m. Diameter of lip, 0.252 m.

Base missing, about one-half of body restored. Fine buff clay. Very wide open bowl with only slight curve; it probably had a low ring foot. Interior all black glaze with wide red band bordered in white around middle of bowl, series of white dot rosettes near edge of plate; exterior has black glaze on upper half, lower half reserved and has rays about base.

There seems to be no parallel for this shape, which has no handles and is almost flat enough to be termed a plate. The decoration is in the standard Early Corinthian black-polychrome tradition, the white dot rosettes perhaps pointing to the early part of that period.

**D62** (C-40-225). Mesomphalic Phiale. Plate 82. Height, 0.045 m. Diameter of lip, 0.215 m.

Omphalos missing, body fragments restored. Wide shallow bowl with opening for omphalos at center. All black glaze interior and exterior; on interior wide red band with white borders forming circle about omphalos and farther up the bowl triple red line with white borders; on exterior triple red line with white borders near lip.

The earliest examples of this shape in Corinthian ware known to Payne belonged to the first quarter of the sixth century, the Middle Corinthian period (*Necrocorinthia*, p. 312). However, from both its technique and provenience there seems no doubt that this example belongs to the previous quarter-century and is indeed Early Corinthian.

**D63** (C-40-223, pyxis; C-40-220, cover). Pyxis and Cover. Plate 83. Height of pyxis, 0.09 m. Diameter of lip, 0.138 m.

Knob and fragments of cover and pyxis restored. Greenish-buff clay, well levigated. Flat bottom, concave sides, horizontal reflex handles, flat cover with knob. Pyxis has wide animal frieze on body with broad glazed band above and below it, narrow band of rays at bottom; in frieze several poorly drawn animals, circle rosettes with dot at center. Cover has wide animal frieze with similar poorly drawn animals and circle rosettes, bordered by checkered band at outer edge and at base of knob.

The concave-sided pyxis is the standard form of the last half of the seventh century and only a few examples belong to the Middle Corinthian period (*Necrocorinthia*, p. 292). From this well there are seven examples of the shape, four of which are catalogued here. The figure drawing on D63 is bad and the use of incision for details very careless. The ring rosettes with center dots as fill ornament are found on several Early Corinthian pyxides and are reminiscent of dot rosettes (cf. *C.V.A.*, Musée Scheurleer, IIC, pl. 2, 8; Sieveking-Hackl, *Vasensammlung zu München*, pl. 10, 329; Johansen, *Les vases sicyoniens*, pl. XLII, 6—cover only; Dragendorff, *Thera*, II, p. 73, fig. 258; *Délos*, XVII, pl. LVIII, 117; pl. LXIII, 120).

**D64** (C-40-222). Pyxis. Plate 83. Height, 0.077 m. Diameter of lip, 0.14 m.

Part of handle and large body fragments restored. Fine light buff clay. Shape as above, but sides lower. Black glaze on interior and on exterior except for reserved handle zone and band of rays at base; vertical squiggles in handle zone; on black-glazed zone of body at top and bottom are triple red stripes with white borders, about middle of zone a row of white dot rosettes with center dot connected to outer ones by incised lines.

This is an especially handsome example of the black-polychrome technique. The carefully made dot rosettes hark back to the Proto-corinthian period and, together with the shallow form, suggest for this vase a date at the beginning of the Early Corinthian period, if not even a little earlier.

**D65** (C-40-217). Pyxis. Plate 83. Height, 0.08 m.

About one-third of body preserved. Fine buff clay. Shape as D63. Reserved handle zone and band of rays at base, rest glazed then incised in tongues, some of which are filled with red or white paint, double red bands above and below tongues.

The carefully rounded lower ends of the incised tongues are a sign of careful workman-

ship in the best Early Corinthian tradition, as contrasted with the more common workmanship shown in such vases as *Délos*, XVII, pl. LVIII, 116.

**D66** (C-40-218). Pyxis. Plate 83. Height, 0.058 m.

About one-fourth of body preserved. Fine buff clay. Shape as above. Handle zone with horizontal zigzag, two narrow stripes below and then wide red band, two more stripes, checkered band, another wide red stripe, then two stripes at base.

**D67** (C-40-90). Kothon. Plate 83. Height, 0.056 m. Greatest diameter, 0.17 m.

Few small chips missing. Fine buff clay. Heavy splayed foot, wide-flaring body to handle, then contracting in wide shoulder and curling way under at mouth; horizontal band handle on shoulder. All red to black glaze; on either side of shoulder double wide red band with white borders; similar band below handle and one near base; on bottom of interior another similar band; between bands on shoulder are eleven dot rosettes in heavy white paint, with the dots largely merged to form a ring.

For a discussion of the shape see *Corinth*, VII, i, p. 60, no. 217. The simple band handle on this kothon is paralleled on the three examples from the 1932 Early Corinthian well (*ibid.*, p. 70, nos. 296-298). The fine black-polychrome decoration is typical of the period; the dot rosettes becoming rings appear on most of the kothons of this period.

**D68** (C-40-84). Bucchero Kantharos. Plate 83. Height to lip, 0.088 m. Diameter of lip, 0.15 m. (slightly warped).

Fragments of one handle and body restored. Fine dark gray clay. Sharply splayed foot, sharp carination between wide-flaring lower body and high-flaring sides, high band handles from lip to carination. Surface polished and black; three very shallow grooves below lip; nicks on carination between handles.

The two Etruscan bucchero kantharoi from this well (for there are fragments of another besides this one) are just like the two found

in the 1932 Early Corinthian well (Boulter, *A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, p. 235, nos. 54-55). Their appearance at least as early as the last quarter of the seventh century is thus well established.

**D69** (C-40-321). Attic Amphora. Plate 83. Preserved height, 0.455 m. Greatest diameter, 0.49 m.

Much of upper part preserved. Clay buff to reddish, gritty. Full body with wide flat shoulder, high concave neck, heavy flaring rim offset from neck, vertical rolled handles from mid-neck to shoulder. Body glazed except for reserved band below handle with stripes in it and neck, which is decorated on both sides with a double circle at the center and a double zigzag on either side.

This common type of Attic amphora has recently been discussed in detail by Mrs. Dohan in *Italic Tomb Groups*, p. 101, where a full bibliography is given. The two examples she describes from Vulci also were found together with a good group of Early Corinthian pottery.

**D70** (C-40-322). Coarse Hydria. Plate 83. Preserved height, 0.335 m. Greatest diameter, 0.32 m.

Much of upper part preserved. Buff clay, somewhat gritty. Ovoid body, high cylindrical neck, wide flat lip, horizontal rolled handles at sides and vertical rolled handle from top of neck to shoulder at back. Unglazed, surface rather well smoothed.

The vase is very similar to C19 of the late eighth century; the body is somewhat taller and the finish is more careful.

**D71** (C-40-332). Coarse Oinochoe. Plate 83. Height, 0.195 m. Greatest diameter, 0.195 m.

Large body fragments restored. Buff gritty clay. Globular body with flattened bottom, high cylindrical neck, trefoil lip thickened and offset from neck, vertical rolled handle lip to shoulder. Unglazed, surface roughly smoothed.

The globular shape without a base occurred in only one unglazed oinochoe, C23, of the late eighth century, but it seems to be more common in this group and will be seen again in D73-D75.

**D72** (C-40-324). Coarse Oinochoe. Plate 83. Height, 0.268 m. Greatest diameter, 0.188 m.

Most of lip missing; large body fragments restored. Buff gritty clay. Flat base, tall ovoid body, high cylindrical neck, trefoil lip, vertical rolled handle lip to shoulder. Unglazed, surface roughly smoothed.

**D73** (C-40-310). Unglazed Oinochoe. Plate 84. Height to lip, 0.155 m. Greatest diameter, 0.156 m.

Large body fragments restored. Fine buff clay. Globular body with slightly flattened bottom, cylindrical neck, flaring lip, high band handle lip to shoulder. Unglazed, surface smoothed, vertical paring on neck.

The round lip, rather than the trefoil form, distinguishes this jug from earlier ones such as C23. So little unglazed or coarse pottery is published that it is impossible to generalize, but the round mouth does seem to make its first appearance at this time, not only on unglazed jugs but on such vases as D7 and D12 as well.

**D74** (C-40-309). Coarse Jug. Plate 84. Height, 0.196 m. Greatest diameter, 0.20 m.

Body and lip fragments restored. Gritty red clay. Globular body, very low neck, splayed lip, vertical band handle lip to shoulder. Unglazed, surface roughly smoothed.

The fabric is not Corinthian and may be Attic, but it is difficult to say in such coarse fabrics.

**D75** (C-40-311). Coarse Jug. Plate 84. Height with handle, 0.123 m. Greatest diameter, 0.114 m.

About one-half of body restored. Red clay, rather gritty. Globular body curving to splayed lip, high band handle lip to mid-body. Unglazed, surface pared smooth.

The fabric of this jug is similar to that of D74 and they probably had the same origin, just as they had the same end.

**D76** (C-40-333). Coarse Bowl. Plate 84. Preserved Height, 0.14 m. Greatest diameter, 0.275 m.

Much of upper part preserved. Buff gritty

clay. Rounded shoulder, wide mouth with off-set bevelled rim, vertical band handles with raised edges on shoulder. Unglazed, surface roughly smoothed.

**D77** (C-40-315). Coarse Bowl. Plate 84. Height, 0.095 m. Diameter of lip, 0.272 m.

About one-third of body missing. Buff clay, gritty. Small flat bottom, wide-flaring rounded bowl, low vertical rim and flat lip, horizontal reflex handles on rim. Unglazed surface roughly smoothed.

**D78** (C-40-317). Coarse Bowl. Plate 84. Height, 0.082 m. Greatest diameter, 0.30 m.

About one-half of bowl missing. Low flat base, three ridges above base and then sides flare in S-curve to high rim sloping inwards, lip offset by groove. Unglazed, surface roughly smoothed.

**D79** (C-40-312). Coarse Bowl. Plate 84. Height, 0.103 m. Diameter of lip, 0.336 m.

Small chips missing. Light buff clay, gritty. Flat bottom, wide-flaring concave sides, wide rim offset and flaring slightly. Unglazed, sides ridged horizontally.

**D80** (C-40-318). Hollow Stand. Plate 84. Height, 0.19 m. Diameter of rim, 0.28 m.

About one-half restored. Buff gritty clay. Hollow cylinder with flaring top and bottom ending in narrow vertical rim and horizontal lip. Unglazed, surface roughly smoothed.

**D81** (CL 3873). Terracotta Lamp. Plate 84. Height, 0.029 m. Greatest diameter, 0.107 m.

Small fragment of socket restored. Coarse clay dark brown on surface, reddish-brown at core. Full rounded sides curving into bottom and then up to socket; wide offset rim; nozzle emerges from shoulder, starting at outer edge of rim; socket height only slightly less than that of rim. Wheel-made, surface smoothed, unglazed.

This lamp belongs to Broneer's Type I (*Corinth*, IV, ii, pp. 31-35) and is very similar in shape and fabric to his cat. no. 7 (*ibid.*, p. 129, pl. I, 7), except that the inner diameter of the rim is smaller in proportion to the diame-

ter of the lamp. Like no. 7, this lamp would seem to be an import in Corinth (*ibid.*, p. 35). It is very important to have such a well-preserved lamp of Type I from a deposit that

can be dated so well to the last quarter of the seventh century, for it establishes definitely that the lamp had reached this stage of development not later than 600 B.C.

Along the east side of the original hill in this area, the deeper fill of the early periods in small pockets escaped the first great levelling operation at the end of the fourth century B.C. The sixth-century fill, however, seems to have been almost completely cut away and there is also very little left from the fifth century. From the latter period there was found one silver coin of Corinth, a drachma dated to the years 500-431 B.C. In one small pocket of fill, discovered beneath the stratum of the first levelling operation, was found the following vase:

5 (C-40-454). Red-figured Askos. Plate 84. Height, 0.028 m. Greatest diameter, 0.104 m.

Mouth and handle missing. Clay buff, well levigated. Wide, low foot with concave bottom; low, convex, splaying sides, sharp angular transition to shallow convex top. Vase first covered with reddish slip, then glazed except for bottom and reserved figures; glaze fairly lustrous and not badly chipped. On one side of top a large male head, wearing a cap, facing right and shown in profile; on other side a hare bounding to right. No relief contour; inner markings black, some in relief line.

This askos is a Corinthian imitation of Attic red-figured pottery of the late fifth century B.C. The shape began in the early fifth century and continued in use into the following century

(Richter, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases*, p. 18). Almost all of the examples are decorated with a figure on either side, usually animals or birds, among which the hare is rather common (*Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 478; *C.V.A.*, Oxford, III I, pl. XLV, 2; *C.V.A.*, Cambridge, III I, pl. XXXIX, 3; *B.M.C.*, III, p. 359, E743; *C.V.A.*, München, pl. 101, 5). Large human heads, such as the one on this vase, are not usual, but there is one askos in Oxford with two large female heads (*C.V.A.*, Oxford, III I, pl. XLV, 7) and a similar one in the British Museum (*B.M.C.*, III, p. 361, E760). The head is most likely that of an ephebe, wearing the usual *petasos* or *pilos* (cf. *C.V.A.*, Greece, III Jd, pl. 6, 7; *C.V.A.*, Wien, Universität, pls. 24, 9; 25, 2). For another type of cap, see E1 below.

It is probable that the earliest architectural remains from the area, the large cement floor and the walls around it (Fig. 1; Pl. 88, *a*) occupying much of its southern end, are to be dated to the latter part of the fifth century or the early fourth century; certainly it antedates the general levelling of the end of the fourth century, during which the floor was covered over. The floor is rectangular, 3.70 × 3.45 m., and is made of a packing covered over by hard white cement. In the northeastern part of the floor is a shallow circular hole which probably held a pillar, perhaps for a table or basin. The surrounding walls, or trenches for them, are clearly traceable, but it is not clear if there is any connection with the finely constructed well just to the north of this room. The building is oriented with the cardinal points.

The major change of about 300 B.C. seems also to have put out of use Well E and Cistern F, which lie only about two meters apart. The contemporaneity of the closing of cistern and well is proved by the nature of their filling. That of the cistern, for the top 1.20 to 1.30 m., consisted of reddish-brown earth; below this level it

changed to light reddish-brown earth containing flakes of carbon. In the well, the upper 6.60 m. of fill was of the reddish-brown earth, while below this level it changed to the lighter earth flecked with carbon. That the two types of fill were contemporaneous is shown by the fact that in both cistern and well both types of fill contained chunks of cement flooring of the same sort as the bit still *in situ* above one corner of the cistern, presumably the remains of the destroyed floor. While the numismatic evidence for the date of the filling of the well is inconclusive, since all the identifiable coins are of the Corinth Pegasos-Trident issue, datable only to the period 400-146 B.C., the coins from the cistern are more helpful. There, among thirty-six identifiable coins, seven date after the middle of the fourth century and the latest is a coin of Argos, dated 322-229 B.C., the earlier date thus giving the *terminus post quem* for the filling of both cistern and well. Another Argos coin of the same issue was the latest datable object from the fill of the terracing which put well and cistern out of use, thus connecting the two fills closely. It is clear, therefore, that the change in the area took place in the last quarter of the fourth century B.C., and the study of the latest pottery from the well, and a Type IX lamp from the cistern, would indicate a date at the very end of that century.

Well E, however, must have been in use a century earlier than the date of its final filling, for at the very bottom, in soft mud which would seem to be from the period of use, were found the red-figured fragments E1 and other pieces of similar nature. There was much early fourth-century pottery in the fill and only a few pieces from the end of the fourth century. The well also contained four fragmentary lamps, three of them of Broneer's Type IV, the popular type of the fifth century which also lasted into the following century,<sup>11</sup> and one of Type VII, which appeared first in the late fifth century and continued in use throughout the fourth century.<sup>12</sup> Besides the pottery, representative pieces of which are catalogued below, the well also yielded several terracotta figurines, examples of which are Nos. E19-E24. The well itself, cut in hardpan throughout its depth of 10.10 m., had a constant diameter of 1.00 m. Toe-holds were cut in the north and south sides of the shaft for its entire depth, at intervals of 0.50 m.

#### CATALOGUE OF GROUP E

**E1** (C-40-417). Red-figured Krater Fragment. Plate 85. Preserved height, 0.125 m.

Large section of upper body preserved, also a few other rim fragments. Fine buff clay. Krater with high body and wide-flaring rim. Leaf border on rim; on body at left the top of a wing, to the right of this the head of a youth facing left and wearing a pointed cap, behind which are two points, perhaps the tips of spears;

then a female figure facing right and a youth facing right; fillets in white paint on heads of last two figures. The female figure has left hand raised and grasps something, probably a sceptre from which paint has now disappeared. Wide contour stripe; black inner markings with relief line.

The youth at the left wears a different kind of cap from that shown on No. 5 (Pl. 84); it

<sup>11</sup> *Corinth*, IV, ii, pp. 39-42.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 45-46.

is higher and more pointed and has a narrow rim, but both caps have indications of holes in the sides. Perhaps the cap shown here might more properly be termed a *pilos* (cf. *C.V.A.*, München, pl. 93, 3). The fragment is to be dated in the last quarter of the fifth century B.C.

**E2** (C-40-393). Bell Krater. Plate 85. Height, 0.217 m. Diameter of lip, 0.258 m.

Large body fragments restored. Fine light-buff clay. Wide foot in two degrees, upper one sharply offset from lower part; high full body sharply separated from foot, opening into wide bell lip; horizontal rolled handles curving upwards, pointed knobs on either side of handles. All black glaze; incised lines filled with red paint on lip, in angle between body and base and between members of foot; garland between handles with incised tendrils filled with red paint, leaves painted with thick pink paint, white dot rosettes between leaves.

This is a Corinthian example of "West Slope Ware," a fabric most recently discussed by Thompson in *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 438-447. The shape of the bell krater is unusual, for the body is not separated from the foot by the low, narrow necking which is common (see Richter, *Shapes and Names*, figs. 60-63). The garland with rosettes, one of the most common decorative motives of "West Slope Ware," is here carefully drawn; the use of incision for the tendrils would indicate a date not earlier than the end of the fourth century.

**E3** (C-40-407). Kotyle. Plate 85. Height, 0.124 m. Diameter of lip, 0.145 m.

Small body fragments restored. Fine light buff clay. Wide ring base; high sides with slight S-curve; horizontal rolled handles. All dull black glaze, much chipped.

The S-curve of the body of this cup is only very slight, suggesting a date in the second half of the fifth century. It is an imitation of Attic ware, but the glaze is a very poor substitute for the Attic product.

**E4** (C-40-439). Kotyle. Plate 85. Height, 0.084 m. Diameter of lip, 0.077 m.

Handle and body fragments restored. Fine buff clay. Small ring foot, high sides with pronounced S-curve, flaring lip, horizontal rolled handles. All black glaze, somewhat chipped.

The shape is similar to that of the latest kotylai from Olynthos (*Olynthus* V, pls. 184-185), which would not be later than 348 B.C. However, there is a similar kotyle from a well group in Athens dated to about 300 B.C. (Thompson, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 320, fig. 5, no. A26). The cup is Corinthian, but the glaze is of better quality than on the one above.

**E5** (C-40-440). Kantharos. Plate 85 and Fig. 4. Restored height, 0.108 m. Greatest diameter, 0.094 m.



Fig. 4. Profile of E5

Upper body and lip restored on analogy of E6; handles missing. Fine buff clay. High moulded foot, tall full body, vertical band handles. All black glaze except stem of foot, which is reserved and covered with pinkish paint; body covered with shallow vertical grooves below handle zone, except for two

small vertical panels on either side, separated by several grooves, in each of which is a shallow incised vertical wavy line; in handle zone are incised lines, apparently from garlands.

While this cup and the following one seem to be closely connected with the "West Slope" pottery, the shape is unlike that of the usual kantharoi in that it has a single full curve of the body passing directly into the flaring lip, which exists in E6 and is assumed for E5. More commonly the kantharoi have a high concave rim clearly separated from the convex body (see No. 6 below), probably showing the influence of metalwork. The foot is like that of kantharoi dated to the end of the fourth century (Thompson, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 320, fig. 5). The shallow grooving of the body seems to be a Corinthian version of the more difficult reeding common on "West Slope" vases (*ibid.*, p. 338, fig. 18, B20; p. 438). From Corinth there are several cups of this type, but apparently of somewhat later date, and many of them bear graffiti (*A.J.A.*, XXXIX, 1935, p. 72, fig. 15a).

**E6** (C-40-444). Kantharos. Plate 85 and Fig. 5. Height, 0.085 m.

About one-fourth preserved. Fine buff clay. Shape as above, flaring lip. All dull black glaze; incised garlands in handle zone.

**E7** (C-40-441). One-handled Cup. Plate 85. Height, 0.065 m. Diameter of lip, 0.09 m.

Fragments of body and handle missing. Dark red, gritty clay. Splayed foot, only slightly hollow below, cup with high sides, lip not cut horizontally; one horizontal rolled handle rising about forty-five degrees from lip. All covered with metallic dark gray glaze.

The dark fabric is neither Corinthian nor Attic, but rather resembles certain island wares.

**E8** (C-40-421). Wide-mouthed Jug. Plate 85. Height, 0.091 m. Greatest diameter, 0.09 m.

Small body chips missing. Fine reddish-buff clay. Wide flat bottom, convex sides, wide-splaying lip, band handle lip to shoulder. All black glaze except bottom, which has wide black band near edge and small circle about center.

Such jugs, usually ribbed, are common among Attic black-glazed vases of the second half of the fifth century (Talcott, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 508, nos. 50-52) and several Attic examples came from a late fifth-century well at Corinth (Pease, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 280, nos. 55-60). Jugs of this type without ribbed sides are less common, but there is one very similar vase from a fifth-century tomb at Ialysos (*Clara Rhodos*, VIII, p. 182, fig. 171). Our jug, also of Attic origin, must also date from the latter part of the fifth century B.C.

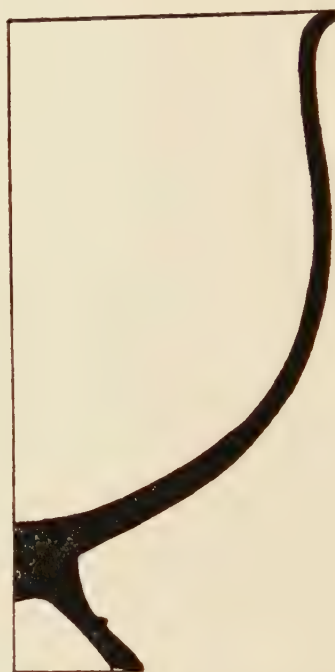


Fig. 5. Profile of E6

**E9** (C-40-427). Lagynos. Plate 85. Preserved height, 0.065 m. Greatest diameter, 0.084 m.

Lip missing, most of handle restored. Clay red to gray. Wide low ring foot, squat bulbous body, ridge separating body from shoulder, which contracts to small neck; vertical ring handle on upper body. All black glaze.

This Attic lagynos is a well-known type, which at Olynthos is dated to the early fourth

century (Robinson, *Olynthus*, V, p. 225, pl. 172, nos. 820-823). A similar date is suggested by the contents of two graves on Rhodes in which such lagynoi were found (*Clara Rhodos*, VI-VII, p. 447, fig. 1; p. 457, fig. 12).

**E10** (C-40-390). Oinochoe. Plate 85. Height, 0.151 m. Greatest diameter, 0.151 m.

Handle and large fragments of body restored. Clay red, changing to gray at core. Flat bottom, bulbous body with wide, rather flat, shoulder, small cylindrical neck, wide flaring lip, band handle lip to shoulder. Covered with metallic gray glaze with red showing through in many places, giving mottled effect; shoulder all covered with large blisters.

This example of "blister" ware is typical of a class of pottery which Miss Pease has shown to be Corinthian (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 259), in connection with the publication of some similar oinochoai from a late fifth-century well (*ibid.*, p. 288, fig. 23, nos. 140-141).

**E11** (C-40-424). Squat Aryballos. Plate 85. Restored height, 0.067 m. Greatest diameter, 0.085 m.

Lip and handle restored. Clay red on exterior, gray at core. Wide flat bottom, squat bulbous body contracting sharply to small cylindrical neck, wide flaring lip, band handle lip to shoulder. Body all covered with vertical incisions from neck to bottom; all dark gray metallic glaze, which is thin in places and shows the red surface, giving a mottled effect.

While this aryballos is not blistered, the fabric and the mottled effect of the surface are identical with those of E10 and the shape is known in "blister" ware (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 288, fig. 23, no. 138), to which this vase would thus seem to be closely related. An identical vase was found in a grave at Haghia Paraskevi in Attica ('Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1932, 'Αρχαιολογικὰ Χρόνικα, p. 7, fig. 1), which is dated to the end of the fourth century or the beginning of the third century B.C.

**E12** (C-40-406). Unguentarium. Plate 85. Preserved height, 0.113 m. Greatest diameter, 0.064 m.

Lip and fragments of neck missing. Fine dark gray clay. Small flat bottom, ovoid body, contracted at top and bottom; small high neck. Surface smoothed and unglazed, decorated with white line bordered by red lines at mid-body, on shoulder, and at base of neck, two more red lines between latter two.

A similar unguentarium was found in a grave at Kameiros, the rest of the contents of which seem to belong to the early fifth century or earlier (*Clara Rhodos*, IV, p. 66, fig. 41), a date which is much too early for this shape. Other examples came from Rhodian graves of the late fourth century (*Clara Rhodos*, II, p. 147, fig. 27; p. 157, fig. 40). However, by about 300 B.C. the form of the unguentarium seems to have become much more slender than our example (see *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 326, fig. 9, no. A64), suggesting that ours should be dated in the latter part of the fourth century B.C.

**E13** (C-40-404). Coarse Amphora. Plate 85. Height, 0.625 m. Greatest diameter, 0.427 m.

Body fragments restored. Reddish-buff clay, somewhat gritty. Blunt knob at bottom, bulbous body with flattened shoulders, high cylindrical neck, wide bevelled lip; heavy handles, brought to ridge on outside, running from just under lip to shoulder. Surface well smoothed and thin whitish wash brushed on in broad wavy strokes; palmette stamp at base of one handle.

Large wine jars with pointed bottoms appeared at Corinth at least as early as the latter part of the sixth century B.C. (Campbell, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 604-607, figs. 27 and 29). The next large group of such jars reported from Corinth is of late fifth-century date (Pease, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 303, nos. 199-202). The present examples differ from these mainly in the wide bevelled lip, which does not appear on the earlier examples. Two other similar amphoras were found in this well.

**E14** (C-40-415). Unglazed Oinochoe. Plate 86. Height, 0.355 m. Greatest diameter, 0.268 m.

Most of handle and large body fragments restored. Fine light buff clay. Low ring foot,

tall ovoid body with flattened shoulders, high cylindrical neck, splaying round lip; vertical band handle lip to shoulder. Unglazed, surface well smoothed.

**E15** (C-40-391). Unglazed Hydria. Plate 86. Height, 0.43 m. Greatest diameter, 0.337 m.

Several body fragments restored. Fine light buff clay. Low ring foot, ovoid body, high cylindrical neck, wide splaying round lip; horizontal rolled handles at sides and thick vertical band handle at back from lip to shoulder. Unglazed, surface well smoothed.

**E16** (C-40-413). Unglazed Oinochoe. Plate 86. Height, 0.208 m. Greatest diameter, 0.209 m.

Body fragments restored. Fine buff clay. Low ring foot, squat bulbous body, high cylindrical neck, flaring round lip, two vertical band handles, rather close together, from lip to shoulder. Several stripes of very thin glaze around body below handles, one on exterior and one on interior of lip.

The two-handled oinochoe existed at Corinth as early as the end of the sixth century in a very globular form with handles rising high above the lip (Campbell, *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 596, no. 150, fig. 18). Examples from a late fifth-century well have handles below the rim and the body is less globular (Pease, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 293, fig. 25, no. 151). The shape was common in both the fifth and fourth centuries and many examples exist in the collections at Corinth and in the Athenian Agora; one from the latter excavation comes from an early third-century group (Thompson, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 341, no. B33, fig. 21).

**E17** (C-40-420). Part of Lekane Stand. Plate 86. Preserved height, 0.38 m. Preserved lower diameter, 0.20 m.

Most of stem of stand and bottom of bowl immediately above stand preserved. Clay greenish-buff, very gritty. Tall cylindrical stem, diminishing slightly as it rises, then flaring at junction with body of vase, which was probably a large open bowl; interior of bowl at bottom very gritty and rough, as for a rubbing surface. Surface of stand somewhat smoothed;

horizontal black stripe at junction with bowl and eight vertical black stripes running down stem.

The profile of the vessel from which this fragment comes is probably to be restored like that of a lekane from a late fifth-century well at Corinth (Pease, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 296, no. 174, fig. 28). The interior surface of the fifth-century example is rough, like ours, and Miss Pease suggested that such bowls were used for the mixing and kneading of clay in potters' establishments.

**E18** (C-40-400). Unglazed Lekane. Plate 85. Height, 0.166 m. Diameter of lip, 0.432 m.

One large body fragment restored. Fine light buff clay. Low splayed foot, wide flaring bowl with wide horizontal lip. Unglazed, surface smoothed.

This bowl is the largest and best preserved of three similar bowls found in this well.

**E19** (MF 8662). Terracotta Female Figure, standing. Plate 86. Preserved height, 0.225 m.

Head, neck, most of left side and feet gone. Fine reddish-buff clay. Fragment of a large, standing female figure dressed in a himation wrapped closely about the body; the right arm is along the side and the right hand gathers the garment at the side of the thigh; the left arm is bent with hand at hip and garment gathered over arm; right leg bent; over the lower part are traces of a chiton. Much white color on garment; slight traces of pink paint on right shoulder.

This large figure, which must have been about 0.30 m. in height, is of the Tanagra type: the careful workmanship in the delineation of the drapery is like that on the early Tanagra figurines (Kleiner, *Tanagrafiguren*, pl. 5). A figurine of the same type from Olynthos is assigned to the early fourth century (Robinson, *Olynthus*, VII, p. 52, no. 184, pl. 22), a date which seems proper for our figurine as well.

**E20** (MF 8666). Terracotta Female Figure, seated. Plate 86. Preserved height, 0.088 m.

Head and fragment of back missing. Clay reddish-buff to gray at core. Female seated,

with arms along sides and apparently resting on arms of chair; himation wrapped closely about body, chiton showing below it at feet. Some white paint preserved on garments.

The drapery of this figure is similar in style to that of E19, but the workmanship on the smaller figure is not so careful. A somewhat similar figure from Olynthos is dated in the fifth century (*Olynthus*, VII, p. 65, no. 246, pl. 30) and one in the Danish National Museum (Breitenstein, *Catalogue of Terracottas*, p. 47, no. 429, pl. 53) is dated stylistically to the end of that century.

**E21** (MF 8664). Terracotta Female Figure, seated. Plate 86. Height, 0.061 m.

Both lower arms missing. Fine gray clay. Seated female with arms along sides, forearms apparently extended forward; body sketchily modelled and garments not delineated; head modelled more carefully with hair closely gathered as in a net; reddish-brown paint on top of head.

Several figurines of this simple seated type have been found at Corinth and others come from Perachora (*Perachora*, p. 220, no. 106; p. 222, no. 120, pl. 96), where they are dated to the first half of the fifth century B.C.

**E22** (MF 8667). Terracotta Head. Plate 86.  
• Preserved height, 0.04 m.

Only head preserved. Fine buff clay. Figure wears a high conical cap, the rim of which is an added fillet of clay.

**E23** (MF 8655). Terracotta Ram. Plate 86. Height, 0.061 m.

Parts of three legs and tail missing. Fine buff clay. Quadruped with clay fillet added on head, ends twisted to represent horns.

**E24** (MF 8668). Terracotta Dolphin. Plate 86. Preserved length, 0.082 m.

Tail and small body chips missing. Fine buff clay. Figure of dolphin with eye, mouth and fins carefully indicated; some white paint preserved, a slight bit of red paint in the mouth.

**E25** (MF 8696). Terracotta Loomweight. Plate 86. Height, 0.085 m. Greatest diameter, 0.061 m.

Whole. Clay light buff, gritty; surface smooth. Conical weight with rather high bevelled bottom edge, worn from use; suspension hole. Just above bevel is stamp of eagle to right with head turned back.

The study of the large series of Corinthian loomweights now being completed by Gladys Davidson Weinberg shows that such weights as this belong to the period about 400 B.C.

Cistern F, which was located to the north of Well E and was evidently filled at the same time, consisted of a single large rectangular reservoir measuring 4.60 m. by 1.25 m. at the top and increasing to 5.50 m. by 1.75 m. at the bottom (Fig. 1; Pl. 88, *b-d*). The side walls descend vertically for about 0.60 m. and then slant outward, but the end walls curve outward in a convex arc from near the top. The bottom of the cistern is concave in both directions, giving it a depth of 2.30 m. at the center and 2.00 m. at the corners; at the center of the floor there was also an oval settling-basin, 1.35 m. by 0.80 m. and 0.40 m. deep (Pl. 88, *d*). The walls of the cistern were preserved almost to their original height, except at the northeast corner where they were partly destroyed. On the north side the curve of the wall into the ceiling is preserved in part, while in the southeast corner a bit of the floor above the cistern was still in place (Pl. 88, *b*). The walls, floor, and ceiling of the cistern had been lined with cement, 0.022 m. thick, much of which is still in place; the floor above the cistern consisted of a thick layer of very hard yellowish mortar containing small stones, on

which was a layer of pebbles set in cement, forming a mosaic floor for what was probably the court of a house. It was fragments of this pavement which were found in the fill of Well E. Set into the floor of the cistern was a cement boss, 0.58 m. by 0.13 m. and 0.11 m. high, which ran parallel to the east side and was 1.22 m. from it; its northern end was 0.37 m. from the north side of the cistern (Pl. 88, c). Lying about the boss were found three cut poros blocks; a fourth cut poros block was found at the western end of the cistern.

It has already been mentioned that the fill of the cistern, like that of Well E, consisted of reddish-brown earth for the top 1.20 m. and light reddish-brown earth flaked with carbon down to the bottom; at the very bottom was a deposit of fine greenish-brown clay, its depth varying from 0 at the corners to 0.30 m. at the center, which seemed clearly to be from the period of use of the cistern. Since five bronze coins of the Corinth Pegasos-Trident issue of 400-146 B.C. were found in this deposit, the cistern probably was first used in the fourth century. While the fill of the reservoir yielded much pottery, most of it was coarse and very little could be mended sufficiently to be worth inventorying; however, there were enough joins of pottery from the two types of fill to show that they were deposited at the same time. The terracotta relief (F1) is the most important object from this fill; many other fragmentary terracotta figurines were not noteworthy. The lamps range in type from IV to IX.<sup>13</sup> The thirty-six identifiable coins found in the cistern are as follows:

Corinth, 400-146 B.C.....	29
Corinth, 350-338 (silver drachma).....	1
Philip of Macedon, 359-336.....	2
Alexander, post-330 .....	3
Argos, 322-229 .....	1

While the last coin gives a *terminus post quem* of 322 B.C. for the fill, the Type IX lamp necessitates a date not earlier than *ca.* 300 B.C., the same date as was indicated by the latest pottery from Well E.

#### CATALOGUE OF GROUP F

**F1** (MF 8612). Terracotta Relief. Plate 87. Preserved height, 0.12 m. Preserved width, 0.075 m.

About one-third of relief preserved. Fine light-buff clay. Fragment from a circle with a diameter of about 0.21 m. Plain band about the

edge, guilloche border within this. The preserved figure in rather high relief, from the right side of the scene, is a winged nude male figure flying to the right and shown in about three-quarter view. His right foot rests on a cloud, his left leg is bent back at the knee and

<sup>13</sup> The assortment of lamps from the cistern, and especially the Attic lamps, are very similar to those found in many groups from the Athenian Agora which are dated to the end of the fourth century and the turn to the third century B.C.

held up behind the right one; his left arm is bent, with a cock held on the forearm and under the armpit; his wings are outspread with the point turned down. Drapery flies out behind the figure and is caught over the left arm back of the cock, indicating the swift motion of flight.

The most important object from the cistern, and perhaps from the entire area, is this piece of a terracotta relief. The full modelling and the sharp detail in the figure and the drapery suggest at once metal work rather than the usual terracotta reliefs, and the closest parallels come from the mirror covers with relief decoration. In fact, it is evident that we have to do here with a terracotta reproduction of such a mirror case. It would have been made from a mould that was an impression of a completed mirror cover. Such impressions are now believed to be part of the metalworker's equipment (Thompson, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 313; Hill, *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 110-113), and it would seem that our relief, which is of Corinthian clay, is most probably from a Corinthian mould made in a local shop; the mirror itself was probably also of local manufacture. Our relief is one of a small group of terracotta "mirrors," thirteen of which are catalogued by Züchner in his study of covered mirrors (*Griechische Klappspiegel*, pp. 105-109); two of these, besides ours, are said to have come from Corinth and one from the Gulf of Corinth, while the workmanship of seven of them is said by Züchner to be Corinthian, that of three others possibly Corinthian. Thus our relief is a document of first importance for our knowledge of the famous Corinthian metal-working industry of the fourth century B.C.

In his full discussion of such mirrors and of the centers of their manufacture, Züchner has emphasized the fact that Corinth was the chief place of their production and he has assigned many examples to the Corinthian metalworkers, but he has had to admit that the basis for his grouping is weak since only five of the mirrors were actually found at Corinth (*ibid.*, pp. 88-89). Even provenience is not necessarily

synonymous with place of production in small bronzes that were traded over wide areas, but stylistically these mirrors form a sufficiently close group to suggest that they were the products of one center, most probably the one at which they were found. Belonging with them stylistically are many other mirrors, and all together they give a good idea of the Corinthian manufactory. Now with the terracotta impression, which is more certainly Corinthian than even the mirrors found there, we have a sound basis for checking Züchner's Corinthian group, at least of the second half of the fourth century B.C. Of the features exhibited by the terracotta reproduction, the cable border is typical of Corinthian mirrors and the clouds with soft, billowy outlines as a base line are also characteristic. The flowing drapery, beautifully delineated and curved to give the impression of motion, is a further characteristic of the Corinthian school. Another excellent example of this type of drapery was found in the excavation of 1939 on the west side of the Museum at Corinth, where an impression, taken from a metal relief of the mid-fourth century, shows the same emphasis of motion by wide-flowing drapery (Weinberg, *A.J.A.*, XLIII, 1939, p. 593, fig. 5).

It is very probable that the figure partly preserved in the terracotta relief is an Eros and that the missing figure on the left side of the scene was a seated Aphrodite. Scenes with Aphrodite and Eros are among the most common representations on mirrors and one well-preserved mirror assigned to the Corinthian school, but belonging to the beginning of the fourth century B.C., seems to have a very similar scene (Züchner, p. 13, no. KS13; Burlington Fine Arts Club, *Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art*, London, 1904, p. 37, no. 5, pl. XLIII; Licht, *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands*, I, p. 251, fig.). In this earlier example, however, Eros stands quietly before Aphrodite and he seems to grasp the cock less firmly than does the fast-moving figure of our relief. Between this mirror and our relief comes the ball-throwing Eros in very high relief that was

applied at the base of the handle of a bronze hydria in Berlin (Rubensohn, *Hellenistisches Silbergerät in antiken Gipsabgüssen*, Berlin, 1911, p. 58, fig. 7), which is also said to be a product of the Corinthian school of the first half of the fourth century B.C.

**F2** (MF 8601). Terracotta Loomweight. Plate 87. Height, 0.08 m. Greatest diameter, 0.06 m.

Top missing. Light buff clay. Conical weight with high bevelled bottom edge; suspension hole. Rectangular stamp on bevel with inscription MEAIΣ; above bevel stamp with loomweight.

The MEAIΣ weights at Corinth are dated, by a study of the large series from the site, to the second half of the fourth century B.C. and they do not seem to have continued in use much after 300 B.C.

**F3** (MF 8602). Terracotta Loomweight. Plate 87. Height, 0.073 m. Greatest diameter, 0.054 m.

Whole. Buff clay. Shape as above. Rectangular stamp in bevel with inscription ATA.

Weights of this shape and with this stamp are dated at Corinth to the first half of the third century B.C., beginning not much earlier than 300 B.C.

**F4** (MF 8604). Terracotta Loomweight. Plate 87. Height, 0.085 m. Greatest diameter, 0.06 m.

Large fragment of bottom missing. Buff clay. Shape as above. Stamp on bevel has inscription ΓΑΥΚ; loomweight in stamp above.

The weights with this inscription are dated the same as those with the ATA inscription.

**F5** (CL 3584). Terracotta Lamp, Type IV. Plate 87. Height, 0.034 m. Greatest diameter, 0.059 m.

Large fragment of body missing. Buff clay, gritty and highly micaceous. The shape is like that shown by profile 18 in Broneer, *Corinth*, IV, ii, p. 32. Unglazed, surface somewhat smoothed.

Corinthian lamps of this type are dated by Broneer largely to the fifth century, but some must be as late as the end of the fourth century (*op. cit.*, p. 41) and this late dating for the end

of this type has been confirmed by the finds at the Athenian Agora (Thompson, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 197). Broneer does not mention micaceous clay among the fabrics of Type IV lamps at Corinth, but it does occur in many other types, both earlier and later, and is considered as imported. Another Type IV lamp from the cistern is made of the typical light-buff Corinthian clay and had been glazed.

**F6** (CL 3590). Terracotta Lamp. Type VI. Plate 87. Height, 0.034 m. Greatest diameter, 0.058 m.

Handle and nozzle missing. Fine reddish-buff clay. Broneer's profile 28 (*op. cit.*, p. 32). All black glaze, somewhat chipped.

This is an Attic lamp of a type which first appeared early in the fifth century, but continued in use down to the end of the fourth, and perhaps even into the third century B.C. (Davidson, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VII, p. 42). There are fragments of another Attic lamp and also a Corinthian lamp of this shape from the cistern.

**F7** (CL 3586). Terracotta Lamp, Type VI. Plate 87. Height, 0.032 m. Greatest diameter, 0.058 m.

End of nozzle missing. Light buff clay. Broneer's profile 30 (*op. cit.*, p. 32). All black glaze, mostly chipped off. Another lamp like this one was also found in the cistern.

**F8** (CL 3592). Terracotta Lamp, Type VII. Plate 87. Height, 0.039 m. Greatest diameter, 0.065 m.

End of nozzle missing. Fine light-buff clay. Broneer's profile 35 (*op. cit.*, p. 32). Black glaze, almost entirely chipped off.

Type VII lamps began to be used in Corinth towards the end of the fifth century and continued in use throughout the following century, according to Broneer (*op. cit.*, p. 46). This profile is late in the Corinthian series and the lamp should belong to the late fourth century B.C.

**F9** (CL 3603). Terracotta Lamp, Type VII. Plate 87. Preserved height, 0.02 m. Greatest diameter, 0.058 m.

All of base, part of body and nozzle missing. Fine reddish-buff clay. Lower part of interior glazed, rest unglazed.

Such Attic lamps have been classed as Type VIIb (Thompson, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 322, no. A43, fig. 7; Davidson, *op. cit.*, p. 57, no. 75, fig. 24), which apparently came into use about the middle of the fourth century and lasted down at least to the end of that century (Thompson, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 200).

**F10** (CL 3594). Terracotta Lamp, Type VII. Plate 87. Height, 0.03 m. Greatest diameter, 0.07 m.

End of nozzle missing. Dark gray clay. Broneer's profile 34 (*op. cit.*, p. 32). Unglazed, surface mottled orange and gray.

In fabric and surface treatment this lamp and F11 are similar to the vases E10 and E11, which are believed to be of Corinthian origin. The fabric is common among Hellenistic lamps and does not seem to come into use before the latter part of the fourth century.

**F11** (CL 3593). Terracotta Lamp, Type VII.

One other object of importance which antedates the levelling of the area around 300 B.C., and which comes from a pit that was probably filled at the same time as Well E and Cistern F, is the kantharos No. 6. The pit was rectangular and measured 1.10 m. by 0.55 m., and as preserved was 1.00 m. deep. Besides the kantharos, which is catalogued below, the pit contained much coarse pottery, a little fine pottery of fourth century date, and a loomweight like F2 with the ΜΕΛΙΣ stamp.

**6** (C-40-340). Kantharos. Plate 88. Height, 0.088 m. Diameter of lip, 0.087 m.

Fragments of lip, handle, and base missing. Fine reddish-buff clay. High moulded foot in two degrees with stem above, full low body sharply offset from high flaring rim, vertical band handles from lip to shoulder with horizontal spurs at top of handles. All black glaze, somewhat chipped. Between handles on both sides, divided as shown, is scratched the following inscription:

ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΑΣΕ      ΛΑΧΕΚΑΙΓΛΥΚ  
ΥΣΠΟΡΟΣ

Possibly 'Αφροδίτας ἔλαχε καὶ γλυκὺς Πόρος; or perhaps 'Αφροδίτα σ' ἔλαχε καὶ γλυκὺς Πόρος, or --- πόρος (*sens. obsc.*)

Plate 87. Height, 0.041 m. Greatest diameter, 0.067 m. Length, 0.112 m.

Whole. Dark gray clay. Broneer's profile 35 (*op. cit.*, p. 32). Unglazed, surface gray except for a large orange spot at the back.

The shape of this lamp approaches closely that of Type VIII with its small center opening, but this lamp is less angular and seems more properly classed as Type VII.

**F12** (CL 3587). Terracotta Lamp, Type IX. Plate 87. Height, 0.03 m. Greatest diameter, 0.068 m.

Handle and end of nozzle missing. Fine light-buff clay. Broneer's profile 37 (*op. cit.*, p. 32), double groove at top. All black glaze, somewhat chipped.

While Broneer considered that the Type IX lamp did not come into use before the third century (*op. cit.*, p. 48), more recent finds from the Athenian Agora show that the early lamps of this type, of which ours is an example, occur in small numbers in groups belonging to the turn from the fourth to the third century B.C.

This type of kantharos with simple, thin lip was not found at Olynthos and would thus seem to have come into use after 348 B.C. An example of very similar shape was found in a group of pottery from a cistern in the Athenian Agora which is dated to *ca.* 300 B.C. (Thompson, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 319, no. A27, fig. 5) and in which also occur more developed forms of this shape. The later groups published by Thompson do not show this early shape and so it would seem that 300 B.C. is the latest date for it. Another example was found in a fill in the Athenian Agora which also suggests the same date (Thompson, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 165, fig. 98c). Kantharoi often bear graffiti, which usually consist of the name of a deity, Aphrodite

being one of the most common (see Thompson, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 339, no. B23 for an example and bibliography; p. 338, no. B20; p. 342, no. B37; *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 334, note 56). Corinth itself has yielded one of the largest groups of inscribed Hellenistic cups, largely

from the South Stoa (Broneer, *A.J.A.*, XXXIX, 1935, p. 71, fig. 15 a-c; *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 240), and these inscriptions are not limited to the names of deities and sometimes are of greater length, though none is as long as the one on this kantharos.

From the study of the remains found in Well E and Cistern F, it is clear that they were filled about 300 B.C., which would thus be the date for the first general levelling of the area. Of this operation, Kent writes: "The east slope of the hill was cut down and there was laid upon it a hard packing of stones and bones, above which was spread a layer of yellow clay. On the east there was placed a curbing of poros stones in order to prevent the *strosis* (layer) from washing down the slope; this curbing runs north and south. The discovery of a sadly damaged second curbing, parallel to the first one but lower down the east slope, may indicate that at this time the hill descended in curbed terraces to the level of the Greek Agora, but certainty in this matter is impossible because the West Shops have destroyed the lower east slope of the hill. The clay surface of the packing was very hard, suggesting that many feet had once trod upon it."

The curbing of poros stone, the western one of the terrace walls shown on the plan of Figure 1, is oriented somewhat east of north and has a slightly more easterly direction than the earlier cement floor to the west of it. The stones used for the curbing were uniformly 0.40 m. high and *ca.* 0.15 m. thick; the preserved stretch of this curb is about eleven meters long. The eastern curbing was probably also of poros, but it was much more seriously damaged than was the western one. There was a distance of 0.72 m. between the two and the top of the eastern curb was about 0.25 m. lower than the top of the western one. The blocks of the former were *ca.* 0.32 m. high and varied in thickness from 0.27 m. to 0.18 m. At 1.10 m. to the west of the western curb and parallel to it was found a series of three rectangular blocks, *ca.* 0.70 m. by 0.40 m., which were probably the supports for some architectural feature that seems to have faced west. At a later date the space between the two northernmost blocks was filled by a rough wall, from the northern end of which another wall extended to the east.

No later Hellenistic remains came from this area, probably because the Roman settlers removed all the later debris down to the hard clay floor, which they again utilized. Later in the Roman period, the West Shops were built and their rear wall served as a terrace wall for the large open area extending westward to Temple E. At this time a large amount of fill was brought into the area to raise its level. While the earth brought in contained chiefly fourth-century pottery, the late date of the fill is betrayed by some Roman fragments, which, however, are not sufficient to date it accurately. The only other sign of Roman activity in the area was a length of terracotta pipe found in the southwest corner.

For the period following the Roman terracing, Kent writes: "Apart from a few stray coins, no discoveries were made which date between the third and eleventh centuries A.D. In the twelfth century, however, there was considerable activity in the area. The northern slope of the hill was scraped down to *stereo* (hardpan), only the cement-lined cistern escaping destruction, while on the east slope great scoops of earth were removed. The hill then appears to have been used as a residential section of the town, if one may so interpret the numerous circular pits which were found. Our excavation covered an area of only thirty-five by twenty meters, yet in it were found forty pits which date from late Byzantine and Turkish times, and of these thirty were found in the northern half of the area." While these pits, many of which are shown on Fig. 1, yielded numerous coins and quantities of pottery, only one fragment is worthy of special mention.

7 (C-40-455). Fragment of a Sgraffito Plate. Plate 88. Preserved length, 0.095 m.

Fragment of rim of plate preserved. Clay red and brown, coarse. Yellow glaze with dark brown sgraffito designs. Preserved section of plate shows almost the entire figure of a dragon impaled on a sword or spear. The sword-bearer is missing, but at the lower left edge of the fragment appears the edge of his fustanella.

This fragment is an example of incised-sgraffito ware of the "Free Style" which

flourished at Corinth in the twelfth century (Morgan, *Corinth*, XI, pp. 150-157). Representation of men with various types of arms are common on plates of this ware and on some the dragon appears as well (*ibid.*, pl. XLIX, a and f). This scene of a warrior transfixing a dragon has recently been identified as a representation of an exploit of Digenis Akritas, the "dragon-slayer *par excellence* of Byzantine secular legend." (Frantz, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 10; *Byzantion*, XV, 1940-1941, pp. 87-91).

The occupation of the area continued through the Turkish period and modern times until the earthquake of 1858 destroyed the houses of Corinth and this land was given over to cultivation. At the time of the building of the Museum in 1931, about two meters of soil were removed from this area. It was not until 1940, however, that the lower fill was excavated, yielding the unusually large quantity of remains from Early Neolithic to Turkish, a representative cross-section of Corinthian antiquities.

SAUL S. WEINBERG

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

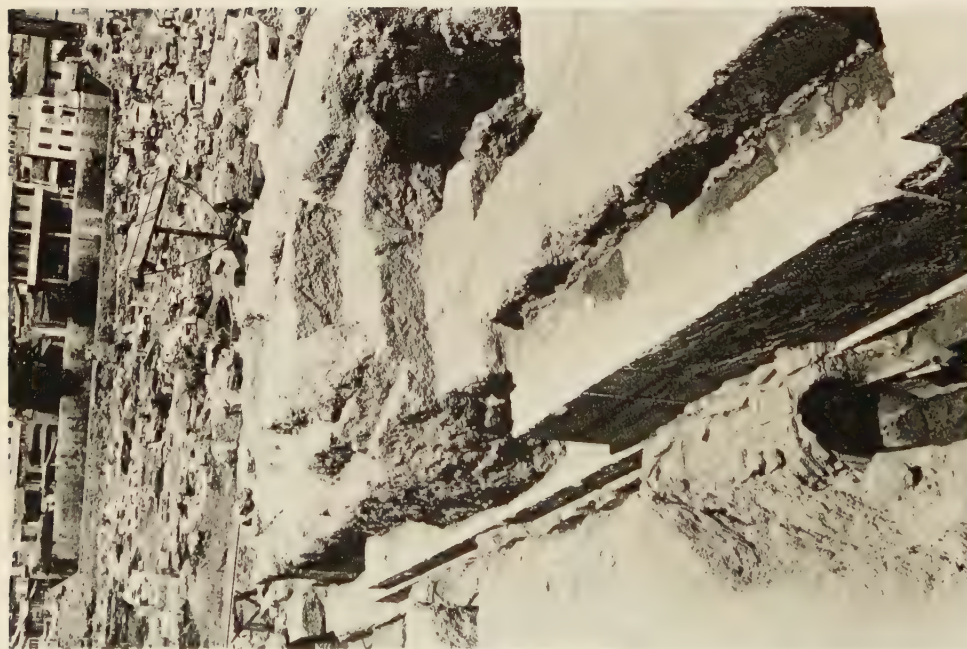




The Agora from the Acropolis, March, 1948.

A = West End of Middle Stoa; B = Mycenaean Cemetery on North Slope of Areopagus; C = Area West of Areopagus

H. A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATION OF ATHENIAN AGORA, 1947



1. West End of Middle Stoa from Southwest



2. Architectural Terracottas from the Middle Stoa  
(A 211; A 554; A 825; A 913)



3. Civic Offices at Southwest Corner of  
Agora. Terrace of Middle Stoa to Right,  
Tile Standard to Left. View from West



1. Mycenaean Chamber Tomb on North Slope of Arcopagus.  
View from North

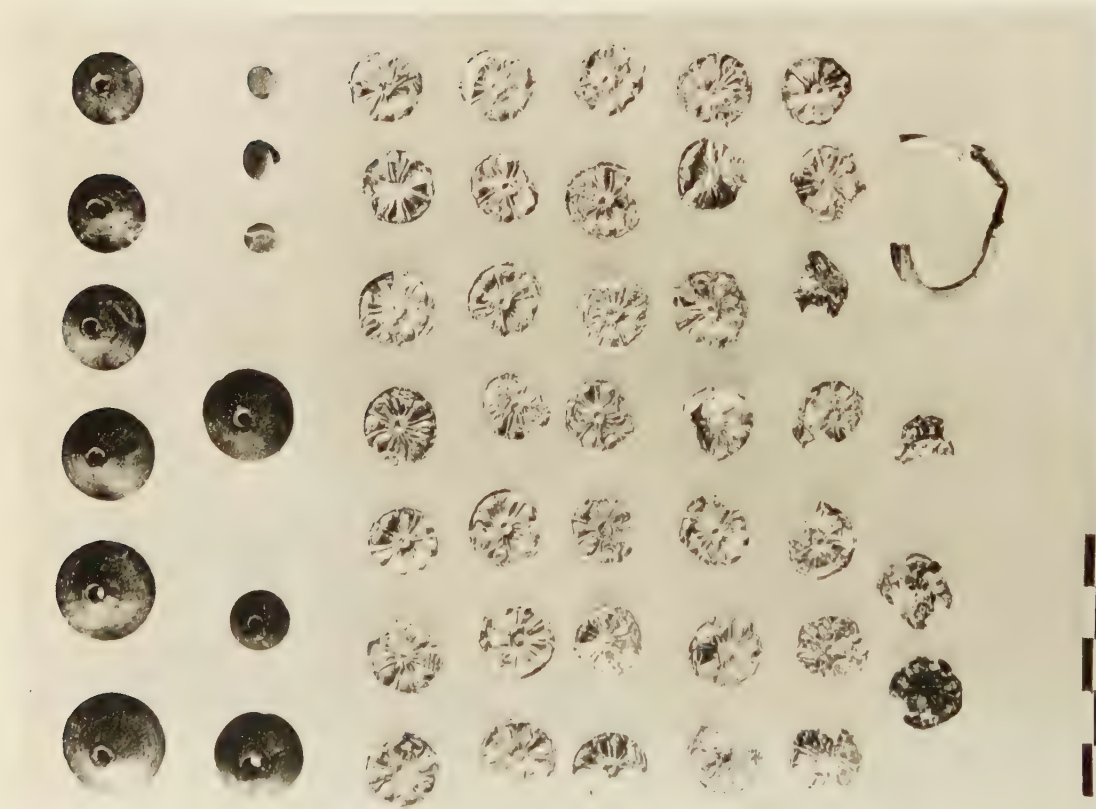


2. Vases from Mycenaean Chamber Tomb on Arcopagus  
(P 17,738; P 17,753-17,767)



3. Bronze Swords and Cleaver from Chamber Tomb on North Slope of Arcopagus  
(B 781; B 778; B 780)

H. A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATION OF ATHENIAN AGORA, 1947



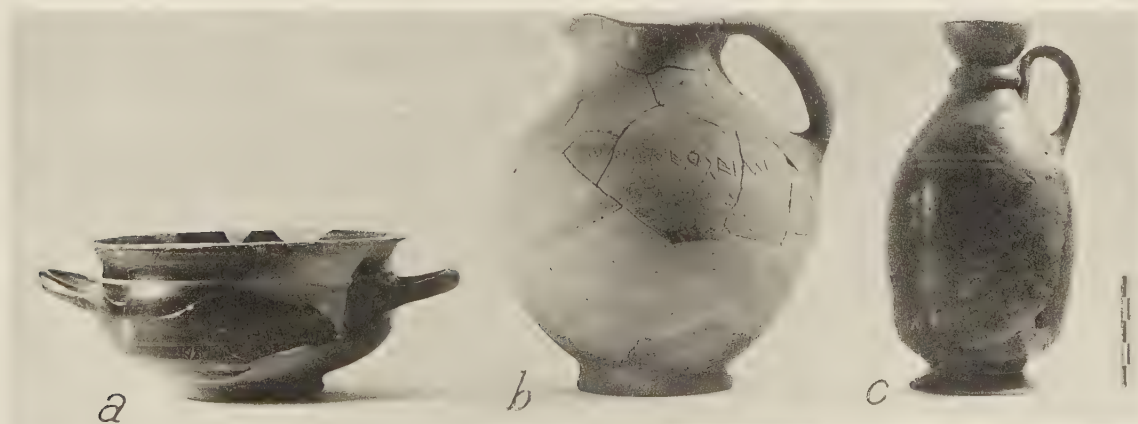
1. Steatite Buttons, Gold Rivet Caps, Rosettes and Hilt Ornament from 2. Pilgrim Flask from Mycenaean Chamber Tomb on Areopagus (P 17,753)  
Mycenaean Chamber Tomb



1. Geometric Grave Group from North Foot of Areopagus (P 17,468-17,485; IL 849-851; ST 376)



2. Graffito from House of Thamneus (P17,824)



3. Vases from Thamneus' House (P 17,849; P 17,826; P 17,839)

PLATE XLII



1. Megarian Bowl and Mould from Cistern on Areopagus (P 18,683; P 18,688)



2. Terracottas from Cistern on Areopagus (T 2513; T 2509)

H. A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATION OF ATHENIAN AGORA, 1947



1. Terracotta Lamps from Cistern on Areopagus (L 4370; L 4194; L 4195)



2. Garden Court on North Slope of Areopagus. From East

H. A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATION OF ATHENIAN AGORA, 1947



Area to the West of the Arcopagus. View from Southwest (The Modern Roads approximately overlie the Ancient)

H. A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATION OF ATHENIAN AGORA, 1947



1. Mycenaean Chamber Tomb at East Foot of Hill of Nymphs. View from North



2. Vases from Mycenaean Chamber Tomb at East Foot of Hill of Nymphs (P 17,903-17,908)

H. A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATION OF ATHENIAN AGORA, 1947



1. Black-Figured Lekythos from Grave on West Slope of Areopagus (P 18,006)



2. Grave Marker of Agonippos (I 6070)



4. Bronze Dikast's Ballot from Area of Poros Peribolos (B 783)



3. Offerings from Cremation Burial to West of Areopagus (P 18,455-18,476; L 4355)



1. House Walls on West Slope of Hill of Nymphs



2. Mosaic Floor in House on West Slope of Kolonos

PLATE XLVIII



1. Casting Pit on West Slope of Arcopagus



2. Industrial Establishment (?) at West Foot of Arcopagus, from the West



Marble Head of Herakles (S 1295) ( $1\frac{1}{5}$  Actual Size)

H. A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATION OF ATHENIAN AGORA, 1947

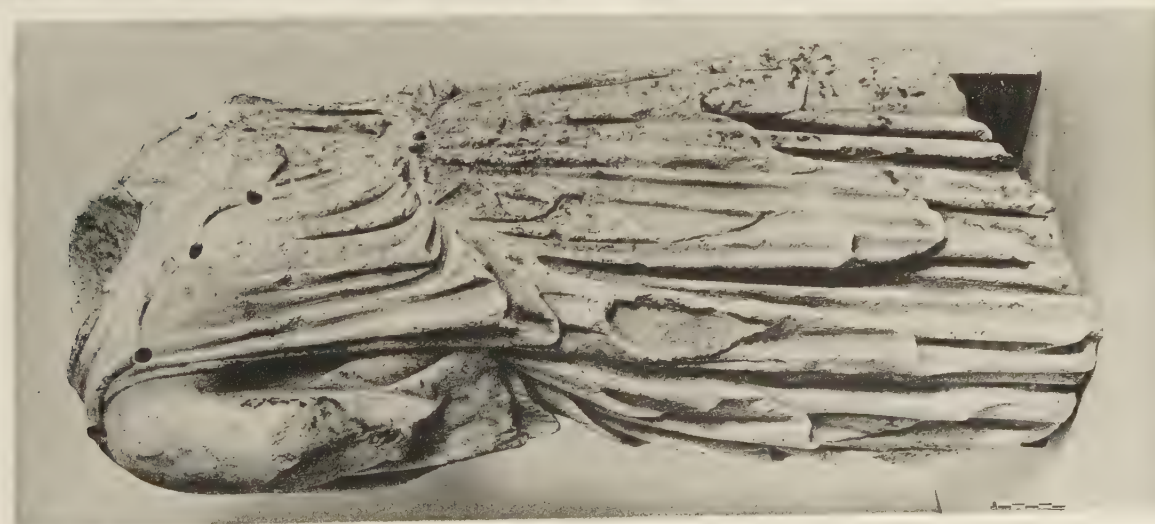
PLATE L



1. Marble Head of Herakles (S 1295) (Actual Size)



2-3. Head of a Stymphalian Bird (?) (S 1260)



1-3. Marble Torso of Athena (S 1232)



1-2. Marble Head from Nike Temple Parapet (S 1246)



1-2. Gilded Marble Head of a Goddess (S 1242)



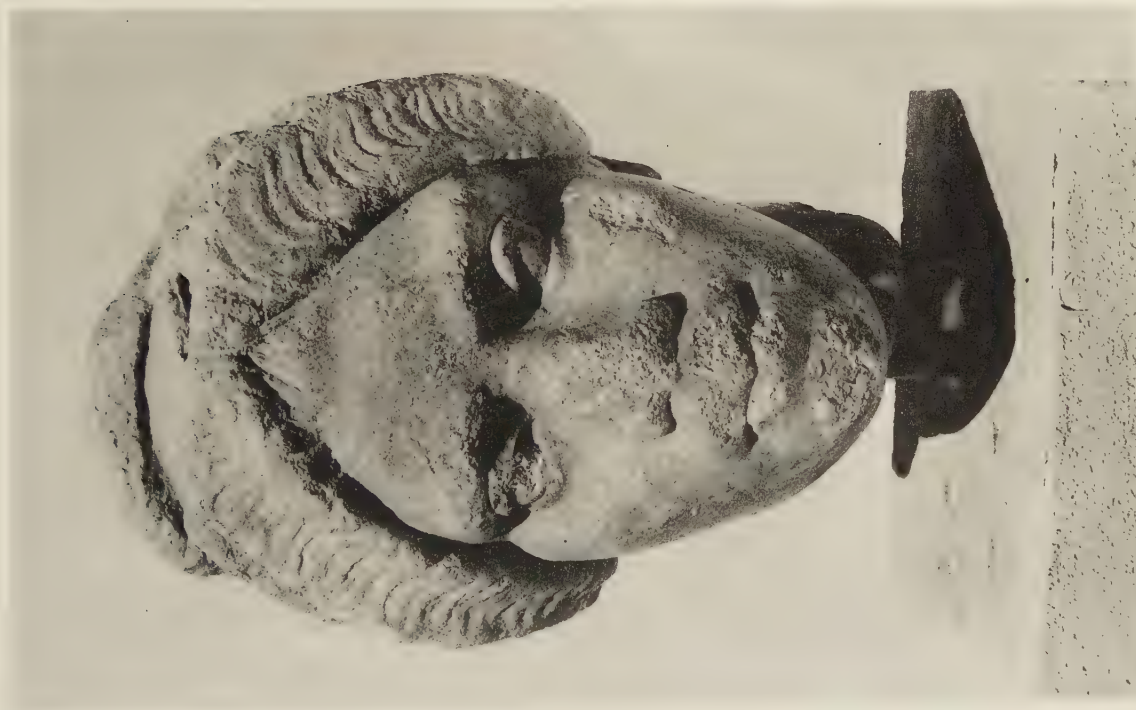
H. A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATION OF ATHENIAN AGORA, 1947



1. Marble Horseman Plaque (S 1289)



2. Marble Votive Plaque with Eleusinian Theme (S 1251)



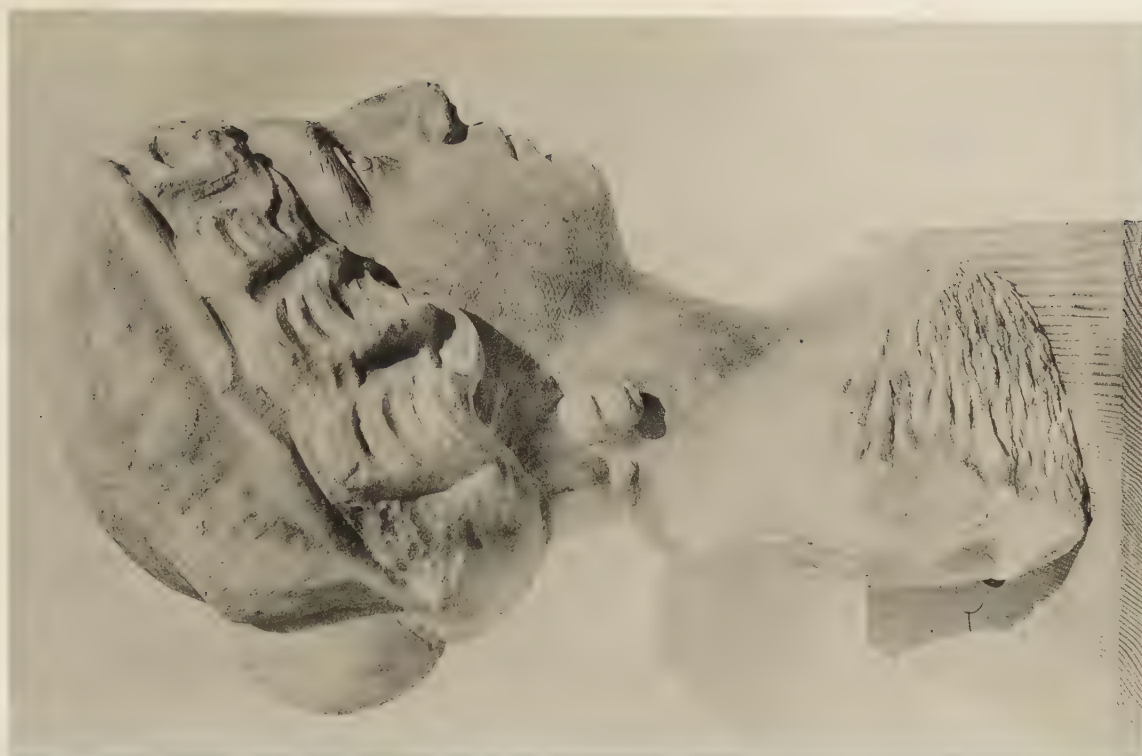
1-2. Marble Portrait Head of a Woman (S 1268)

H. A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATION OF ATHENIAN AGORA, 1947



1-2. Marble Portrait Bust of a Man (S 1299)

H. A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATION OF ATHENIAN AGORA, 1947



1-2. Marble Portrait Head of a Woman (unfinished) (S 1237)

H. A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATION OF ATHENIAN AGORA, 1947



1-2. Marble Portrait of a Boy (S 1307)

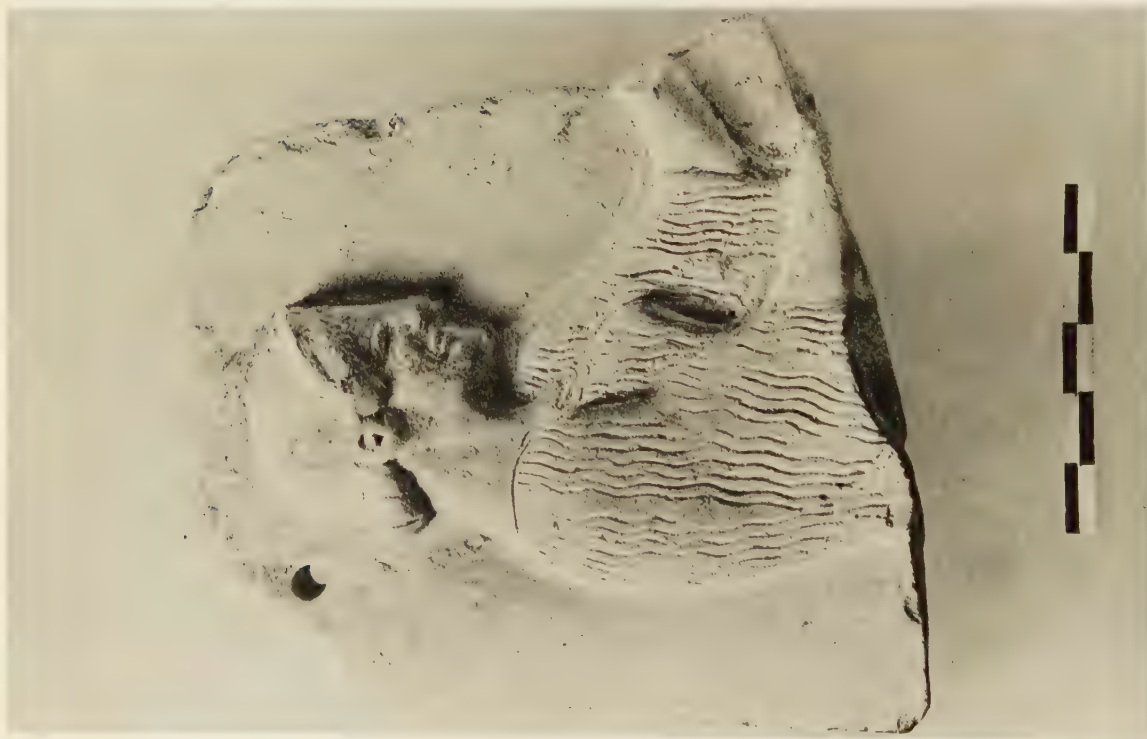
H. A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATION OF ATHENIAN AGORA, 1947



1. Marble Head of a Youthful Goddess (S 1244)



2. Marble Statuette of Herakles (S 1241)

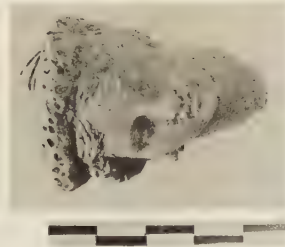
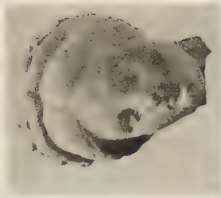
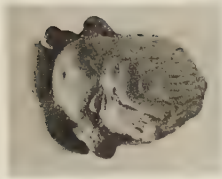
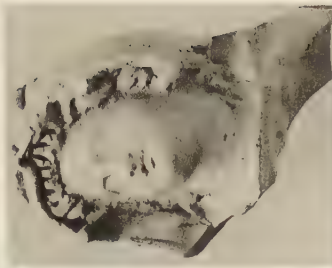


1. Terracotta Plaque with Spinning Girl (T 2480)



2. Terracotta Plaque with Mounted Herakles (T 2466)

H. A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATION OF ATHENIAN AGORA, 1947



2. Terracotta Heads from West Slope of Arcopagus  
(T 2455; T 2437; T 2436; T 2339; T 2337; T 2427)



1. Terracotta Bust of Attis (T 2425)



3. Terracotta Mould and Modern Impression (T 2454)



4. Emblema from a Terracotta Bowl  
(P 18,314)

PLATE LXII



1. Terracotta Plaque with Head of Athena Parthenos (L 3703)



2. Mould for Plaque with Bust of Athena Parthenos (T 2376)  
(Printed in Reverse)



3. Lamp with Bust of Athena Promachos  
(L 3731)



4. Lamp with Bust of Athena (L 4256)

H. A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATION OF ATHENIAN AGORA, 1947



1. Lamp Disc: Hero and Leander (L 4251)



3. Terracotta Figurine of Third Century A. D. (T 2327)



2. Orpheus and the Beasts. Impression from a Terracotta Mould (T 2507)



1-2. Terracotta Jug with Labors of Herakles (P 17,877)

H. A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATION OF ATHENIAN AGORA, 1947



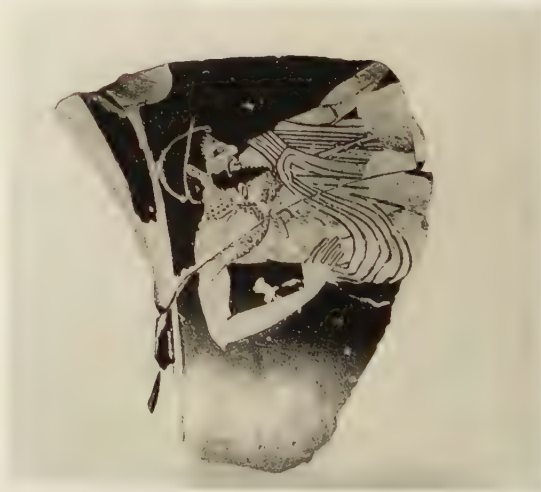
1. Black-Figured Amphora (P 18,348)



2-3. Black-Figured Stand (P 18,010)



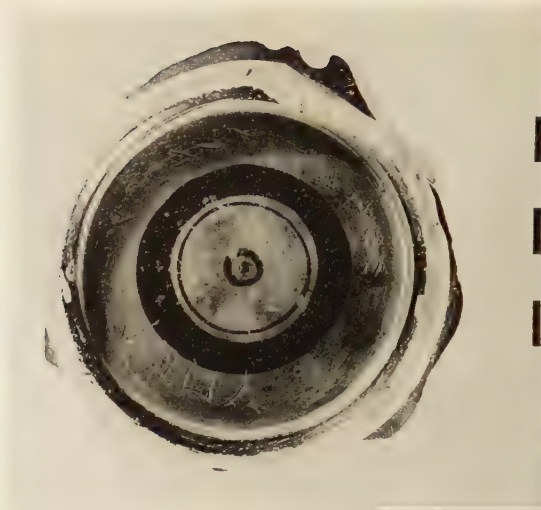
1. Red-Figured Mug: Ostrakon of Kallixenos (P 17,620)  
(Exterior and Interior: Actual Size)



2. Red-Figured Mug (P 447)  
(Actual Size)



3. Red-Figured Cup: Ostrakon of Hyperbolos (P 18,495)  
(Exterior and Interior)





1. Red-Figured Oinochoe: Komos (P 18,799)  
(About one-quarter Actual Size)



2. Red-Figured Oinochoe: Palaestra Scene (P 18,800)



3. Red-Figured Lekythos (P 17,601)

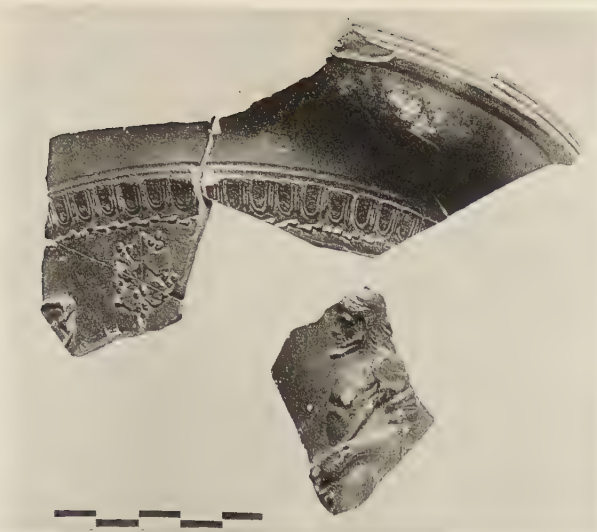


4. Red-Figured Calyx-Krater Fragment  
(P 18,279)



Red-Figured Fragments (P 18,346; P 17,531; P 16,616; P 18,604; P 18,538; P 18,286)

H. A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATION OF ATHENIAN AGORA, 1947



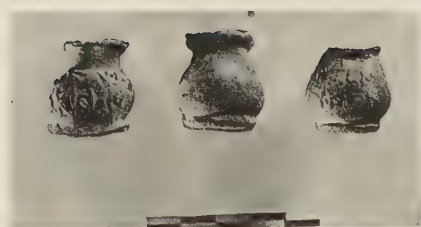
1. Fragments of Arretine Krater (P 18,243)



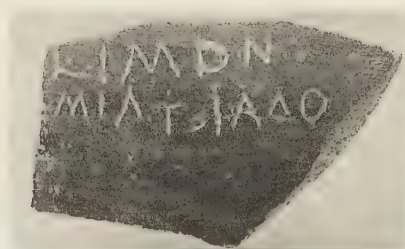
2. Terracotta Measure (P 17,499)



3. Terracotta Incense Burner (P 17,529)

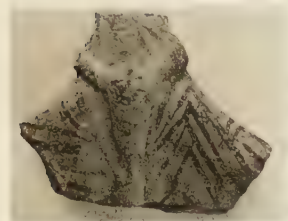
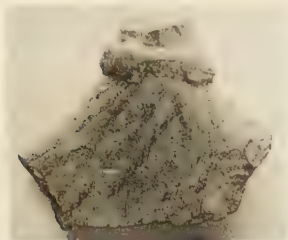


4. Lead Containers of Lykion  
(IL 854, IL 853, IL 904)

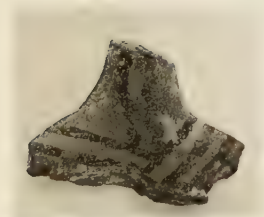


5. Ostrakon of Kimon (P 18,555)

PLATE LXX



1



2



A1



A2



A3

A4

A5



A8

A6

A7

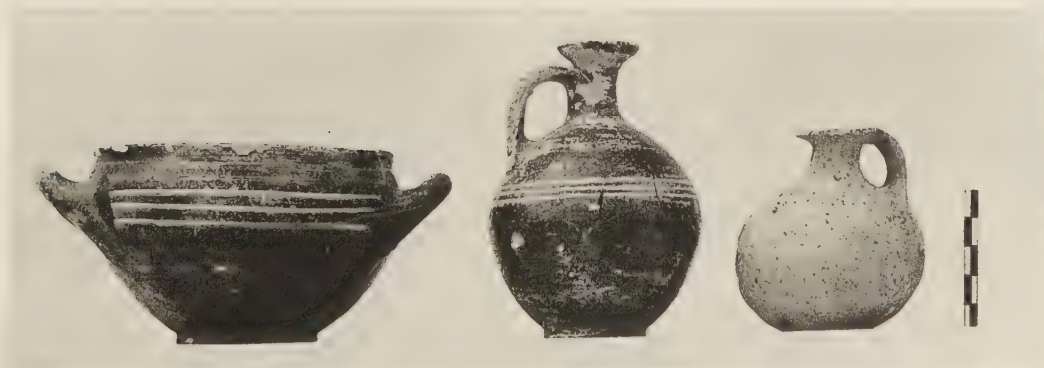


B1

B2



B3



B7

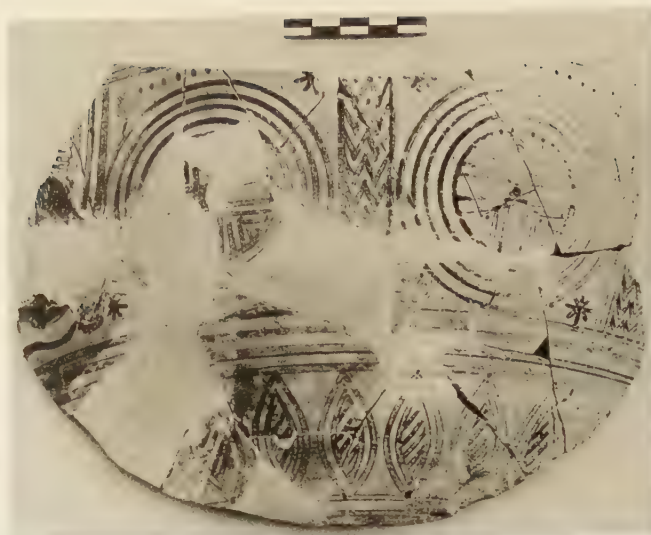
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B6

PLATE LXXII



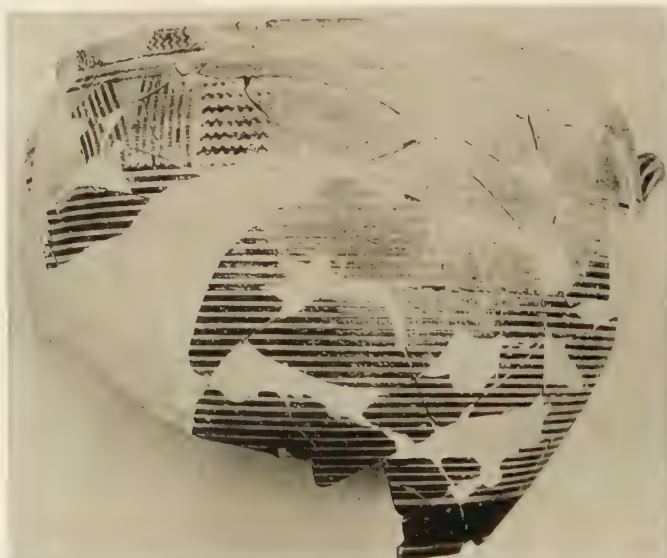
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3



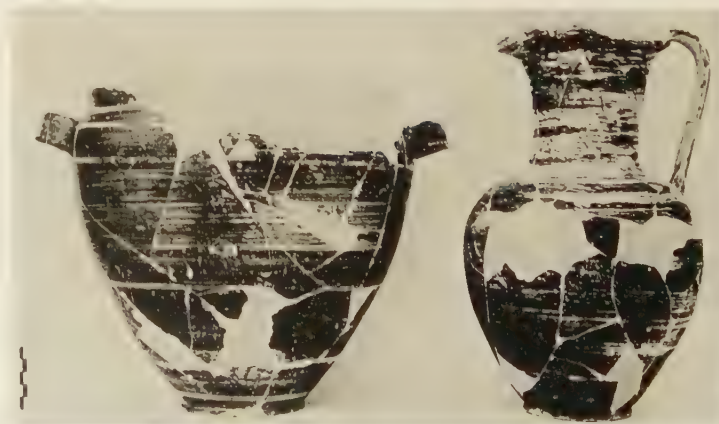
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C1

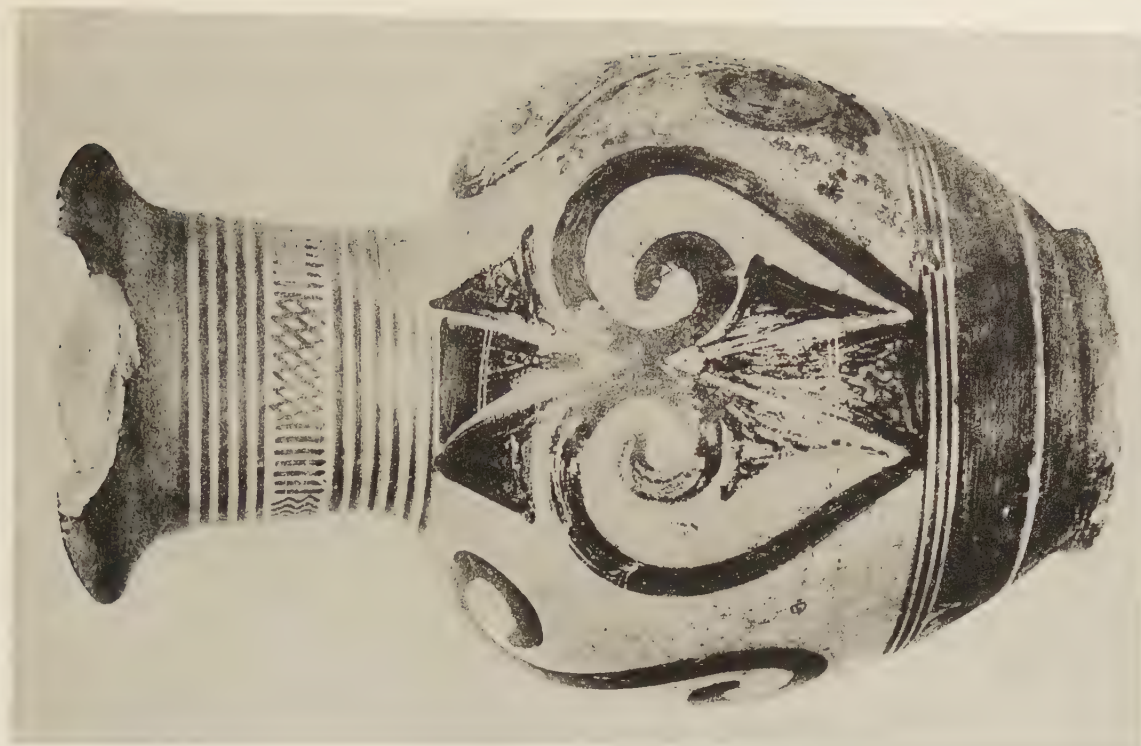


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C2

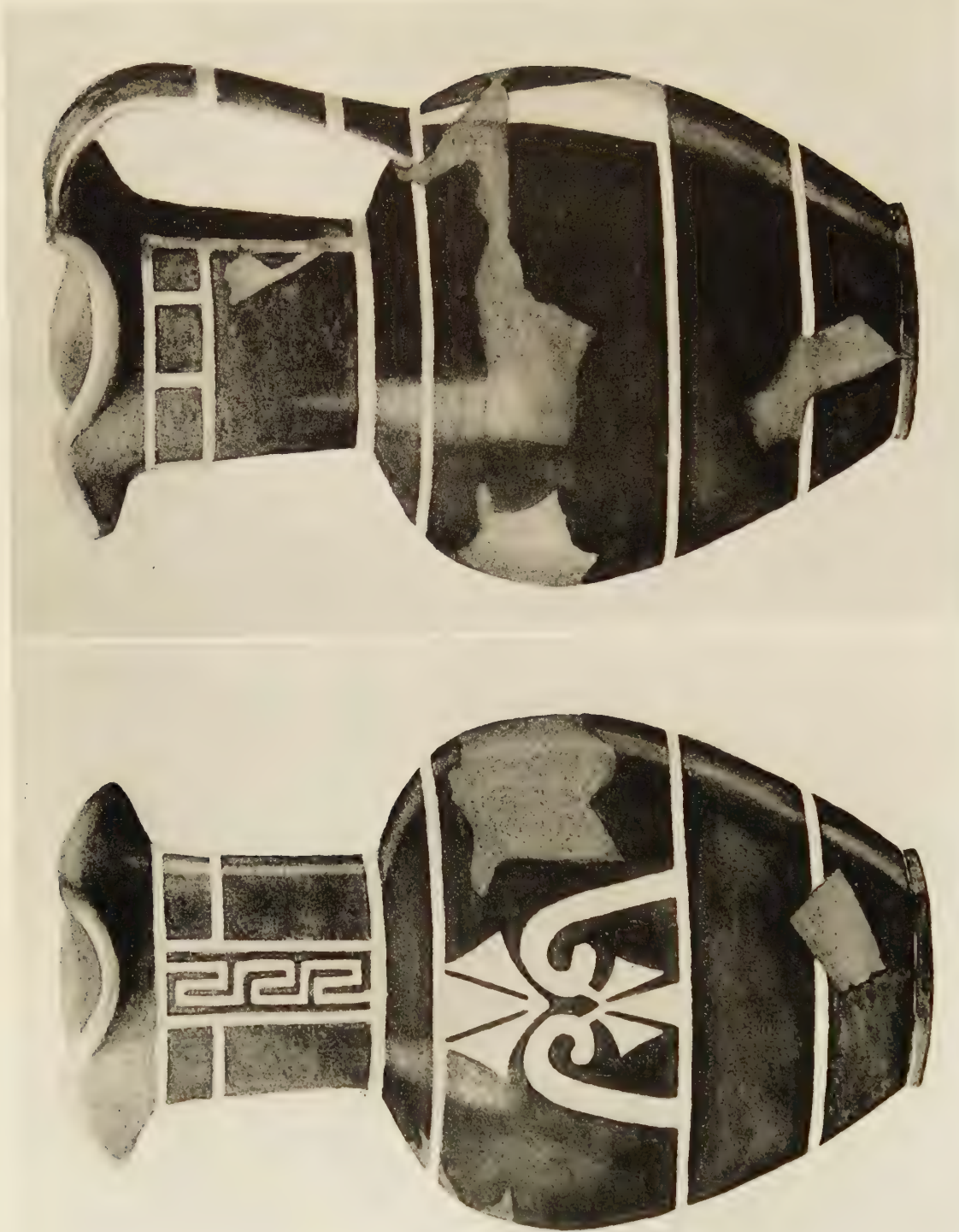
C3



Oinochoe from Cumae  
(*Mon. Ant.*, XXII, pl. XXXI, 1a)



C3



RECONSTRUCTION OF C3

(From a water-color by Marian Welker)

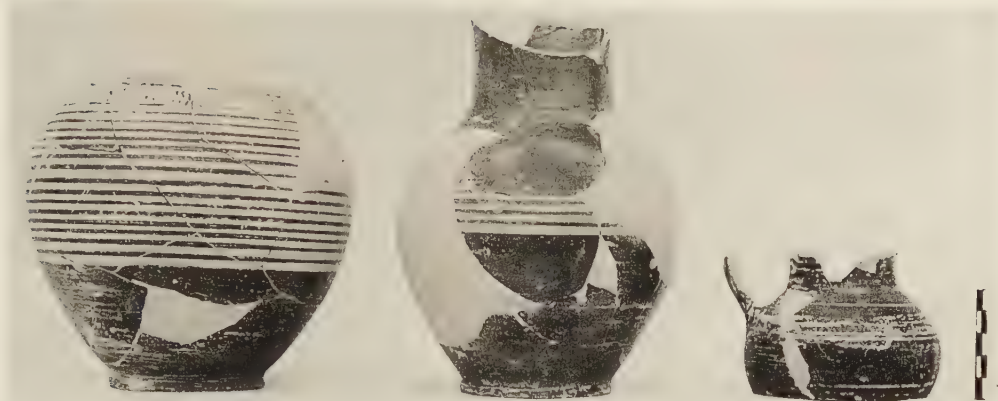
S. S. WEINBERG: CROSS-SECTION OF CORINTHIAN ANTIQUITIES



C7

C4

C9



C5

C6

C8



C12

C11



C15

C14

C13

PLATE LXXVI



C16

C17



C18



C20



C22



C21



C24

C23

C19

S. S. WEINBERG: CROSS-SECTION OF CORINTHIAN ANTIQUITIES



C26



C27

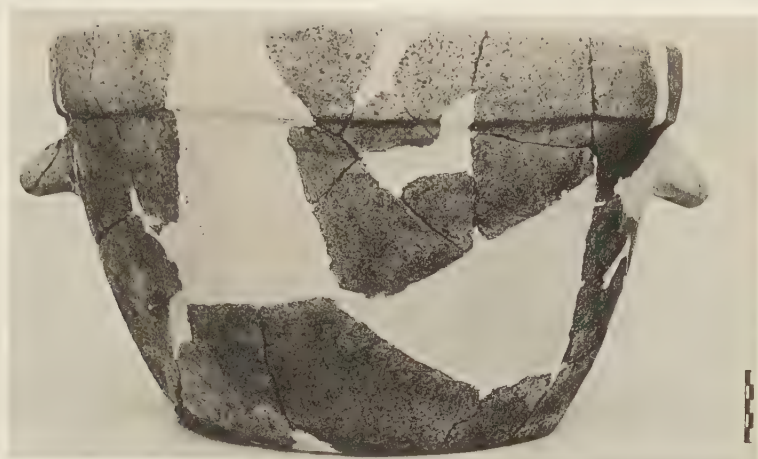


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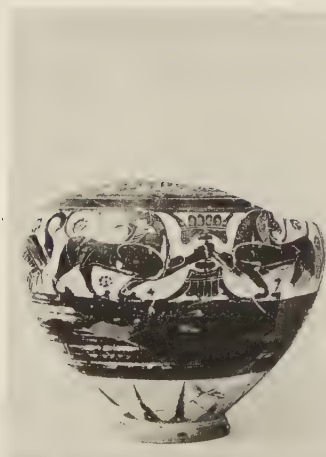


C30

C29



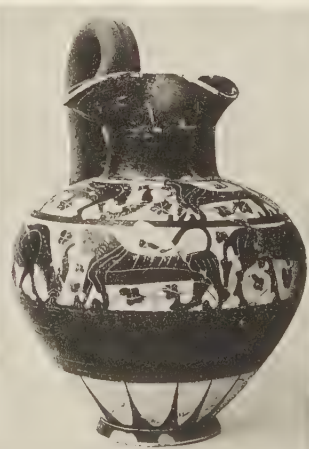
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D1



D2

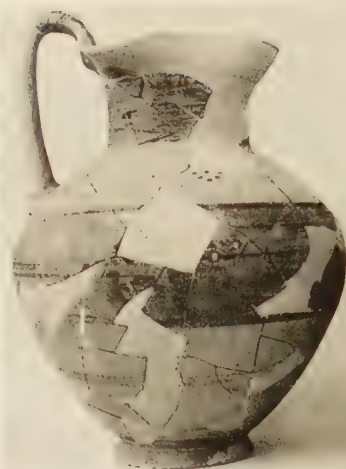


D2

PLATE LXXVIII



D3



D4



D5



D6



D7



D8



D9



D10

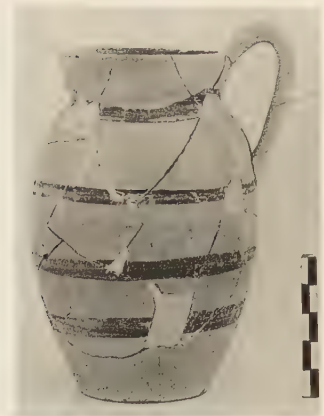


D11



D14

D15



D12



D14

D15



D13



D18

D17

D16

D19

D20

PLATE LXXX



D25

D21

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D23

D24



D28

D27

D26



D29

D30



D31

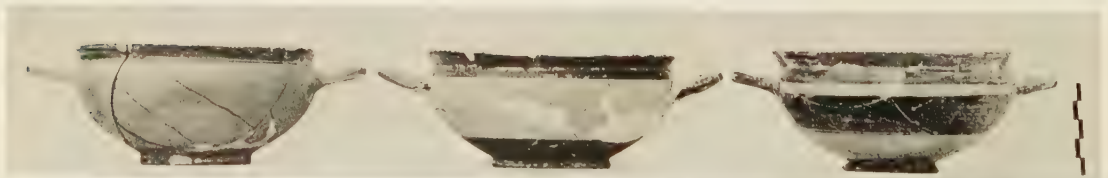
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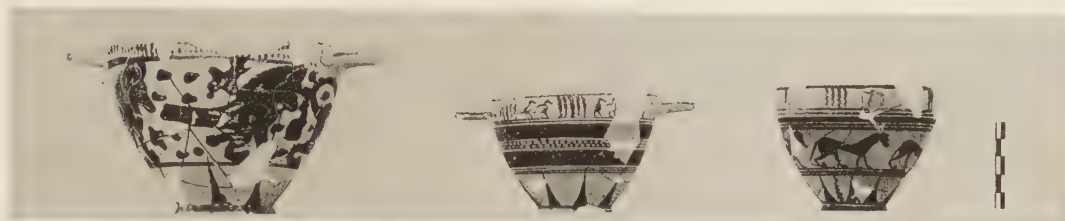
S. S. WEINBERG: CROSS-SECTION OF CORINTHIAN ANTIQUITIES



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D41

D42



D43

D44

D45



D46

D47

D48

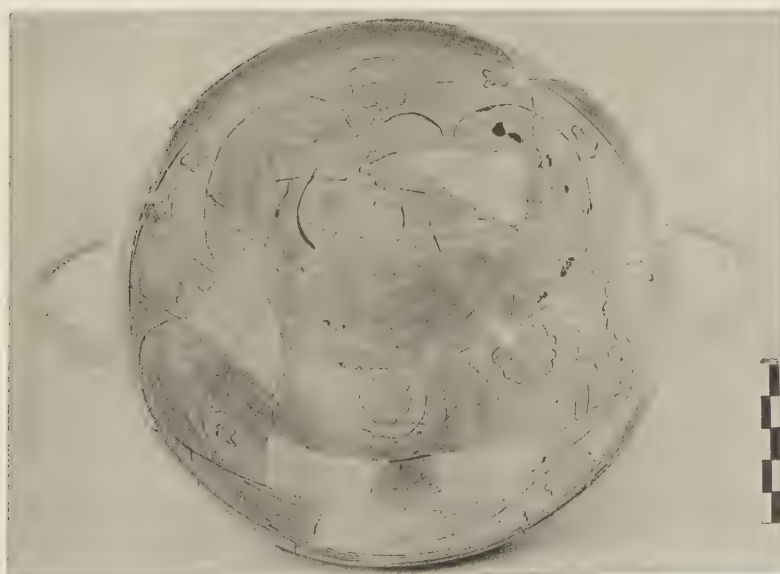


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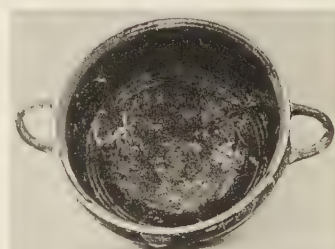
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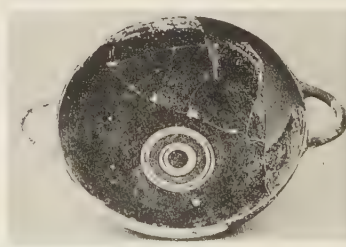
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D55



D39



D56

PLATE LXXXII



D53

D54



D57

D56

D55



D60

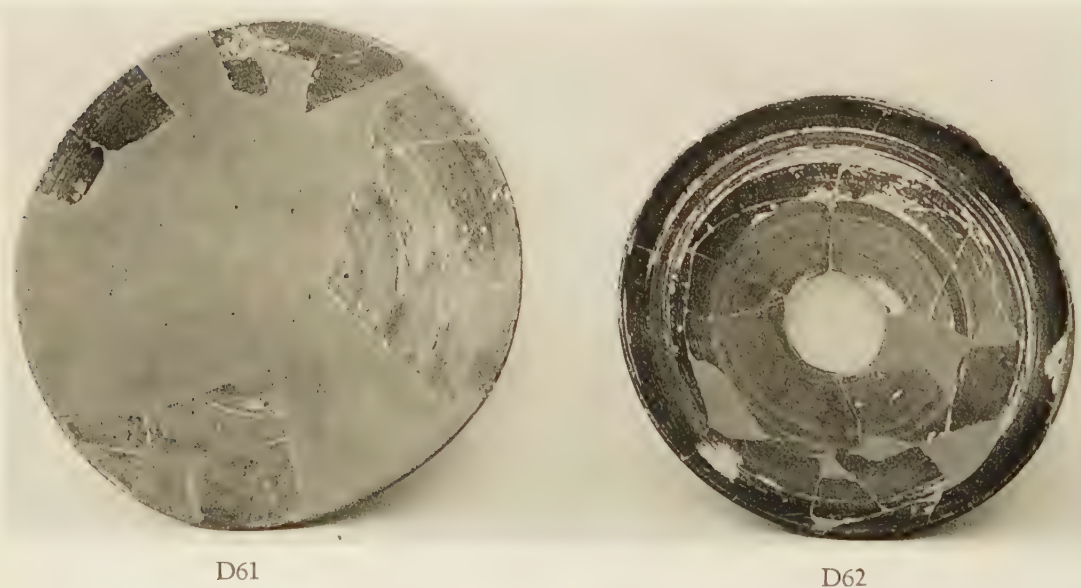
D58

D59



D61

D62



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D62

S. S. WEINBERG: CROSS-SECTION OF CORINTHIAN ANTIQUITIES



D63

D64

D66

D65

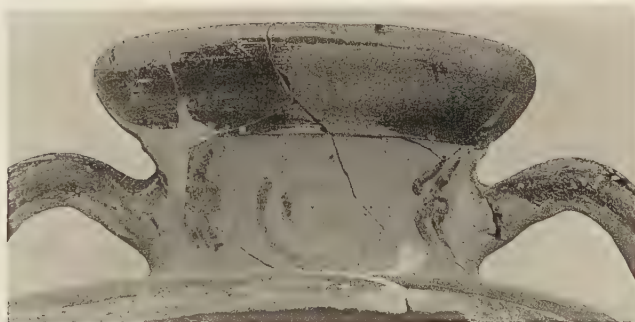


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D68



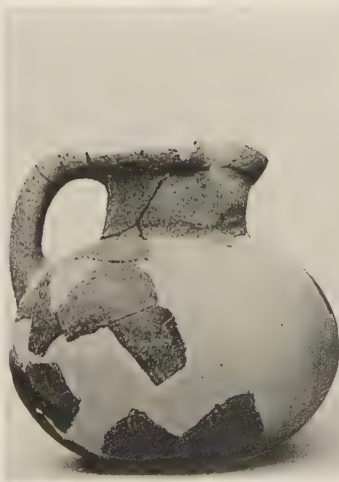
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D69



D70



D71



D72

PLATE LXXXIV



D73

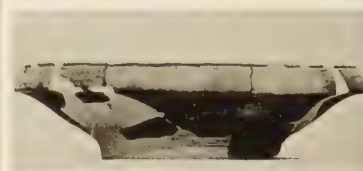
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D74



D80

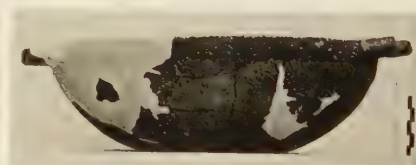
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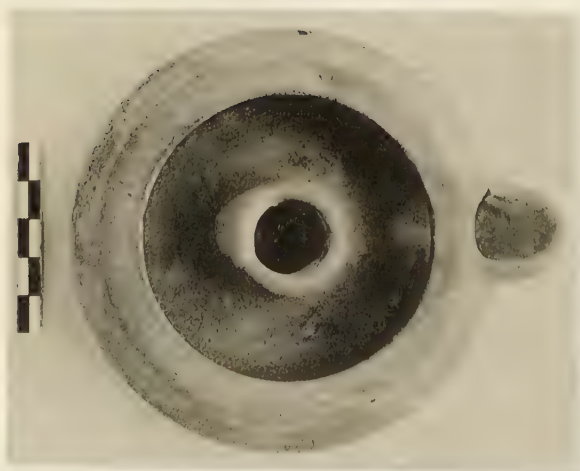
D78



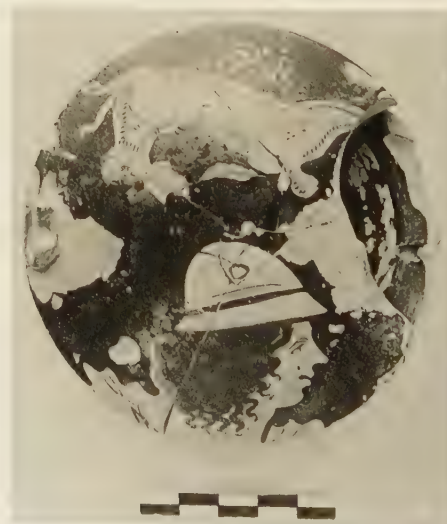
D79



D77



D81



5



PLATE LXXXVI



E15

E14



E17



E16



E25



E19

E24

E22

S. S. WEINBERG: CROSS-SECTION OF CORINTHIAN ANTIQUITIES



F1



F2

F4



F3



F12

F8

F11

F10

F7

F5

F9

F6



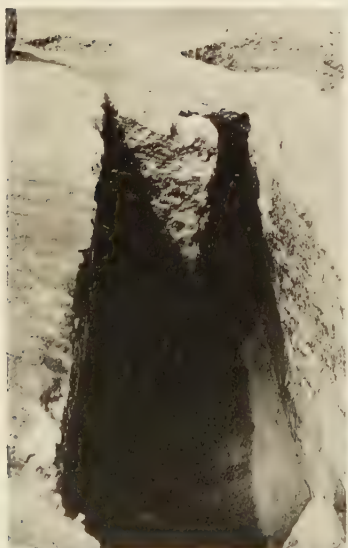
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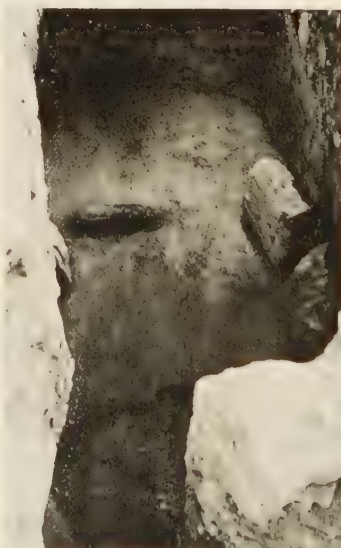
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*a.* Cement floor and surrounding walls.



*b.* Cistern from east, showing fragment of roof in place.



*c.* Interior of cistern, eastern end.



*d.* Interior of cistern, western end.

# THE TEMPLE ESTATES OF DELOS, RHENEIA, AND MYKONOS

(PLATES 89-90)

MANY temples in ancient Greece derived revenues from investments and loans, but the Temple of Apollo at Delos is the only one whose records are preserved in sufficient quantity to enable us to follow its financial career in considerable detail for several centuries. This good fortune has come about not only because the site of Delos has remained virtually deserted throughout the Christian era,<sup>1</sup> but also because temple officials at Delos appear to have kept their accounts and permanent records with more care than was exercised by many of their contemporaries. Approximately one fifth of the inscriptions of Delos contain fragmentary or complete accounts of the treasurers of the Temple of Apollo. The earliest specimen of which we have any knowledge antedates the Peloponnesian War, and was a comparatively brief record: it consisted merely of a list of various sources of revenue and the total amount of money received from each source.<sup>2</sup> Although methods of bookkeeping appear to have varied somewhat with different treasurers, the accounts tended to become more detailed as time went on, and towards the end of the Amphictyonic Period (454-314 B.C.) it was customary to include in the permanent records itemized expenditures and lists of individual rent-payers and debtors as well as a summarized financial statement. During the Period of Independence (314-166 B.C.) the accounts were rendered still more fully by the *Hieropoioi*, who were annual officials in charge of the Temple's finances. The *Hieropoioi* were accustomed to keep their daily records on papyrus and to post a wooden notice board every month, and were obliged to make a monthly financial report to the Delian Boule.<sup>3</sup> At the end of their term of office the *Hieropoioi*

<sup>1</sup> For a convenient summary of the history of Delos during the Christian Era, see A. C. Orlandos, *B.C.H.*, LX, 1936, pp. 68-71.

<sup>2</sup> *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 377; Tod, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, I<sup>2</sup>, No. 54.

<sup>3</sup> For the references and a discussion of prices of papyrus rolls, see J. A. O. Larsen, *Roman Greece (Economic Survey of Ancient Rome, IV)*, pp. 396-397. The papyrus appears to have been used for bookkeeping as well as for business documents (T. Homolle, *Les archives de l'intendance sacrée à Délos*, pp. 12-13).

There were two types of records on wooden tablets. At the close of each year there was made a wooden duplicate (δέλτος) of a part, if not all, of the text of the annual stele (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 148, line 70; 154, A, line 46; and especially 287, A, line 197): this tablet was probably stored in the temple archives, as its wood was the durable cypress (*Inscr. de Délos*; 372, A, line 116; 440, A, line 47). Wood was also used to make notice boards (πέτευρα and λευκώματα) on which were posted monthly reports (τῶι λόγῳ κατὰ μῆνα: *I.G.*, XI, 2; 145, line 44; 161, A, line 89; *Inscr. de Délos*; 372, A, line 116; 461, Ab, line 26), records of business contracts (συγγραφαίς: *Inscr. de Délos*; 372, A, line 116; 461, Ab, line 22), lists of guarantors and possibly contracts with them (εἰς διευ-

included in their annual report an inventory of sacred objects under their jurisdiction as well as a fully itemized record of all monies received and expended, and it was their custom to publish this report by engraving it on stone and to set up their inscription in the temple precinct, where the public might inspect—and doubtless audit—their records. This custom was continued by the successors of the Hieropoioi during

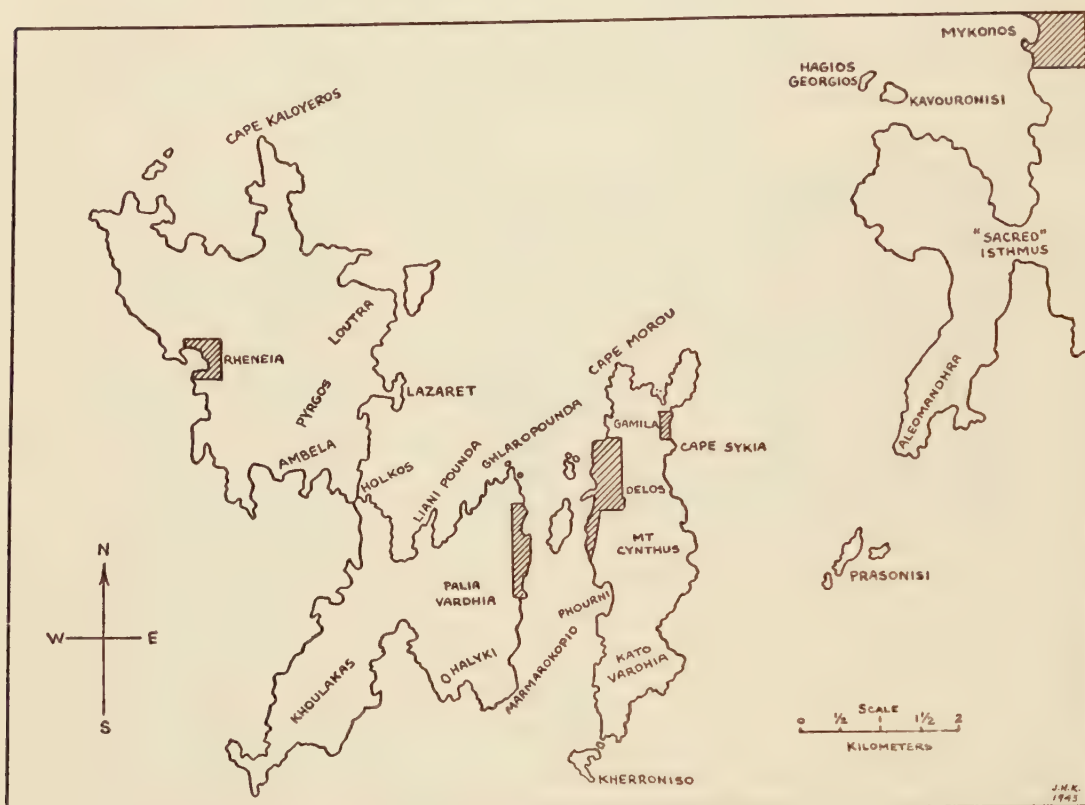


Fig. 1. Delos and Vicinity

the Athenian Colonial Period (*post* 166 B.C.) until shortly after 140 B.C., at which time it seems to have been abandoned, possibly in order to avoid unnecessary expense.<sup>4</sup>

Rentals from estates that were owned and leased by the Temple of Apollo seem to have been among the earliest of the various sources of temple revenue, though

γνήσεις: *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 43; *Inscr. de Délos*; 461, Ab, line 26; 503, line 9), and inventories of sacred objects (ταῖς παραδόσεσιν: *Inscr. de Délos*; 372, A, 116; 442, A, line 204). The difference between a πέτευρον and a λεύκωμα was probably one of construction; both types were whitened (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 203, A, line 34; 287, A, line 81). Cf. Homolle, *op. cit.*, p. 13; W. A. Laidlaw, *A History of Delos*, pp. 139-140.

For the monthly reports to the Boule, see pages 274, 279, and 281.

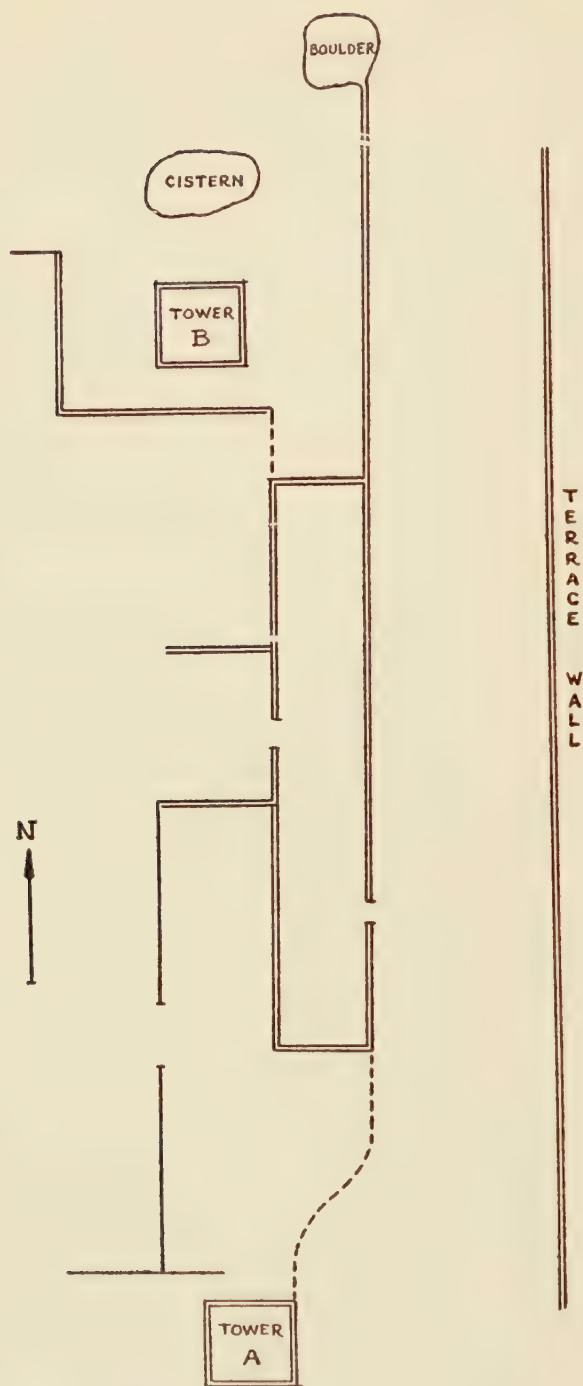
<sup>4</sup> The latest dated temple account is from the year 140-39 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, No. 1450).

it is not known precisely when the practice of leasing farm estates to tenants was first introduced. Thucydides relates that in 523 B.C. the island of Rheneia was captured by Polycrates, the tyrant of Samos, and was presented by him to the Delian Apollo:<sup>5</sup> this gift probably marks the earliest of the various holdings in real estate to which the Temple of Apollo held title. It is uncertain how soon after 523 B.C. the part of the island that was retained by the temple was converted into estates, but presumably the interval would not have been long, so that it well may be that the earliest leases issued for estates on Rheneia dated from the late sixth century B.C. It is, however, clear that the temple authorities did not assume direct control of the entire island. They appear to have shepherded the Rheneians into the northwest area of Rheneia, west of the hills that are known today as Loutra and Pyrgos, where they permitted them to found a small town and to continue to live in an independent city state.<sup>6</sup> At the same time a narrow strip of land in the southeast half of the island, bordering on the strait that separates Delos from Rheneia, seems to have been set aside as a cemetery area.<sup>7</sup> The remainder of the island, consisting of most of the

<sup>5</sup> Thucydides i, 13, 6; iii, 104, 2. For the date and circumstances of Polycrates' action, see H. W. Parke, *Class. Quart.*, XL, 1946, pp. 105-08. Cf. also F. Courby, *Explor. archéol. de Délos*, XII, pp. 207-218; P. N. Ure, *The Origin of Greek Tyranny*, p. 71; Laidlaw, *op. cit.*, pp. 57-58; *C.A.H.*, IV, p. 102. Glotz-Cohen, *Histoire grecque*, I, p. 283.

<sup>6</sup> The existence of this state in the fifth century B.C. is attested by the Athenian tribute lists (Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists*, I, pp. 392-93), and its continuance during the Hellenistic Age is attested in many Delian inscriptions (e. g., *I.G.*, XI, 2; 161, A, line 11; 287, A, lines 159-160; cf. P. Roussel, *Délos colonie athénienne*, p. 16). The excavations conducted at the site of the town by Stavropoulos (cf. *Πρακτικά*, 1900, pp. 67-69) and Pippas (cf. *B.C.H.*; XLVII, 1923, p. 529; XLVIII, 1924, p. 484) are for the most part unpublished: the excavators' notes, together with Stavropoulos' records of his excavation of the great cemetery, were in 1939 in the Museum of Mykonos, where they were being studied by K. A. Rhomaïos (one article has appeared to date: *Δελτίον*, XII, 1929, pp. 181-224), but due to their age and bulk the work was proceeding slowly. The chief discovery in the town of Rheneia is a rectangular structure *ca.* 30 m. by 12 m. which seems to be a Mithraeum: it has a paved forecourt to the west and a large blue marble bench at the east (rear) end of the interior room, behind which is a small apse containing a Hellenistic dolphin mosaic (cf. Pl. 89, No. 1). There seems little doubt that the territory of the city-state embraced the whole northwest part of the island, which is a theatre-shaped geographical unit. The town's chief export seems to have been gneiss flagstones (cf. L. Cayeux, *Explor. archéol. de Délos*, IV, pp. 22-24). The acropolis of the state was situated on the summit of the hill of Pyrgos; its ruins, also unpublished, include a high wall *ca.* 100 m. in length and foundations of two ancient towers, each *ca.* 8 m. square. Extensive walls of mediaeval date suggest that this was the site of the fourteenth century castle of the Knights of Saint John (cf. J. Cantacuzenus, *Historiarum*, II, 29 [*Corpus Script. Hist. Byzantin.*, XX]; M. Buchon, *Revue de Paris*, 1843, XVI, p. 339; R. C. Jebb, *J.H.S.*, I, 1880, p. 38; W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, p. 585). Cf. Fig. 2 and Pl. 89, No. 2.

<sup>7</sup> The cemetery area extends from almost the north end of the strait between Rheneia and Delos to a spot opposite the Bay of Phourni, and south of the area the Rheneian shore consists of the steep hills of Phylladi Martiou and Marmarokopio (cf. A. Bellot, *Explor. archéol. de Délos*, I, Pl. I; this splendid map is reproduced in Cayeux, *op. cit.*, Pl. I); it is thus apparent that none of the temple estates bordered upon the strait. An amazing abundance of ancient remains have been uncovered in the cemetery (cf. Pl. 89, No. 3), among them numerous potsherds which seem to



PYRGOS: RHENEIA

Fig. 2

southern half and the eastern side of the northern half, was turned into farms. From the fourth century until 166 B.C. the number of estates on Rheneia was ten, and the rentals from Rheneia in 432 B.C. are large enough to show that the area rented in the fifth century B.C. was approximately the same as in the fourth. It therefore seems probable that when the temple administrators accepted Polycrates' gift, they divided the area that was assigned to farms into ten estates, and that the area and the number of the Rheneian estates remained unchanged from the sixth century B.C. until the end of the Period of Independence.

The identification and location of the individual estates on Rheneia was undertaken in 1890 by T. Homolle, who was able from Amphictyonic accounts to distinguish the names of the ten Rheneian estates from the estates on Delos. He also pointed out that several names have geographical significance, and demonstrated that in listing these names the Delian accountants sometimes followed a definite geographical order.<sup>8</sup> When the evidence of inscriptions discovered since Homolle wrote is added to his conclusions, it is possible to infer that the estates of Porthmos, Pyrgoi, and Chareteia lay at one end of the accountants' itinerary, and that Limnai, Rhamnoi, and Nikou Choros lay at the other.<sup>9</sup> A comparison of the surface remains on the island with the

indicate that the earliest burials antedate the fifth century B.C.; however, until the excavations are published, conclusive proof that the area was used before 426 B.C. is lacking.

<sup>8</sup> *B.C.H.*, XIV, 1890, pp. 421-433.

<sup>9</sup> In many inscriptions it is clear that no geographical order was observed at all, since the Delian and Rheneian estates are not kept separate; in other accounts, however, the Rheneian estates are given in one group. Of the latter, the lists in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1638 and *I.G.*, XI, 2, 199 are incomplete, the list in *Inscr. de Délos*, 442 groups the names according to renewals and non-renewals of leases (cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 243, note 2), and the order of the names in the accounts of *I.G.*, XI, 2; 135, 144, 149, and 161 is badly confused (Porthmos, however, heads the list in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1638 and in *I.G.*, XI, 2; 144, 161, and 199). This leaves the single lists contained in *I.G.*, XI, 2, 158 and in *Inscr. de Délos*, 290 and 399, and the two lists of *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A (lines 25-34; 143-179). It is clear that, with the exception of Porthmos in the first list of *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287 and in the list of *Inscr. de Délos*, 290, the two lists of *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287 and the list of *Inscr. de Délos*, 290 are given in reverse order from the lists of *I.G.*, XI, 2, 158 and *Inscr. de Délos*, 399. When Porthmos is put in its proper place and the lists that are given backwards are reversed, the order of the estates is as follows:

	<i>I.G.</i> , XI, 2:			<i>Inscr. de Délos</i>	
	158	287, I	287, II	290	399
Porthmos .....	1	1	1	1	1
Pyrgoi .....	2	2	2	2	2
Chareteia .....	3	3	3	3	3
Panormos .....	4	4	4	4	5
Skitoneia .....	5	6	6	6	6
Charoneia .....	6	5	5	5	7
Dionysion .....	7	7	7	7	8
Limnai .....	8	9	8	8	9
Rhamnoi .....	9	10	10	9	10
Nikou Choros .....	10	8	9	10	4

descriptions that are contained in the inventories of the Hieropoioi has furnished additional evidence for the location of some of the estates.<sup>10</sup>

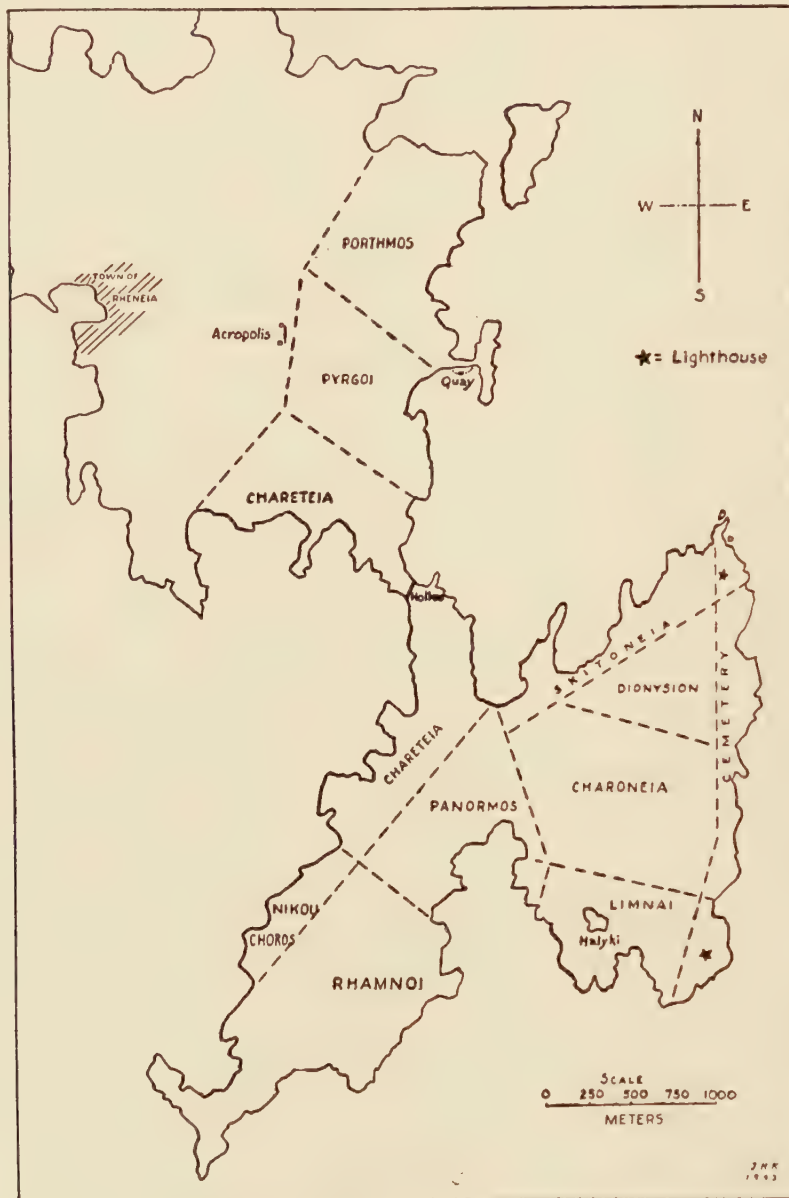


Fig. 3. The Temple Estates on Rheneia

<sup>10</sup> This Homolle failed to do, being misled by his hypothesis that only one-tenth of Rheneia was taken over by the Temple of Apollo (*B.C.H.*, XIV, 1890, p. 425, note 4); the total area he suggests for the Rheneian estates is much too small (*ibid.*, pp. 424-27). I examined the surface

Porthmos may be located with considerable confidence in the vicinity of an ancient quay in northern Rheneia that marks the spot at which ferry traffic from Delos to the town of Rheneia disembarked, and the estate probably included all the northeast area of the island that lies north of the quay and east of the hill of Loutra.<sup>11</sup> It thus becomes apparent that the Delian accountants began their geographical lists with the northernmost estate, and that the estate of Pyrgoi should lie directly south of Porthmos; this in turn is confirmed by the fact that in this area today both the plain and the hill to the west of the plain are called "Pyrgos."<sup>12</sup> The name of Chareteia offers no clue to its location, but since it comes directly after Pyrgoi in the lists, it was evidently situated south of Pyrgoi. It is probable that this estate extended across the isthmus of the island and included a large tract of land south of the isthmus along the west coast (cf. Pl. 89, no. 4), for not only were the rentals of Chareteia the largest of all the temple estates, which implies that Chareteia was considerably larger in area than either Porthmos or Pyrgoi, but the rentals of the decennium 259-

remains on Rheneia in a preliminary way in July, 1939, and again in February, 1940, but my plan of returning in the summer of 1940 for an accurate architectural study was frustrated by the spread of war. Consequently, while enough was discovered to help in locating several of the Rheneian estates, it seems best to indicate in this article merely the general nature of some of the finds, and to postpone any detailed publication of the surface remains until they can be examined thoroughly.

<sup>11</sup> The word *πορθμός* is defined by Liddell-Scott-Jones as "a ferry, or place crossed by a ferry, a strait, a narrow sea." As a place name, however, Porthmos must have applied either to a locality beside a strait or to a vicinity where there was a ferry terminal (cf. J. H. Young, *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 166). It is probable that the latter alternative is the reason for the name of the estate Porthmos. Homolle (*B.C.H.*, VII, 1882, pp. 66, 68), who is followed by A. M. Andreades (*A History of Greek Public Finance*, Vol. I, 1933, p. 148, note 5) and by Young (*loc. cit.*), assumed that τὸ εἰς Ῥήνειαν πορθμεῖον of the Delian accounts referred to a ferry which crossed the narrow strait between Delos and Rheneia to a terminus somewhere in the area of the great cemetery. While the strait may have been called, very properly, a *πορθμός*, this does not imply that the ferry operated *only* in the strait; τὸ πορθμεῖον τὸ εἰς Μύκονον (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 138, B, lines 9-10; 199, B, line 97; 287, A, line 39; *Inscr. de Délos*, 368, line 41) obviously did not. Furthermore, the income from the ferry to Rheneia varied so greatly that it argues against a ferry service to the cemetery area, which presumably would show no startling changes from year to year in the volume of its business or in its rates. In 269 B.C. the revenue received by the temple from the ferry amounted to 200 dr. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 203, A, line 30); about the year 256 B.C. it was 440 dr. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 274, line 13); in 250 B.C. it had fallen to 340 dr. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 40); and by 179 B.C. it had shrunk to 120 dr. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 442, A, line 153).

It seems more probable, therefore, that τὸ εἰς Ῥήνειαν πορθμεῖον was a ferry that operated between Delos and the town of Rheneia. The sunken quay on the northeast shore of Rheneia is in direct line with the town of Delos and the saddle of the hills Loutra and Pyrgos which affords the only easy approach to the town of Rheneia from the east. The quay has been published by P. Negris (*Ath. Mitt.*, XXIX, 1904, pp. 344-347), who terms it "Roman"; K. Lehmann-Hartleben, however, considers it much earlier (*Klio*, Beiheft XIV, 1923, p. 279). In conclusion, it may be noted that the estate of Porthmos cannot have taken its name from a ferry to the cemetery area, since no estates bordered upon the strait between Delos and Rheneia (above, note 7).

<sup>12</sup> The area seems to take its name from the south tower of the acropolis of the town of Rheneia (cf. note 6 and p. 246), which is today preserved to a height of *ca.* 3 m.

50 B.C.<sup>13</sup> show that it consisted of two equally valuable halves, which can best be accounted for by supposing that these parts lay north and south of the isthmus, and that the dividing line was at the narrowest part of the isthmus where the *Holkos* was located.<sup>14</sup>

The middle group of names in the geographical lists consists of the estates of Charoneia, Panormos, Dionysion, and Skitoneia. Of these four, Charoneia can be located with certainty. Not only does the name suggest a neighborhood close to the great cemetery,<sup>15</sup> but the inventories show that Charoneia was a double estate, having

<sup>13</sup> The experiment of splitting the estate of Chareteia into two halves during the decennium 259-50 B.C. caused trouble not only for the hieropoioi but also for modern auditors of their accounts. The original lessees for the decennium were Teleson and Ekephylos; they went bankrupt in 258 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 226, A, lines 29-31). The amount of rent they actually paid in 258 B.C. is given on the stone as 1200 dr., but since these figures come at the end of line 30, and the beginning of line 31 is not preserved, they may have paid more. It is clear that their contracts called for more than 1200 dr. from the small additional payments mentioned in line 31 and from the fact that in 250 B.C. Ekephylos still owed the hieropoioi one obol (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 196).

The successors of Teleson and Ekephylos were Diogenes and Mnesimachos (cf. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 226, A, line 33), who kept up their annual payments until 251 B.C., when it became Mnesimachos' turn to default. In *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 139-142 we read that "the part of Chareteia which had been rented to Mnesimachos was leased for 281 dr. to Xenokrates, son of Hierombrotos, because Mnesimachos did not furnish guarantors. Mnesimachos, son of Autokrates, thus owes the balance that is left after the amount brought in by the re-rented land is deducted; viz., 419 dr. 3 ob. His guarantors, Hierokles, Phrasias son of Ammonios, and Phanos son of Diodotos, are also responsible for this amount, Phanos being guarantor of half of it, and Hierokles and Phrasias the other half. In addition to this, they owe the *hemiolion* of 209 dr. 4½ ob." It is clear from this statement that Mnesimachos should have paid for his half of Chareteia 419 dr. 3 ob. plus the 281 dr. that was paid by the new lessee Xenokrates; in other words, his lease called for a rental of 700 dr. 3 ob. The rental paid by his associate Diogenes for the other half of the estate was an even 700 dr. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 30); thus the whole estate was leased for a rental of 1400 dr. 3 ob. (These are the only rental figures for Chareteia during the decennium 259-50 B.C. that are not open to question).

<sup>14</sup> Cf. J. Tréheux, *B.C.H.*, LXX, 1946, p. 568. At the narrowest point of the isthmus (*ca.* 90 m. in width) is a shallow depression that indicates an ancient holkos. (The word *ὄλκος* seems to have been applied to a track and other apparatus used for hauling ships across an isthmus [Herodotus, ii, 159 (the holkoi were evidently substitutes for unfinished canals); Thucydides, iii, 15, 1]; the word *διολκός* referred to the *place* where the hauling was done [Strabo, viii, 6, 4]. Homolle [*B.C.H.*, VI, 1882, p. 67] states that *ὄκλοι* were small harbors, even though he described the true meaning of *ὄλκος* in a footnote; this erroneous interpretation has been followed by Andreades [*op. cit.*, p. 147] and by J. H. Thiel [*Klio*, XX, 1925, p. 66].) The Delian accounts mention two *ὄλκοί*, one of which was located on Mykonos (cf. *Inscr. de Délos*; 353, A, lines 29-30; 354, lines 29-30) while the other is described as *ὁ ὄλκος ἐν Νήσῳ* (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 203, A, 30; 287, A, 40; *Inscr. de Délos*; 353, A, 30; 354, line 28; 399, A, lines 89-90; 442, A, line 154). Since there is no other place near Delos where a holkos would be either helpful or profitable, this second holkos surely refers to the holkos on the isthmus of Rheneia. Why it is called *ἐν Νήσῳ* and not *ἐν Πηνείῳ* is not clear. *Ἡ Νῆσος* in the Delian inscriptions sometimes, but apparently not always (cf. *B.C.H.*, LXX, 1946, pp. 566-571), refers to Greater Rhevmatiari (cf. commentary on *I.G.*, XI, 2, 145, line 8). But since this islet is only 600 m. long, is not flat, has no isthmus, and offers no serious obstacle to shipping, any attempt to place a holkos on it seems preposterous. Homolle (*loc. cit.*) hesitantly identifies *ἡ Νῆσος* with Delos: Svoronos (*B.C.H.*, XVII, 1893, p. 487) puts both *holkoi* on Mykonos!

<sup>15</sup> Homolle, *B.C.H.*, XIV, 1890, p. 425, note 3. The name apparently means "Charon's ground."

two farmhouses and other farm buildings in duplicate, and at times two lessees. It also possessed a farm tower.<sup>16</sup> On the top of the hill today called Palia Vardhia, not far from the cemetery area, are clearly defined wall foundations of a rectangular enclosure approximately 80 m. by 32 m. divided by a cross-wall into two courtyards, the western *ca.* 30 m. by 32 m., the eastern 50 m. by 32 m. The latter area contains the remains of a house which was built with a cistern beneath it in the manner of many Delian town houses, and it is significant that Charoneia is the only temple estate for which an *oikía* is inventoried. The identification of the site is corroborated by the presence of a collapsed tower in the southwest corner of the larger courtyard.<sup>17</sup> The

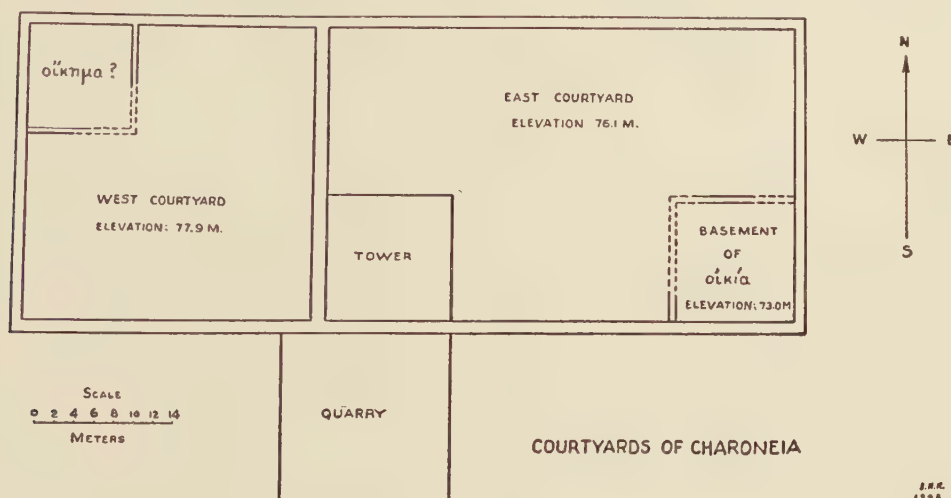


Fig. 4

estate of Panormos would appear from the lists to lie between Chareteia and Charoneia, and its name indicates that it bordered on a bay; this bay was probably the deep inlet on the southern shore of Rheneia. In the Athenian Colonial Period Panormos seems to have been enlarged to include parts of Charoneia.<sup>18</sup> The location of Dionysion and Skitoneia are more conjectural: Homolle noted that the name of the former should

<sup>16</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 164-169.

<sup>17</sup> Enough of the lower courses remain in place to show that the tower was *ca.* 12 m. square, and the great number of fallen stones shows that it once rose to a considerable height. The tower was still standing in the fifteenth century, when it was noted by C. Buondelmonte, whose map, while curiously leaving out the northern section of Rheneia, places the tower in approximately its correct position in the southern half of the island (L. Gallois, *Explor. archéol. de Délos*, III, pp. 10-11, 84). It appears also in several sixteenth century maps, but was not seen by Spon and Wheler in 1675 nor by Tournefort in 1717 (Gallois, *op. cit.*, figs. 13, 18, 24, 44-46, 55).

<sup>18</sup> In the Athenian Colonial Period Panormos contained a tower (*Inscr. de Délos*, 1417, B, II, lines 90-94; cf. Roussel, *Dél. col. ath.*, p. 157); this is probably the same tower that belonged to Charoneia before 166 B.C. Homolle (*op. cit.*, p. 425) identified the bay from which the estate took its name with the broad gulf that lies east of the isthmus, but this is scarcely "a place always fit

indicate that the estate was near a temple of Dionysos, but he was not able to find traces of any such temple on the island. There are, however, numerous unpublished fragments of a small Doric temple just below the summit of the hill of Khomasovouni, and it is possible that this temple marks the site which Homolle desired to find.<sup>19</sup> To locate Dionysion in this area tallies well with the accountants' lists, since they show that Dionysion probably bordered on Charoneia, and since the lists also show that Skitoneia bordered on Dionysion, Charoneia, and Panormos, Skitoneia in turn may be located along the northern shore of southern Rheneia.

The name of Limnai seems sufficient to place this estate in the neighborhood of Lake Halyki;<sup>20</sup> when this is done, the only part of Rheneia left for Rhamnoi and Nikou Choros is the southwest peninsula, which consists of a small fertile coastal plain on the west and the large rugged hill of Khoulakas. The inventories show that Nikou Choros produced grain but Rhamnoi did not;<sup>21</sup> thus it seems plausible to assign Nikou Choros to the plain and Rhamnoi ("the Brambles") to the rest of the peninsula.<sup>22</sup>

It is more difficult to place the estates that were situated on the island of Delos, for not a single inventory has survived from some of the estates, and in addition several names were derived from the names of former owners of the land and thus offer no clue as to their location. Furthermore, parts, if not all, of some estates seem to have been built up with houses and shops during the expansion of the city during the Athenian Colonial Period, so that the original farm land is now unrecognizable.

for mooring in" (*πανορμός*), as it is completely exposed to the north and northeast winds. On the other hand, the bay in southern Rheneia is deep and protected by hills from all winds except those from dead south.

<sup>19</sup> The fragments include a cornice block, an anta capital, several fragments of Doric column drums, and a Doric capital, all of Parian marble. There is also a considerable number of rectangular blocks of bluish marble. An excavation of the summit of the hill should produce good results at small expense.

<sup>20</sup> The word *λίμνη* means "a pool of standing water, marshy lake" as distinguished both from an ordinary lake and a marshy meadow. Lake Halyki conforms perfectly to this definition, being a large shallow pond of brackish water which has no outlet (the only one on Rheneia).

<sup>21</sup> On at least two occasions Rhamnoi and Nikou Choros had the same lessees (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 135, lines 14-15, 312 B.C.; *Inscr. de Délos*, 368, line 25; 372, A, lines 10-13, 206-200 B.C.); this seems to indicate that they were adjacent. Rhamnoi probably consisted largely of the hill of Khoulakas: the inventory (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 153-155) shows that the estate produced no grain (no *ἀχυρών* is listed), but did have extensive vineyards: these probably were located on the ancient terraces on the south slope of the hill. Rhamnoi also possessed 91 fig trees: this orchard may have been on the small plateau that forms the southwest promontory of the peninsula. Present day farmers in the Cyclades declare that fig trees should be planted from 25 m. to 30 m. apart to produce best results: this means that an orchard of a hundred fig trees will occupy from 70,000 to 90,000 sq. m., which is the approximate area of the plateau. The inventory of Nikou Choros (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 155-157) included a *μυλόν* and an *ἀχυρών*, thus indicating that the estate produced grain.

<sup>22</sup> This location for Nikou Choros is partly supported by the order in which the estate is listed in *Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A (line 79): the accountant has evidently followed the line of estates south (Porthmos, Pyrgoi, Charetea) down the west shore of southern Rheneia to Nikou Choros before turning east to Panormos (cf. Fig. 3).

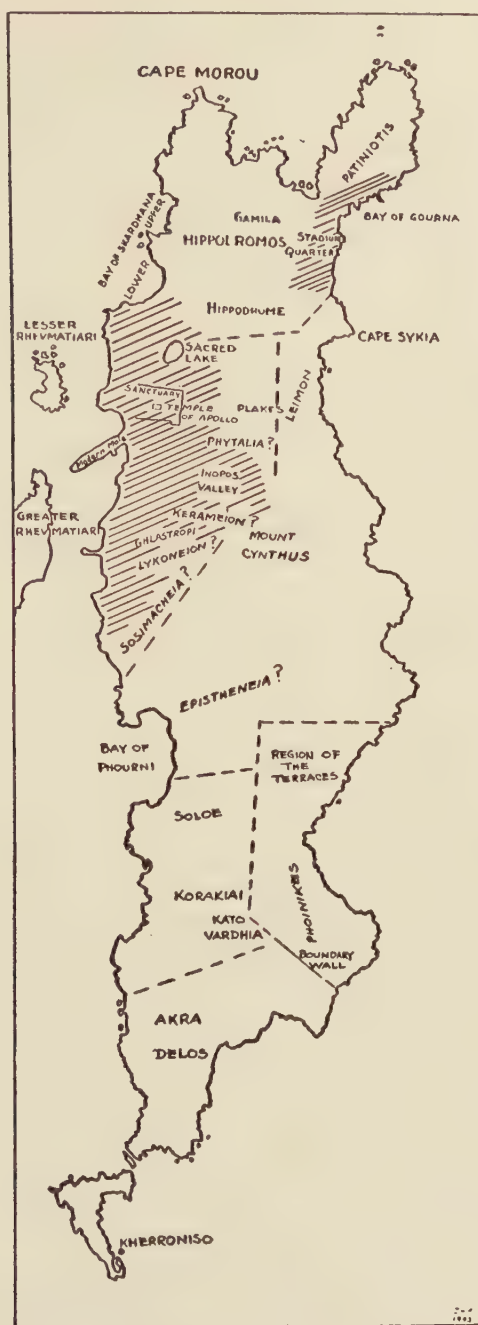


Fig. 5. The Temple Estates on Delos

Nor does Homolle's method of studying the order of the names of estates in the rental lists produce as convincing results as on Rheneia.<sup>23</sup> In addition, not all the properties on Delos were true farms, but some were included under the heading "estates" simply because there was no other category in which the temple accountants could conveniently classify them. The clearest example of this is the Sacred Lake; the income from the fishing therein was sometimes listed under estates and sometimes under "income from the sale of sacred objects"! <sup>24</sup> The "estate" Kerameion was a potter's establishment; Phytalia may have been merely a large orchard.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup> The lists tabulated below seem to be the only ones that repay inspection:

	<i>I. G.</i> , XI, 2					<i>Inscr. de Délos</i>		
	158, A	161, A	199, A	287, A	287, A	290	399, A	442, A
	lines	lines	lines	lines	lines	lines	lines	lines
	11-14	11-15	5-7	31-34	143-180	14-17	74-77	145-150
Hippodromos	1	1	1	7	1	8	5	5
Leimon	2	2	2	6	4	2	1	6
Phoinikes	3	6	5	1	6	7	9	1
Akra Delos	4	5	4	3	7	1	2	2
Epistheneia	5	7	6	5	10	5	4	3
Soloe-Korakiai	6	4	3	4	5	6	3	4
Lykoneion	7	9	7	9	11	9	6	9
Kerameion	8	3	8	8	2	10	7	10
Sosimacheia	9	10	..	2	8	3	10	8
Phytalia	10	8	9	11	9	4	8	7
Sacred Lake	..	11	..	10	3	..	11	11

It at once becomes apparent that these lists do not have any clear-cut geographical order as had the lists of the Rheneian estates. Nevertheless, the estates do seem to fall into clearly marked groups of two. Hippodromos and Leimon are listed together five times out of eight, as are also Epistheneia and Soloe-Korakiai, Phoinikes and Akra Delos. Lykoneion and Kerameion are coupled six times out of eight. These groupings seem too frequent to be fortuitous, and imply that the two estates of each pair were either adjacent or at least closer to one another than to any third estate.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Homolle, *B.C.H.*, XIV, 1890, pp. 454-55; Andreades, *Hist. Gk. Pub. Finance*, I, p. 147. The Sacred Lake is listed with estates in *I.G.*, XI, 2; 287, A, lines 34 and 147; *Inscr. de Délos*; 399, A, line 82; 442, A, lines 151-52, and under other headings in *I.G.*, XI, 2; 155, b, line 3; 161, A, line 36; 162, A, line 41; *Inscr. de Délos*; 353, A, lines 35-36; 354, line 30; 356 bis, A, line 23; 368, line 28.

<sup>25</sup> The name Kerameion means a place where articles are manufactured from clay (pottery, lamps, roof-tiles, or even bricks): the product of the "estate" Kerameion is not known. The inventory (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 145-147) is noticeably different from other inventories, though it is clear that farm terminology has been used as far as possible. The establishment consisted of a group of buildings to which was attached a plot of land containing five fruit trees. It is tempting to see in the expression *ἱπνῶνα ἄθιρον ἐν κήποι* a reference to kilns, and in *μυλῶνα* a building containing a potter's wheel. The name Phytalia, meaning a "planted place" as opposed to land that is plowed and sown, suggests that it was an orchard (cf. W. Deonna, *B.C.H.*, LXX, 1946, p. 160). Three mutilated inventories of this estate are so brief that they cannot have contained more than two items at most (*Inscr. de Délos*: 351, line 8; 452, lines 24-26; 373, A, line 31; cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 242).

The estate Hippodromos seems to have been so named because it contained the field in which the horse races of the Delian festivals were held. The race course lay north-east of the town of Delos, south of the hill of Gamila,<sup>26</sup> and the estate probably included both the hill, which was never used for building sites (cf. Pl. 89, No. 5), and the northwest promontory of Delos. The name of the estate Leimon ("Meadow") was probably given, not without a touch of humor, to the one estate on Delos, apart from Hippodromos, that contained level ground: this area lies east and south-east of the race-course, in the vicinity of Cape Sykia. Akra Delos ("the farthest point of Delos") may be located in the southern end of the island (cf. Pl. 90, No. 1), and Phoinikes, which is associated in the lists with Leimon and Akra Delos, probably consisted of the district along the east shore of southern Delos known as "The Region of the Terraces." The almost cyclopean appearance of the terrace walls in this area suggests that they date as early as the sixth century B.C.; this corresponds well with the fact that Phoinikes was one of the four oldest temple estates on the island.<sup>27</sup> The location of the other estates is purely conjectural. Soloe-Korakiai, because of a close association of Korakiai with Akra Delos, may have been north of Akra Delos, on the west slopes of the hill Kato Vardhia.<sup>28</sup> Kerameion is described in 375 B.C. as "next to the bath of Ariston,"<sup>29</sup> which probably means that it was well within the city limits in Hellenistic times. The situations of Lykoneion, Sosimacheia, and Phytalia are unknown.

At the close of the fifth century B.C. the temple estates on the island of Delos numbered five: of these, the date of acquisition of Leimon, Phoinikes, Lykoneion, and Soloe are not known. However, it is clear that the name of the fifth estate, Hippodromos, cannot have existed before the time of the horse races on Delos, which were held for the first time in 425 B.C.<sup>30</sup> Plutarch records that on the occasion of the great

<sup>26</sup> The location of the hippodrome has been verified by the excavations of F. Robert (*B.C.H.*; LIX, 1935, pp. 297-298; LXI, 1937, p. 472), who uncovered evidence of building activities in the second century B.C. We thus have an attested example of a Delian estate that was later partially used for real estate development.

<sup>27</sup> See the following paragraph.

<sup>28</sup> In 282 B.C. the lessee of Korakiai was also the lessee of Akra Delos (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, A, lines 12-13). The inventory of the combined estates of Soloe and Korakiai in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 149-151) shows only a single list of farm buildings, which undoubtedly belonged originally to Soloe, one of the four oldest estates on the entire island. This makes it probable that Korakiai ("the places of the crows") was merely grazing land, and that in 282 B.C. its lessee dwelt in Akra Delos.

<sup>29</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1635, lines 143-144.

<sup>30</sup> Thucydides iii, 104, 6; cf. Homolle, *B.C.H.*, XIV, 1890, p. 427. The ἀφ᾽ ἑσῆς (starting-post), which is listed as a separate estate in 358/7 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1638, A, lines 16-17) was included in the estate of Hippodromos about the middle of the fourth century (cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1641, A, line 8; *I.G.*, XI, 2, 135, line 6). The horse races were held at the festival of the *Delia*, which under the Amphictyons took place every four years (Thucydides, iii, 104, 2; Daremberg-Saglio, II, pp. 55 ff.), but in the Period of Independence horse racing was abandoned and seems never to have

festival conducted in 417 B.C. Nicias the Athenian "bought a plot of land for ten thousand drachmas and gave it to Apollo, with the proviso that the income from it was to be devoted to a festival at which the Delians were to sacrifice and to pray to the gods that many blessings should come to Nicias. And he engraved a record of this on a stele which he left behind as a sentinel to watch over his gift."<sup>31</sup> Since it would have been very inconvenient to hold horse races every four years on privately owned property, the probability is that Nicias' purchase was the hippodrome itself and the land that surrounded it:<sup>32</sup> presumably the race-course could be used for pasturage in the years that no festival was held. The identification of the gift is supported by the fact that there is a record from the year 157/56 B.C. of an "apartment house on the land of Nicias";<sup>33</sup> moreover excavation has shown that during the Athenian Colonial Period a part of the hippodrome was used for new buildings of the expanding city.<sup>34</sup> The purchase price of ten thousand drachmas also corresponds well with the earliest recorded rental of Hippodromos, which was 720 dr.<sup>35</sup>

In the fourth century B.C. two new estates on Delos, Epistheneia and Kerameion,

been revived; the *Delia* gave way to an annual *Apollonia*, and no prizes for horse racing are mentioned in any of the victors' lists (Homolle, *B.C.H.*, XIV, 1890, p. 505; Laidlaw, *A History of Delos*, p. 48). The exhumation of a priestess in the hippodrome in 250 B.C. suggests building activities in the hippodrome at that time (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 78; cf. above, note 26).

<sup>31</sup> Plutarch, *Nicias*, 3, 6. The date of Nicias' festival is not altogether certain. The most cogent case for the year 417 B.C. is made by F. Courby, (*Explor. archéol. de Délos*, XII, pp. 221-224); this date also has the support of Ferguson (*C.A.H.*, V, 280) and of Glotz and Cohen (*Histoire grecque*, II, p. 674). F. E. Adcock (*C.A.H.*, V, 230) favors 425 B.C. The conclusion of L. Kirtland (*T.A.P.A.*, LXIX, 1938, xli) that Nicias never conducted any *theoria* at all not only flies in the face of epigraphic evidence (cf. *B.C.H.*; XXXIV, 1910, pp. 389-90; XLVIII, 1924, pp. 218-221) but is unnecessarily insulting to Plutarch.

<sup>32</sup> The common identification of Nicias' gift with the estate Nikou Choros was first doubted by Homolle (*B.C.H.*, XIV, 1890, p. 426), on the grounds that the revenues from Nikou Choros seem a very small return on an investment of ten thousand drachmas. He might have added that since Nikou Choros was on Rheneia and therefore was part of the gift of Polycrates, it is difficult to see how it could have been a gift of Nicias.

<sup>33</sup> *Inscr. de Délos*, 1416, B, II, lines 32-35: τὸ συνοικίδιον ἐπὶ τοῦ Νικιέλου. The Athenians apparently re-established the practice of applying the income from Nicias' endowment according to Nicias' proviso (cf. *Inscr. de Délos*, 1421, Bcd, lines 1-9). There is no mention of a festival for Nicias during the Period of Independence.

<sup>34</sup> See above, notes 26, 30, and 33.

<sup>35</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 135, line 7. This is more than a century later than Nicias' endowment, but the records show that the rentals of Hippodromos fluctuated comparatively little. The lowest rental recorded for Hippodromos is 510 dr. (259-50 B.C.; *I.G.*, XI, 2; 224, A, line 17 [cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 238]; 287, A, lines 32-33), the highest is 1012 dr. (ca. 303 B.C.; *I.G.*, XI, 2, 144, A, lines 10-11; *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 234). It is probable that rentals in the fifth and early fourth centuries were somewhere within the limits of these two amounts. This means that an original endowment yielded an income from 5% to 10% per annum, with the average being about 7%. These figures agree entirely with what is known of incomes from other endowments of real estate, both at Delos and in other parts of Greece. Cf. Roussel, *Dél. col. ath.*, pp. 173-176; Ziebarth, *Hermes*, LII, 1917, pp. 425-441; Larsen, *Roman Greece*, pp. 361-368.

were acquired by the temple, but their rentals were kept separate from the rentals of the earlier five. Epistheneia received its name from a Delian named Episthenes whose possessions were confiscated in 375 B.C. when he and several companions were found guilty of sacrilege after their attempt to wrest control of the Temple of Apollo from the Amphictyons proved a failure. On this occasion two houses belonging to Episthenes were confiscated and he and each of his companions was fined ten thousand drachmas. In addition, the Athenian authorities later discovered that Episthenes possessed other property and confiscated the income from it.<sup>36</sup> These facts led Homolle and Durrbach to infer that the additional property of Episthenes was a piece of real estate, and that the Amphictyons, discovering somewhat belatedly that Episthenes was the owner, confiscated the income that the land brought in and converted the property into the estate of Epistheneia. This interpretation has been opposed by Jardé, whose view has been accepted by Heichelheim.<sup>37</sup> Jardé noted that Epistheneia first appears in the list of temple estates in the decennium 289/80 B.C. and therefore inferred that the acquisition of Epistheneia took place at the same time as Akra Delos, Korakiai, Sosimacheia, and Phytalia were added to the temple possessions (ca. 290 B.C.). This inference he regarded as proven by the fact that in *I.G.*, XI, 2, 135 (312 B.C.) Epistheneia is mentioned but is not included in the list of the temple estates.<sup>38</sup>

It should be noted that between 370 and 290 B.C. only two records (and those incomplete) of the rentals of houses that were leased by the temple are preserved.

<sup>36</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1635, lines 134-151 (Ditt. *Syll.*<sup>3</sup>, 153; Hicks-Hill, p. 204, Tod, no. 125). Episthenes' houses are mentioned in lines 145 and 148-49; it seems probable that his name was once engraved in the erasures of lines 138-39; his son is fined in line 138. His additional property is mentioned in lines 24-26 of the same inscription. The presence of the article in the expression ἐκ τῶν Ἐπισθένης seems to indicate income rather than a capital sum, for the phrase in the following line for a capital sum recovered from Python is παρὰ Πύθωνος. (In *I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, A, line 12 the estate of Epistheneia is called τῶν Ἐπισθενείων.) The sum of 380 dr. corresponds well with the rentals of Epistheneia during the Period of Independence (see pp. 303-304, Estate XVI).

<sup>37</sup> Homolle, *B.C.H.*, XIV, 1890, pp. 429-30; Durrbach, *B.C.H.*, XXIX, 1905, p. 437; Jardé, *Les céréales*, p. 147, note 1; Heichelheim, *Wirtschaftliche Schwankungen*, p. 135, note 1. Heichelheim's sum of 210 dr. for the rental of Epistheneia in 312 B.C. is based on a misprint in *I.G.*, XI, 2, 135, line 23 (cf. *I.G.*, XI, 2, p. 146, col. 1); furthermore, the 200 dr. is explicitly stated to be a payment of interest, so it is scarcely rental.

<sup>38</sup> Lines 22-23: Θαρσύ[νω]ν Ἱερογνώτου ὑπὲρ τῆς γῆς τῆς Ἐπισθενείας τό[κ]ον ΗΗ. This entry was taken by Jardé to mean a payment on a loan secured by a mortgage, which would mean that at the time the property did not belong to the Temple of Apollo, but to Tharsynon. Jardé further argued that the failure of Tharsynon to lift the mortgage led to the confiscation of the property. If this be so, it is difficult to account for the name of the estate. In addition, the word γῆ in the early accounts of the hieropoioi appears to have been reserved exclusively for temple estates (cf. *I.G.*, XI, 2; 135, lines 10-11; 142, lines 3 and 5; 147, A, line 16; 156, B, line 10; 158, A, lines 7-10; 161, A, lines 6-14), whereas on the few occasions that private property is mentioned, the word is either κῆπος (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 142, line 15) or χωρίον (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, A, 25). Indeed, everything seems to militate against Jardé's view except this one passage, which shows incontrovertibly that Epistheneia and interest payments were somehow associated. Can the explanation be that the passage is a laconic record of interest on a loan that was raised on other security in order to avoid forfeiture of the lease of Epistheneia?

Yet it can scarcely be that during the late fourth century houses were rented only sporadically; it is all but certain that the incomes from house rents during this time were kept separate and recorded on separate stelai that have not chanced to survive. Since the leasing of houses began with the confiscations of 375 B.C.,<sup>39</sup> the explanation of the absence of Epistheneia and Kerameion from the estate accounts seems clear: the income from the former land of Episthenes and from the confiscated pottery establishment of Kerameion was listed along with revenue from other properties confiscated in that year; that is to say, along with the rents from houses. The presence of Kerameion in a partial list of house rents of the fourth century seems to remove all doubt in the matter.<sup>40</sup> Possibly money from the confiscated properties was originally earmarked for special purposes, in the manner of the income from the estates on Mykonos in the late third century;<sup>41</sup> this would explain why Epistheneia and Kerameion were not listed with the other temple estates before the third century.

### THE AMPHICTYONIC PERIOD

The administration of the estates of the Temple of Apollo in the early fifth century is completely unknown. It is generally assumed that the supervision of the temple by the Athenian Amphictyons began in 454 B.C. when the treasury of the Delian Confederacy was transferred to Athens, though there is no specific evidence on this point. How the estates fared under the administration of the Amphictyons is very imperfectly known, for the epigraphical records earlier than 314 B.C. are few and not all of them have been published. Presumably the estates were deserted during the temporary expulsion of the Delians in 422/1 B.C.,<sup>42</sup> and they were probably leased by local temple officials during the short-lived independence of the island between 403 and 394 B.C.,<sup>43</sup> but evidence on these points is also lacking.

The oldest inscription which is known to have referred to the temple estates was a fragment which was found at Athens more than a century ago, but which is now lost: it was engraved not earlier than 432 B.C. and contained part of an Amphictyonic account. Fortunately for the purposes of the present study, much of the extant text is concerned with leases of the temple estates, which are described as equipped with

<sup>39</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1635, lines 29-30; cf. S. Molinier, *Les "maisons sacrées" de Délos*, pp. 12 ff.

<sup>40</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1638, A, lines 22-23 (358/7 B.C.). In another Amphictyonic list of house rents from about the middle of the fourth century B.C. (*B.C.H.*, XXIX, 1905, pp. 424-25) there is a reference to the lease of a *χωρίον* for 160 dr. in line 11 and the rental of a *κῆπος* in line 37. This shows that at that time there were two plots of land owned by the temple that were not listed as estates, and it is tempting to identify them as Epistheneia and Kerameion, especially as Kerameion is known to have had a *κῆπος* (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 145-147).

<sup>41</sup> See below, p. 287.

<sup>42</sup> Thucydides, v, 1; 32, 1; Diodoros xii, 73; cf. M. N. Tod, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, II, p. 7.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Laidlaw, *History of Delos*, pp. 75-76; Durrbach, *Choix d'inscriptions de Délos*, pp. 7-9; Tod, *loc. cit.*

farm buildings and containing arable land and possibly vineyards.<sup>44</sup> The leases for the estates on Delos seem to have been drawn up according to terms of separate contracts for each estate, but the terms were doubtless similar in all cases, since the leases all went into effect at the same time, in December, 434 B.C., and seem all to have been issued for a period of ten years.<sup>45</sup> The leases for the Rheneian estates were valid for ten years, and the contracts called for a total annual rental of 7,110 dr.; their most notable feature is that they did not go into effect in the same month, or even in the same year, as the leases for the estates on Delos, but began in February of 432 B.C.<sup>46</sup> It is thus apparent that at that time there existed no general laws or set of regulations that applied to all estates alike.

It is not known how long the practice of issuing leases for the Delian and Rheneian estates in different years continued, but the two groups were evidently synchronized before 375/4 B.C., as in that year new leases were issued simultaneously for all estates.<sup>47</sup> Nor it is known whether ten-year leases during the Amphictyonic

<sup>44</sup> *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 377, lines 15-24 (Tod, No. 54). The inscription has been studied chiefly for the light it casts on the fifth-century Athenian calendar (cf. A. B. West, *A.J.A.*, XXXVIII, 1934, pp. 1-9; B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 378-380; J. Coupry, *B.C.H.*, LXI, 1937, p. 365). For the description of the estates, cf. line 16: [τὴν γῆν --- τὴν ἱερὰν καὶ τὰς οἰκίας καὶ [...]]. The most probable restoration of the missing item appears to be [φυτὰ] (possibly [τὰ φυτὰ]); cf. *I.G.*, XI, 2; 161, C, lines 126-127; 163, Bg, line 19.

<sup>45</sup> That there was more than one estate on Delos at the time is shown by the fact that there was more than one lessee ([τὸς με]μισθωμένος, lines 18-19), and the use of the plural κατὰ τὰς ἐνγγραφάς (line 19) shows that there was more than one lease contract. Lines 15-16 state that leases began in Posideon (= December) in the archonship of Krates (434/3 B.C.). The restoration [δέκα ἔτη] in line 16, which is suggested by line 21, is not altogether certain, but seems very likely. The rents from the estates on Delos in the first year totalled 716 dr. but in following years the amount was more than 800 dr. The reason for this increase is not apparent.

<sup>46</sup> Lines 21-22: Apsudes was the Athenian archon of 433/2 B.C. and the Delian month Hieros the equivalent of our February.

<sup>47</sup> In the two years 376/5 and 375/4 B.C. the rentals received from the Delian estates totalled 2484 dr. and from the Rheneian estates 13,220 dr. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1635, lines 25-29), which represent annual totals of 1242 dr. and 6610 dr. However, in the following year (374/3 B.C.) the figures are 1522 dr. and less than 6400 dr. (*ibid.*, lines 65-66), thus indicating that new leases had been issued for both Delian and Rheneian estates in 375/4 B.C.

In line 65 the sum given for the rental of the Rheneian estates is ΤΗΗΗΗ[---], but examination of the stone revealed that this is not correct. The first four digits are clear enough, but of the fifth digit there remains a left hasta and a small portion of uncut surface located in a position which makes both Η and Ι impossible; there are also indications of an upper right corner. This means that the fifth digit was probably Ρ, though Π is also admissible. The next letter space to the right is almost entirely missing, but the upper left portion is preserved and is not engraved; it is probable, therefore, that the digit in this space was Δ. These readings show that the rental was less than 6400 dr., but they are not enough to assure restoration of the lines with certainty. The following restoration is suggested as an approximation of the original of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1635, lines 65-67:

65. [ιωθ]ώσεις τεμενῶν ἐ[ξ] 'Ρηνε[ί]ας ΤΗΗΗΡ[ΔΔΔΔ· μισθώσεις τεμενῶν ἐγ Δ]

66. [ῥλο] ΧΡΔΔΔ· μ[ι]σθώσεις οἰκ[ι]ῶν ΗΗΡΔΔ[ΔΔΠ· ἐκ τῶν ἐνεχύρων ΡΗΗΗΔ]

67. [Ι·] λήμματος κεφάλαιον ΤΧΧΔΔ· κ. τ. λ.

For the restoration of line 66, cf. lines 25-26. The *enechyra* seem to have been monies raised from

Period were the custom or the exception. There is, in fact, very little evidence at present published which bears on the leases of the fourth century prior to 314 B.C.; it is to be hoped that the promised publication of *I.G.*, XI, 1 will throw more light on the subject.<sup>48</sup> It seems probable, however, that most of the regulations which were observed in the early years of the Period of Independence were inherited from the Amphictyonic Period, among them the practice of requiring guarantors that rentals would be paid and perhaps too the right of seizure of certain property of the lessees in cases of non-payment. It is also possible that the lessee's privilege of renewing his lease with an increase of ten per cent in rental originated during the Amphictyonic regime, for this privilege seems to have existed as early as 312 B.C.<sup>49</sup> However, until direct evidence on these points is forthcoming, it is not possible to be sure.

Evidence for the amounts of rentals of individual estates before 314 B.C. is also scant. From the fifth century there is only one fragmentary inscription which originally contained itemized entries for each estate, and not a single entry is completely preserved.<sup>50</sup> From the fourth century the most complete record comes from the year 358/7 B.C.; it preserves the rentals of six of the Rheneian estates and the rent of Lykoneion on Delos.<sup>51</sup> The amounts recorded are small compared to those of the

forfeited mortgages (Cf. Tod, *op. cit.*, p. 79; Lipsius, *Das Attische Recht*, pp. 690 ff.; 951). It may be noted that the amounts realized from the Rheneian rentals and mortgages can also be restored as 6372 dr. and 821 dr., or 6363 dr. and 830 dr.

<sup>48</sup> The publication of the Delian inscriptions of the Amphictyonic Period, which was originally scheduled for *I.G.*, XI, 1, was in 1940 being prepared by J. Coupry. In the meantime, there are available articles in the *B.C.H.*, the most important of which are Homolle's (VIII, 1884, pp. 282-327) and Coupry's (LXI, 1937, pp. 364-378; LXII, 1938, pp. 85-96 and 236-250). In addition, we have the duplicate inscriptions of the accounts of the Amphictyons that were set up at Athens: these are published in *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 377 and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1633-1653.

<sup>49</sup> The earliest unquestionable instance of a renewal with a 10% increase of rental is for the estate Chareteia, which in ca. 306 B.C. was leased for 2250 dr. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 142, line 3) and in the next leasing period yielded 2475 dr. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 144, A, lines 11-12). It thus becomes probable that the rentals recorded in *I.G.*, XI, 2, 135 (312 B.C.) whose amounts are divisible by eleven, viz., 781 dr. (line 3), 506 dr. (line 9), 770 dr. (line 13), and 440 dr. (line 14), were also the result of a 10% increase. Cf. Jardé, *Les céréales*, p. 82, note 1; below, note 58. J. Tréheux (*B.C.H.*, LXVIII-LXIX, 1944-1945, pp. 292-295) feels that the early records from the Period of Independence all but prove the existence of a general law (*Syngraphe*) during the last years of the Amphictyonic regime.

One Amphictyonic account contains a mutilated line which reads [--]vous ΗΗΗΔΔΔ[--] (*B.C.H.*, VIII, 1884, p. 313, no. 15, line 9). The sum of 330 dr., being divisible by eleven, suggests a 10% increase, but the full amount of the rental may not be preserved. The same is also true of the sum of 220 dr. recorded in the line above it.

<sup>50</sup> *B.C.H.*, LXI, 1937, pp. 369 ff. and Pl. XXIX (408/7 B.C.). The rent of one estate was at least 210 dr. (line 9).

<sup>51</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1638, A, lines 8-19. The rents of Porthmos (500 dr.), Dionysion (300 dr.), and Lykoneion (50 dr.) are the smallest known for these estates at any time, while those of Panormos (300 dr.) and Chareteia (700 dr.) are lower than at any time except the years 199-190 B.C. However, the sum of 300 dr. paid for Limnai is greater than any rental of this estate after 220 B.C., and 300 dr. for Skitoneia is larger than the sums paid in 219-220 B.C. and 199-190 B.C. (cf. the tables,

Period of Independence, but it is difficult to draw conclusions from them, since it is not known whether they represent normal amounts or whether they were unusually low. Other individual rentals are preserved in undated fragments.<sup>52</sup> The annual totals of the rentals may be of somewhat greater significance, although the figures must be used with great caution, since it is clear that the rentals of all estates did not rise and fall together. The following table contains the totals that have been preserved:

ANNUAL RENTAL TOTALS OF THE AMPHICTYONIC PERIOD

Year	10 Estates on Rheneia	5 Estates on Delos	Total for 15 Estates	Reference
434/3 B.C.	....	716	....	<i>I.G.</i> , I <sup>2</sup> , 377, lines 15-24
433/2	....	800 +	....	<i>ibid.</i>
432/1-425/4	7110	800 +	7910 +	<i>ibid.</i>
410/9	6000 +	1000 +	7000 +	<i>B.C.H.</i> , LXI, 1937, p. 366, lines 20-23
377/6	none?	none?	none?	<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 1635
376/5-375/4	6610	1242	7852	<i>ibid.</i> , lines 26-31
374/3	6381?	1522	7903?	<i>ibid.</i> , lines 65-67; cf. note 47
358/7	2400 <sup>a</sup>	....	....	<i>I.G.</i> , II <sup>2</sup> , 1638, A, lines 8-15

<sup>a</sup> Six estates only.

In view of the fact that these figures are widely spaced in time, the total amounts for the fifteen estates show a remarkable steadiness. It is noteworthy, however, that the rents of the estates on Rheneia show a steady decline which is balanced by an equally steady rise of the Delian rentals. The slow decline of the Rheneian estates may possibly be a reflection of the picture of slowly diminishing export markets in the fourth century as delineated by Rostovtzeff, although a categorical statement based on such

pp. 303 f.). Strangely, all six rentals of the Rheneian estates are for exact multiples of one hundred, and the rent for Lykoneion is for half a hundred. Whether this is due to more than mere coincidence is difficult to decide, but it does militate against the existence of the privilege of a ten percent renewal as early as the middle of the fourth century.

<sup>52</sup> In no. 15 of *B.C.H.*, VIII, 1884, p. 313 the rent of Nikou Choros (?) is 102 dr. (line 5), and two rentals, perhaps incomplete, of 220 dr. and 330 dr. appear in lines 8 and 9. No. 16 (p. 314) records a rental of 1100 dr. for an unknown estate and 700 (?) dr. for Porthmos. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1633, aB, line 2 preserves a rental of 220 dr. (the first digit is on the stone), and *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1641, A, line 16 records 250 dr. for Skitoneia. In line 13 of the latter inscription the rent for Soloe should be read H[Δ]Γ, for enough of the second letter space remains to show that the second digit was neither H nor Π. Since the dates of all these inscriptions are uncertain, the rentals they record are of little significance.

scattered evidence would be injudicious. On the other hand, the rise of rentals on Delos may reflect nothing more than inadequate housing conditions on the island.<sup>53</sup> It is interesting to compare the rental totals of the Amphictyonic Period with the figures for the same fifteen estates during the Period of Independence, which may be tabulated as follows:<sup>54</sup>

ANNUAL RENTAL TOTALS OF THE FIFTEEN OLDEST TEMPLE ESTATES AFTER 315 B.C.

Years	Ten Estates on Rheneia		Five Estates on Delos <sup>a</sup>		Total for 15 Estates	
B.C.	dr.	ob.	dr.	ob.	dr.	ob.
312-309	8,906		2,671		11,577	
303	11,309	1	3,030		14,339	1
297	13,062		3,304		16,366	
289-280	7,816		1,950		9,766	
279-270	8,134	1½	2,205		10,339	1½
269-260	9,186		2,330	0½	11,516	0½
259-250	7,370	3	1,921		9,291	3
249-240	7,276	0½	2,076	0½	9,352	1½
219-210	4,059	4½	1,611	0½	5,670	5½
199-190	3,769		1,813		5,582	
179-170	4,048	3½	1,850	0½	5,898	4

<sup>a</sup> In 303 B.C. the lessee of Soloe appears to have defaulted approximately 200 dr. Only the amount he paid (109 dr.) is included above. (See pp. 305 f.) In the second column, after 289 B.C. the figures include the rental of the additional estate Korakiai. For fractions of obols see p. 271.

## THE PERIOD OF INDEPENDENCE

### THE LATE FOURTH CENTURY B.C.

The records from the early years of the Period of Independence, which are comparatively numerous, point to a time of confusion and uncertainty in the administration of the temple estates. It appears that immediately after the expulsion of the

<sup>53</sup> This possibility is especially strong in the case of the rise of the Delos rentals from 1242 dr. in 375/4 B.C. to 1522 dr. in 374/3 B.C., for the dispossession of several houseowners in the confiscations of 375/4 B.C. (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1635, lines 141-151) probably caused them to look for rented property as temporary domiciles. It has been pointed out that their "banishment" applied only to Attic and Confederate territory and not to Delos itself (Laidlaw, *op. cit.*, p. 80).

<sup>54</sup> The figures are obtained by adding the individual rentals listed on pages 303 f. They vary considerably from those given by W. W. Tarn (Bury, Barbour, Bevan, Tarn, *The Hellenistic Age*, pp. 116-117), who was evidently concerned only with the approximate totals. Cf. also H. Michell, *Canadian Jour. Econ. and Pol. Science*, XII, 1946, pp. 4-5.

Amphictyons from Delos in 314 B.C. the Hieropoioi, who under the Athenians had sometimes acted as local assistants in the management of the temple,<sup>55</sup> took over the entire financial administration of the Delian sanctuaries. For more than twenty years they seem to have experimented with land leases of varying duration, some for four years, some for five years, some for two.

Before these leases can be arranged satisfactorily, it is necessary to digress for a moment to consider the chronology of the late fourth century documents from Delos. The standard Delian archon list of the Period of Independence is given in *Inscriptions de Délos*, II, pages 372 ff. by F. Durrbach, who places the archon Lysixenos in the year 301 B.C.: there follows an unbroken chain of archons, one for each year, down to Alkimachos in 168 B.C. The list from Lysixenos to Alkimachos has met with general approval, and is followed in the present study.<sup>56</sup> However, in the matter of

<sup>55</sup> Cf. C. Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques*, p. 655, no. 815, line 3; Laidlaw, *A History of Delos*, pp. 80-81, 90.

<sup>56</sup> The sole dissenter is W. B. Dinsmoor (*The Archons of Athens*, Appendix H, "The Archons and Calendar of Delos," pp. 495-506), who accepts Durrbach's list of archons from 209-169 B.C., but who believes that the earlier part of this list is dated one year too early: according to his theory Lysixenos becomes the archon of 300 B.C. These conclusions were based primarily on a re-examination of the dates of various royal foundations at Delos and their series of dedicatory vases, and on a system of sixteen year cycles of intercalary months which Dinsmoor's new dates enabled him to postulate.

There are, however, serious difficulties in this chronology. First, in order to lower the dates of the archons from 301-210 B.C. to 300-210 B.C. it became necessary to postulate two eponymous archons in a single year (210 B.C.); while this is not without parallel in other states, it is nevertheless very unusual, and doubts have been expressed as to the validity of the expedient (cf. W. S. Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles*, page 76, note 1; R. Vallois, *B.C.H.*, LV, 1931, p. 295). Secondly, Dinsmoor's list involves a dislocation of the decennial leasing periods of the temple estates that were prescribed by the *Hiera Syngraphe* (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 143), for when the archonship of Sosisthenes is moved from 250 B.C. to 249 B.C. but the date of 179 is retained for the archon Demares, it becomes clear that a system of decennial leases running 248-39, 238-29 . . . 188-79, 178-69 B.C. cannot be maintained, because the lessees and rentals of 179 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 442, A, lines 145-152) are identical with those of 173 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 456, A, lines 8-19). This difficulty was observed by Dinsmoor, but he was inclined to minimize its importance (p. 499, note 1). "It may be doubted," he writes, "whether a system for which our only [*sic*] fixed date is 249 B.C. remained unmodified seven decades later; it was certainly different half a century earlier." While it is true that the system of decennial leases did not originate before the *Hiera Syngraphe* became law, an analysis of the records will show that the decennial leases were issued in unbroken succession after the ten year lease became prescribed by law down to 240 B.C. (Dinsmoor, 239 B.C.) and again were issued in unbroken succession from 219 B.C. until the end of the Period of Independence (cf. note 75). It is difficult to believe that some time in the interval between 240 B.C. and 219 B.C., from which no farm accounts have chanced to survive, there was an illegal "decennium" of only nine years, particularly when it is between these very same years that Dinsmoor is obliged to place two archons in a single year.

In addition, the sixteen-year cycle of intercalary months that is adduced as supporting evidence for the validity of Dinsmoor's dates is not without its difficulties. An examination of Geminus VIII, 36-39 fails to produce any suggestions that Geminus' proposal of a system of double *octaeterides* was ever actually in use in any Greek state (Cf. W. K. Pritchett, *Class. Phil.*, XLII,

the archons who preceded Lysixenos the list given by W. B. Dinsmoor<sup>57</sup> appears preferable to Durrbach's somewhat vague arrangement. In particular, Dinsmoor seems correct in assigning Philon rather than —eres to the year 314 B.C., for Philon's name is preserved in *I.G.*, XI, 2, 138, B, line 3, and the same inscription contains fragmentary lease contracts (A, lines 7-9). It has been already observed by Jardé<sup>58</sup> that four of the rentals called for by the leases that were issued in the archonship of —eres were for amounts that are divisible by eleven, thereby suggesting that they are renewals with a ten per cent increase from a previous leasing period. It would thus appear that temporary one-year leases were issued near the end of 314 B.C. during Philon's archonship, and that in the next year (that of —eres, *I.G.*, XI, 2, 135, line 1) four-year leases were assigned that went into effect in the year 312 B.C. The archonship of Athenis belongs to 309 B.C., the last year of the four-year leasing period 312-09 B.C., for during his tenure of office leases were assigned for the next five years.<sup>59</sup> Dinsmoor's archon list leaves the year 308 B.C. blank, and assigns Erasippos to 307 B.C. and Lysixenos to 300 B.C.: there seems to be no objection, however, to moving up Dinsmoor's names one year, so as to make Erasippos archon for 308 B.C. and Lysixenos archon for 301 B.C.<sup>60</sup> When this is done,

1947, pp. 235-243). Furthermore, when all inscriptions which do not definitely belong either to an ordinary or to an intercalary year are ruled out, we are certain of only eleven ordinary years and eight intercalary years throughout the 147 years of the Period of Independence, which does not seem to be sufficient evidence to support an inflexible series of cycles. The years that are definitely known (to use for a moment Dinsmoor's dates) are 299, 281, 280, 278, 268, 267, 249, 230, 200, 179, 171, and 169 B.C. (ordinary years), and 277, 273, 261, 257, 245, 177, 173, and 170 B.C. (intercalary years). The year of Phillis I (295 B.C., Dinsmoor) must be rejected because the evidence is contradictory (cf. *Archons*, p. 504, note 4). Similarly, the year of Olympiodoros (193 B.C.) is not proved to be intercalary, for while the interest payment in *Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, lines 102-103 is indeed for thirteen months, there is no evidence that these thirteen months all came in one calendar year. In fact, the times for which interest was paid in the other entries of lines 102-119 (14 months, 32 + years, 15 + years, 4 years 8 months, 1 month) show that the thirteen months of lines 102-3 are fortuitous. Furthermore, it was not the custom of the Hieropoioi to charge an extra month's interest in intercalary years. This can be shown by comparing the interest payments of *I.G.*, XI, 2, 161, A (an ordinary year) with those of *I.G.*, XI, 2, 162, A (the succeeding year, which was intercalary). In the two inscriptions we find debtors paying the same amounts of interest in both years: e. g., Geryllos, 100 dr. (161, A, line 28 and 162, A, line 22); Athenis, 60 dr. (161, A, lines 28-29 and 162, A, line 22); Mnesalkos, 60 dr. (161, A, line 29 and 162, A, line 24); Polybos, 3 dr.  $\frac{1}{4}$  ob. (161, A, line 35 and 162, A, line 25); etc. When to these four points there is added the vigorous dissent of R. Vallois (*B.C.H.*, LV, 1931, pp. 294-305), it seems that the traditional dating of the archons in the third century is to be preferred.

<sup>57</sup> *Archons of Athens*, pp. 499-500, 503.

<sup>58</sup> *Les céréales dans l'antiquité grecque*, I, p. 82, note 1. Cf. note 49.

<sup>59</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 143, B, lines 1-2.

<sup>60</sup> It seems worthwhile to point out additional evidence in favor of dating Lysixenos in 301 B.C. rather than in 300 B.C. During his archonship Delos was visited by Demetrius Poliorcetes (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 146, A, lines 76-77; cf. *J.H.S.*, XXX, 1910, p. 193), who met an Athenian embassy there after the battle of Ipsus (Plutarch, *Demet.*, 30, 1-3). Since it is now generally agreed that the battle of Ipsus took place in the summer of 301 B.C. (Beloch, *Griech. Gesch.*, 2nd ed., IV, i, p. 167;

Erasippos becomes the archon that succeeded Athenis, Dinsmoor's list of fourth century archons becomes synchronized with Durrbach's archons of the third century, and the Delian archon list becomes complete for the whole Period of Independence.

The rentals recorded in *I.G.*, XI, 2, 142 belong to the five-year leases that were issued under Athenis and were in effect from 308 to 304 B.C.; furthermore, it is clear that the inscription does not belong either to the first or the last year of the five, so that its date is either 307, 306, or 305 B.C.<sup>61</sup> The next period of leases can have been only two years in duration at the longest, since the rentals and lessees of *I.G.*, XI, 2, 146, A, lines 9-12 (301 B.C.) are different from those recorded in *I.G.*, XI, 2, 144, A, lines 9-17. Thus the latter inscription must date either from 303 B.C. or 302 B.C.; that the year 303 B.C. is the correct choice may be shown by comparing *I.G.*, XI, 2, 144 with *I.G.*, XI, 2, 145.<sup>62</sup> Similarly, the rentals and lessees of 301 B.C. do not correspond to those of 297 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 149), which shows that by 297 B.C. still another set of leases had been issued. This means that the rentals of 301 B.C. belong to a leasing period of not longer than five years. Hence in the earliest years of the administration of the Hieropoioi, we have a one-year lease issued in 314 B.C. for the year 313 B.C., a four-year leasing period from 312 to 309 B.C., and a five-year period from 308 to 304 B.C. The next lease was probably for two years, 303 and 302 B.C., and the next for four (301-298 B.C.).<sup>63</sup>

W. W. Tarn, *Class. Rev.*, XL, 1926, p. 14; A. T. Olmstead, *Class. Phil.*, XXXII, 1937, pp. 5-6), Demetrius' meeting with the ambassadors most likely took place in the autumn of 301 B.C.

<sup>61</sup> The date of *I.G.*, XI, 2, 142 cannot have been the first year of the leasing period (308 B.C.) because lines 5-12 show that the leases had been in effect for at least one year. The last year, 304 B.C., seems ruled out by the rentals and lessees of Hippodromos: in *I.G.*, XI, 2, 142, line 10 Nikandros leases the estate for 920 dr. and in *I.G.*, XI, 2, 144, A, line 11 Aristeas is the lessee and pays a rental of 1012 dr. (cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 234). Since the sum of 1012 dr. is exactly eleven-tenths of 920 dr., it is probable that Aristeas had previously leased the estate for 920 dr. and had renewed his lease with the customary ten per cent increase: in other words, he had taken over the lease of Nikomachos before the last year of the leasing period 308-304 B.C.

R. Vallois (*B.C.H.*, LV, 1931, pp. 289-91) believes that *I.G.*, XI, 2, 142 belongs to the year 305 B.C.; J. Tréheux in an unpublished study (*Les premiers années de l'indépendance délienne*, 314-301) hesitates between the years 308, 307, and 306 B.C. (cf. *B.C.H.*, LXVIII-LXIX, 1944-1945, p. 289). I share Tréheux's hesitation, but feel that the choice lies between 307, 306, and 305 B.C.: the difference in our dates apparently results from Tréheux's disbelief in the one year temporary leases of 314 B.C., and the assignment of the archon —eres to 314 B.C. rather than to 313 B.C. (*op. cit.*, p. 294).

<sup>62</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 144, A, lines 26-118 and B, lines 1-70 contains a long list of expenses arranged according to months (cf. A, line 30: Lenaion, Hieros; A, line 33: Galaxion; B, line 4: Hekatombaion). *I.G.*, XI, 2, 145, lines 1-45 contains a similar list of similar expenses, except that they do not appear to be listed by the month. It is extremely unlikely that both lists date from the same year, particularly since some of the items in the second list seem to mark the completion of activities mentioned in the first (e.g., 144, A, line 88 and 145, lines 9-10; 144, A, lines 59-60, 62-63 and 145, line 11). Therefore, since the date of *I.G.*, XI, 2, 145 is known to be 302 B.C., the date of *I.G.*, XI, 2, 144 is 303 B.C. (cf. *Rev. Et. Gr.*, XXIX, 1916, p. 283, note 2; *B.C.H.*, LV, 1931, p. 291).

<sup>63</sup> Unless the rentals of *I.G.*, XI, 2, 144 were paid under the terms of a lease that was drawn

Thus the Hieropoioi during the earliest years of their administration appear to have operated not according to any definite and fixed rules but merely as circumstances dictated.<sup>64</sup> The time was evidently one of prosperity among the upper classes, for the rentals were abnormally large and renewals of lease were frequent.<sup>65</sup> Under such conditions it is probable that neither the Hieropoioi nor the lessees felt any particular need for rigid regulations. It is clear that from the beginning of their regime the Hieropoioi permitted lessees to renew leases with a ten per cent increase of rental,<sup>66</sup> and that each lessee was required to furnish guarantors who were supposed to pay the rent if the lessee were to default. In cases of non-payment they were empowered to confiscate some of the lessee's property.<sup>67</sup> However, the boom in rentals collapsed some time near the beginning of the third century B.C., and rentals shrank

up for only one year, the maximum is four years. The following table will summarize the conclusions reached above:

Year B.C.	Archon	Lease contracts issued for	Contracts in effect	<i>I. G.</i> , XI, 2
314	Philon	one year	*	138
313	-----eres	four years	1st year of 1	
312	Archepolis?		1st year of 4	135
311	Diaitos		2nd year of 4	
310	Prostates?		3rd year of 4	
309	Athenis	five years	4th year of 4	143, 137
308	Erasippos		1st year of 5	
307	Helikandros		2nd year of 5	142 (?)
306	Timotheos I		3rd year of 5	142 (?)
305	Onomakleides		4th year of 5	142 (?)
304	Stesileos I	two years	5th year of 5	
303	Kalliphon		1st year of 2	136, 144
302	Kallisthenes I	four (?) years	2nd year of 2	145
301	Lysixenos		1st year of 4 (?)	146
300	Ktesikles		2nd year of 4 (?)	
299	Demonax		3rd year of 4 (?)	
298	Kleokritos	? years (?)	4th year of 4 (?)	148
297	Pyrrhides		1st (?) year of ?	149, 150
296	Phillis I		2nd (?) year of ?	154

<sup>64</sup> The irregular payments in *ca.* 306 B.C. called τὸ ἐπαναβληθέν are especially puzzling. The latest and best interpretation of them is given by Tréheux (*B.C.H.*, LXVIII-LXIX, 1944-1945, pp. 284-287); my remarks in *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, pp. 232-34, which arose from a misunderstanding of Lacroix, may now be disregarded.

<sup>65</sup> See below, pp. 307-308.

<sup>66</sup> See note 49 and pp. 270 f.

<sup>67</sup> The earliest reference to guarantors and to confiscation of property comes from *ca.* 306 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 142, lines 5-12). For detailed discussion of this passage, see Durrbach, *B.C.H.*, XXXV, 1911, pp. 25-29; Ziebarth, *Hermes*, LXI, 1926, pp. 92-97; Vallois, *B.C.H.*, LV, 1931, p. 290; Tréheux, *B.C.H.*, LXVIII-LXIX, 1944-1945, pp. 288-293.

to half their former amounts.<sup>68</sup> It is probably at this time and for this reason that the Hieropoioi (or possibly the Delian Boule) drew up the famous list of regulations known as the *ἱερὰ συγγραφή*, "the sacred contract," according to the terms of which all estates were in the future to be administered.

#### THE HIERA SYNGRAPHE

The stele on which the *Hiera Syngraphe* was engraved was discovered by Homolle in 1877 near the colossal statue of Apollo. The stele is unbroken, but unfortunately it is made of Naxian marble of extremely coarse grain which crumbles very easily. Worse still, the stele has been re-used as a flagstone, and the upper half of the inscription is now completely worn away. The text of the lower part, which is published in *Inscriptions de Délos* under the number 503, is imperfectly preserved, and an inspection of the stone in 1939 revealed that at that time considerably fewer letters were visible on its surface than Durrbach had been able to read twenty years previously. We are therefore reluctantly obliged to conclude that there is no hope of recovering more of the text of the *Hiera Syngraphe* than is already known.<sup>69</sup>

At the top of the stele there were once engraved from twenty to twenty-five lines of text which are now completely effaced. Of the next fifteen lines, which are published as lines 1-15 of *Inscr. de Délos*, 503, there are only small patches of text preserved, and not enough survives to enable more than a partial restoration. The succeeding lines, however, are fairly complete down to line 48, with serious mutilation only in lines 21, 24, and 32; after line 48 the four or five lines which brought the inscription to an end are now indecipherable. We thus have preserved thirty-three legible lines (16-48) of a text that contained originally approximately seventy-five lines, the lost portions being the first half of the text and the few lines at the very end. It is therefore evident that certain provisions which the law is known to have contained but which do not appear in the extant lines must have been engraved in the first half of the inscription. These provisions, along with other regulations whose existence at one time seems probable but which are not fully attested, are outlined below: the order in which they were arranged in the original text of the law is, of course, not known.

I. It is probable that after a preamble indicating the date and mover of the decree, the first clause of the law would indicate by whom leases were to be issued, and to whom. That the leases were drawn up and assigned by the Hieropoioi themselves or by some assistants authorized to act under their supervision is indicated by

<sup>68</sup> See pp. 307 f.

<sup>69</sup> To the bibliography cited by Durrbach in his introduction to *Inscr. de Délos*, 503 there should be added the important alterations in the text made by A. Wilhelm, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung*, XI, 1935, pp. 215-217. The most important analysis of the contents of the inscription is that of E. Ziebarth, *Hermes*, LXI, 1926, pp. 87-109.

the words *ἐμισθώσαμεν* and *ἀνεμισθώσαμεν* which are found throughout the records of the Hieropoioi.<sup>70</sup> It may also have been stated specifically in the law that Delian citizenship was not a prerequisite for lessees; at any rate, there was evidently no provision against issuing leases to citizens of other states.<sup>71</sup> It is not known whether or not sub-leasing was prohibited.

II. The *Hiera Syngraphe* probably prescribed the place and the time for the assignment of leases. On neither of these points is there any direct information. Presumably leases were issued at Delos, but probably not in the *ἱεροποῖον*, which appears to have been used sometimes as a place of storage.<sup>72</sup> As for the time, it is evident that leases were assigned to prospective tenants in the year prior to that in which the lease contracts went into effect; the precise day and month, however, are not known. While it is not certain at what time of year a new lessee would actually obtain possession of his estate, it seems probable that his tenure began in the late autumn.<sup>73</sup>

III. The *Hiera Syngraphe* is known to have stated that leases were to be issued for a period of ten years,<sup>74</sup> and since we are assured of decennial leases down to 249/40 B.C. and again from 209 B.C. until the end of the Period of Independence, it has been assumed that once begun the series of ten year periods was strictly observed.<sup>75</sup> The sole exception to this appears to be in the case of the estate Hippodromos in the decennium 279/70 B.C. when, for reasons which are not apparent, the Hieropoioi may

<sup>70</sup> Cf. *I.G.*, XI, 2; 161, C, lines 110-111; 287, A, lines 136, 138, 139, 142; etc.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. *I.G.*, XI, 2; 161, A, line 11; 161, C, line 113; 287, A, lines 159-160.

<sup>72</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 154, B, line 4; cf. *B.C.H.*, XXIX, 1905, p. 458. Homolle was of the opinion that leases were assigned in the Agora (*B.C.H.*, XIV, 1890, p. 430).

<sup>73</sup> In the temple accounts the appearance of two lessees in a single year is highly abnormal; but this does not necessarily imply that leases normally ran from January 1 to December 31. Indeed, if such were the case, it is difficult to see how a new lessee could produce a good grain crop in his first year of tenure, since grain required planting in the autumn for best results (cf. Jasny, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLVII, 1941-42, pp. 749, 753-54). In 309 B.C. new leases were assigned in Hekatombaion (= July: *I.G.*, XI, 2, 143, B, lines 1-3); this may have continued to be the case after the *Hiera Syngraphe* became law. In the last year of a decennium all rentals had to be paid before the end of August (*Inscr. de Délos*, 503, 27-30; see below, p. 278). These considerations suggest that new lessees took possession of their estates sometime in the autumn, after the vineyards had been harvested but early enough for the autumn grain planting.

On the other hand, it is clear that in the fifth century B.C. no allowances were made for fall planting, for leases went into effect in December (*I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 377, lines 15-16) and in February (*ibid.*, lines 21-22; see above, p. 259).

<sup>74</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 142-143: *ἐμισθώσαμεν δὲ καὶ τὰ τεμένη τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς ἔτη δέκα κατὰ τὴν ἱερὰν συγγραφὴν*.

<sup>75</sup> The rentals listed in *Inscr. de Délos*; 362, A, lines 15-21 (209 B.C.); 368, lines 23-33 (206 B.C.); and 372, A, lines 10-18 (200 B.C.) show that the decennial leases ran 209-200, 199-90, 189-80 B.C. In the earlier inscriptions, *I.G.*, XI, 2; 161, A, lines 6-15 (279 B.C.); 203, A, lines 18-25 (269 B.C.); and 287, A, lines 25-34 and 142-80 (250 B.C.) show that the leasing periods ran 279-70, 269-60, 259-50, and 249-40 B.C. (For the dating of this earlier group, cf. note 56).

have issued two successive leases each five years in length.<sup>76</sup> It is highly improbable, however, that the text of the *Hiera Syngraphe* contained a clause which would allow the Hieropoioi to vary the length of leases as they had been able to do in the late fourth century.

IV. Lessees were evidently chosen by auction, and leases assigned to the highest bidder; this is shown by the unusual number of rentals whose amounts are one drachma more than an even hundred.<sup>77</sup> These rentals indicate also that at the auctions bidders were probably entitled to more than one bid, and that bidding was confined to sums of even drachmas.<sup>78</sup> If a lessee defaulted before the ten years were up, a new lease was issued for the remaining years of the decennium: this also seems to have been bid for at auction. In most cases a second lessee was found who was willing to pay the same amount of rental as that for which the defaulting lessee had contracted,<sup>79</sup> but it should be noted that in a few instances the amount of the rental stipulated in the second lease is different from that of the first.<sup>80</sup> It is also significant that there is not

<sup>76</sup> This exception is not fully attested, but the amounts of rental for Hippodromos show that it is probable. In 282 B.C. the rent was 550 dr. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, A, line 11; this sum may itself be the result of a 10% increase), in 279 B.C. and 278 B.C. it was 605 dr. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 161, A, line 11; 162, A, lines 9-10), but in 268 B.C. it was 732 dr.  $\frac{1}{4}$  ob., which is the figure that results if 605 dr. is increased *twice* by ten per cent ( $605 + 60.5 = 665$  dr. 3 ob.;  $665$  dr. 3 ob. +  $66$  dr.  $3\frac{1}{4}$  ob. =  $732$  dr.  $\frac{1}{4}$  ob.). Hence the conclusion that there were *two* 10% increases between 279 B.C. and 269 B.C. seems unavoidable. It may also be noted that in the accounts of 274 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 199, A, lines 5-6) the restoration of 605 dr. ([ $\Phi\text{H}\Gamma$ ]) in line 6 is unsatisfactory, being too short for the space available on the stone, whereas 665 dr. 3 ob. [ $\Phi\text{H}\Phi\Delta\Gamma\text{III}$ ] is the length required. Thus if two five-year leasing periods (279-75 and 274-70 B.C.) are assumed for Hippodromos, the figures are readily explained; but it is not possible without further evidence to reconcile five-year periods with the *Hiera Syngraphe*.

<sup>77</sup> E. g., Phoinikes, 1101 dr. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 149, line 4); Sosimacheia, 201 dr. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, A, line 14); Akra Delos, 501 dr. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 161, A, line 13); Skitoneia, 201 dr. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 354, line 36); Rhamnoi, 301 dr. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 354, line 37). Cf. also Chareteia, 3111 dr. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 149, line 9); Lykoneion, 111 dr. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 33); Hippodromos, 661 dr. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 143-144); Phytalia, 51 dr. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 362, A, lines 18 and 21); etc.

<sup>78</sup> Otherwise we should probably find amounts such as 500 dr. 1 ob.

<sup>79</sup> E. g., *I.G.*, XI, 2; 161, A, line 9; 161, C, line 111; 162, A, line 8 (Panormos): 224, A, line 12; 287, A, line 25 (Porthmos): 224, A, line 16; 287, A, lines 137-138 (Skitoneia): 287, A, line 145; *Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 17 (Kerameion): *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 179; *Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 21 (Pyrgoi): *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 179; *Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 17 (Lykoneion): *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 155; *Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 18 (Nikou Choros): 353, A, line 13; 354, line 38 (Phytalia): 366, A, lines 104-105 (Dionysion): 403, lines 48-49 (Charoneia): 403, lines 51-52 (Hippodromos): 440, B, lines 22-23 (Dorion-Chersonesos): 442, A, line 147; 452, lines 24-26 (Phytalia): 442, A, line 150; 456, A, line 18 (Panormos).

<sup>80</sup> Some of the instances known show a slight increase in the amount of the second rental. In 246 B.C. Kallisthenes paid one drachma more for the second lease of Soloe-Korakiai (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 149-150; *Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 16). This probably represents a bid over someone else who was willing to pay exactly the former rental, but no more. In the decennium 199/90 B.C. the rent of Soloe-Korakiai was 286 dr. in 199 B.C. and 300 dr. in 192 B.C. (*B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 243). On the other hand, Epistheneia seems to have been leased twice in the decennium 269/60 B.C.

a single example in the century and a half of the administration of the Hieropoioi of an estate lying idle for lack of a lessee. The ability of the Hieropoioi to find a second lessee whenever the first lessee defaulted, and to find one who would be willing to pay the same amount or almost the same amount of rental, speaks well not only for their own enterprise and industry, but also for the business acumen of the lessees. We may thus be assured that the bidders at the auctions, while they may occasionally have gotten a genuine bargain, very seldom bid more for a lease than it was actually worth.

V. If a lessee wished to renew his lease at the end of a decennium, the *Hiera Syngraphe* permitted him to renew it without resorting to the auctions. The price of this privilege was an automatic increase of ten per cent in the amount of his rental.<sup>81</sup> It has already been shown that this privilege was in existence before the *Hiera Syngraphe* was passed, and probably originated some time in the Amphictyonic period. Since no inventories were made at the end of the decennium for the estates of lessees who exercised this right,<sup>82</sup> it is reasonable to conclude that the law required that lessees who intended to renew their leases in this way should signify their intention to the Hieropoioi before the inventories of the estates were taken. It should be noted, however, that it was not obligatory for a lessee who wished to lease an estate for a second decennium to do so in this way. If he thought that he could obtain the lease for a lower rental than an increase of ten per cent would entail, he could let his old lease lapse and take a chance of securing the new lease for less money at the general auctions. The records attest that some of the lessees managed to negotiate this maneuver successfully and at considerable saving to themselves: on the other hand, some others whose judgment was less acute were forced in the auction to bid more than their old rental plus a ten per cent increase would have cost them.<sup>83</sup>

for 612 dr. and 600 dr., for in the next decennium the rental was 660 dr. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 203, A, line 21; 224, A, line 15). In the decennium 179/70 two leases for Charoneia were for sums of 451 dr. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 442, A, line 149; 456, A, line 20) and 440 dr. (459, line 42). Another slight decrease in rental within a decennium may be noted for the estate of Leimon in 259/50 B.C. (302 dr. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 226, A, lines 34-35) and 300 dr. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 32). In 207 B.C. a second lease for Porthmos called for 121 dr. less rental than the first (*Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, lines 102-103).

<sup>81</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 174: καὶ οἷδε τῶν μεμ[θω]μένων ἐπέβαλον τὰ ἐπιδέκατα κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 174-180.

<sup>83</sup> Five lessees managed not only to avoid the 10% increase but actually to secure a lower rental than they had paid previously. The sharpest deals of all were made by Dionysodoros, whose two leases for Leimon were 300 dr. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 32) and 221 dr. (*ibid.*, lines 148-149), and by Kallisthenes for Sosimacheia, 200 dr. 1½ ob. and 150 dr. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 354, line 37; 362, A, line 16), both of them net reductions of more than 25%. The biggest saving on record was made by Kleinias for Pyrgoi: he obtained a reduction from 1343 dr. ¾ ob. to 1012 dr. ¾ ob. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 203, A, line 18; 287, A, line 30). In this case the hieropoioi seem to have allowed him to bid in even drachmas in relation to his former rental.

Others to negotiate reductions were Pythokles for Nikou Choros, 321 dr. and 260 dr. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 26 and 155), and Teleson for Soloe-Korakiai, 410 dr. and 372 dr. (*I.G.*, XI, 2;

Since the bidding at the auctions appears to have been confined to amounts consisting of drachmas only (with the possible exception of the Mykonos estates), Homolle concluded that the amounts of rentals which contain obols and fractions of obols were in nearly every case due to increases of 10 per cent in the amounts of previous rentals.<sup>84</sup> This conclusion is fully verified by further examination of the accounts, for in all but a few cases the odd amounts of rental are divisible by eleven. The system of drachmas, obols, and twelfths of obols (*chalkoi*) which the Delians employed is a duodecimal system in which most percentages cannot be given with mathematical exactitude; accordingly, the Delian accountants calculated to the nearest twelfth of an obol. The standard figures for percentages in the Period of Independence are as follows:<sup>85</sup>

10% of 1 dr.: $\frac{7}{12}$ ob. (0.6)	10% of 6 dr.: 3 $\frac{7}{12}$ ob. (3.6)
2 dr.: 1 $\frac{7}{12}$ ob. (1.2)	7 dr.: 4 $\frac{7}{12}$ ob. (4.2)
3 dr.: 1 $\frac{11}{12}$ ob. (1.8)	8 dr.: 4 $\frac{1}{12}$ ob. (4.8)
4 dr.: 2 $\frac{5}{12}$ ob. (2.4)	9 dr.: 5 $\frac{5}{12}$ ob. (5.4)
5 dr.: 3 ob. (3.0)	

VI. It seems probable that the *Hiera Syngraphe* contained instructions to the Hieropoioi to make an inventory of the temple property on each estate whenever the estate changed lessees, but there is no direct proof of the existence of such a requirement. We know only that it was customary when a new lease and a new lessee for an

161, A, lines 12-13; 203, A, line 20). One lessee, Empedokles, secured his new lease for Charetea at exactly the same rate as his old one (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 161, A, line 10; 203, A, line 19). Three other lessees paid more for their second lease, but not as much as 10 per cent more: Didymos for Skitoneia, 530 dr. and 560 dr. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 161, A, line 10; 203, A, lines 19-20), Xenomedes for Hippodromos, 579 dr. and 622 dr. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 354, line 38; 362, A, line 15), and Thumias for Thaleon, 356 dr. and 381 dr. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, lines 99-101).

On the other hand, there are recorded a few bad errors of judgment. The worst blunder of all was made by the brothers Timesidemos and Aristodikos, who paid 800 dr. for Charoneia in 274 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 199, A, line 5), but who instead of renewing with a 10 per cent increase (880 dr.) were forced up at the auctions to 1100 dr. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 203, A, line 20). The others did not fare so badly, however, and paid little more than the 10 per cent increase would have amounted to; Antigonos paid 375 dr. and 429 dr. for Rhamnoi (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 158, A, line 10; 161, A, line 8), Hierombrotos 140 dr. and 166 dr. for Kerameion (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 161, A, line 12; 203, A, lines 18-19), and Aristopappos for Dorion-Chersonesos, 300 dr. and 331 dr.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  ob. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, lines 99-101). The case of Aristopappos is especially interesting, since it shows that the rule of bidding in drachmas only did not apply to the estates on Mykonos, on this occasion at least.

<sup>84</sup> *B.C.H.*, XIV, 1890, p. 430.

<sup>85</sup> Fractional amounts of obols other than those listed in the table may result from two successive 10 per cent increases (e.g., for Hippodromos, 605 dr., 665 dr. 3 ob., 732 dr.  $\frac{4}{12}$  ob.; cf. above, note 76), from a 10 per cent increase of an irregular amount (e.g., for Porthmos, 539 dr.  $\frac{3}{12}$  ob., 592 dr.  $5\frac{8}{12}$  ob.; *Inscr. de Délos*, 404, line 17; 442, A, line 151; cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 243), or from some other unusual kind of increase.

estate were recorded to record an inventory along with them.<sup>86</sup> Although the task of taking inventories was doubtless one that took considerable time, especially for the enumeration of the vines, nevertheless it seems to have been done by certain of the Hieropoioi themselves or else by assistants directly responsible to them.<sup>87</sup> It is likely that this article of the law also contained a provision requiring lessees to keep their farm buildings in good repair and to maintain the number of vines and fruit trees committed to their charge: otherwise the inventories would not appear to serve any useful purpose.<sup>88</sup>

VII. The lost portion of the *Hiera Syngraphe* probably referred to the duties of the officials known as οἱ ἐπιτιμηταὶ τῶν ἱερῶν τεμενῶν. These officials are never mentioned in the rental accounts of the temple estates, and we happen to know of their existence only by the fact that they are mentioned at irregular intervals in connection with the annual expenses of the Temple of Apollo. References to them, when they occur, merely record that a fixed sum of 40 dr. was paid to each *epitimetes* for travelling expenses (ἐφόδιον).<sup>89</sup>

The etymology of the word ἐπιτιμητής indicates that these officials were "evaluators" or "inspectors" who, we may infer from their ἐφόδιον, made periodical tours

<sup>86</sup> Inventories were recorded along with the assignment of ten-year lease contracts in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 142-174), 220 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 351, lines 6-23), 210 B.C. (*ibid.*, 356 bis, B), 200 B.C. (*ibid.*, 374), 180 B.C. (*ibid.*, 373, A, lines 1-44, B, lines 1-20; cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, pp. 241-243), and 170 B.C. (*B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 245). In addition, it can be shown that an inventory was made in connection with the lease contracts of 280 B.C., for *I.G.*, XI, 2, 161, C, lines 125-131 show that inventories were made by the hieropoioi Hegias and Anaskatos, who held office in 280 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 161, A, line 2; cf., *I.G.*, XI, 2, 159, A, line 70; *I.G.*, XI, 160, line 1).

For new leases issued within the ten-year periods, an inventory was taken in 279 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 161, C, lines 125-131), in 276 B.C. (*ibid.*, 163, Bg, lines 7 and 19), in 189 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 440, B, lines 17-27; cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 244), and ca. 175 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 452, lines 16-32). The only inscriptions which record new lease contracts but no new inventories are *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 136-142 (250 B.C.) and *Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, lines 102-106 (207 B.C.). In the former case it was probably not considered worthwhile to engrave the same inventories twice in the same inscription (cf. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 142-174); in the latter instance the annual accounts of 207 B.C. seem to have been engraved on two marble slabs, of which only the second (*Inscr. de Délos*, 366) has chanced to survive.

<sup>87</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 163, Bg, line 19: τάδε φυτὰ τὰ ἐν τῇ γεωργίᾳ τῇ Χαρωνείᾳ ἀπέδειξαν καὶ παρημίσθησαν ἡμῖν οἱ ἱε[ροποιοὶ ὁ δεῖνα καὶ ὁ δεῖνα· ἀμπέλους ΧΧΗΡΔΔΔΓΠΙ·] σίκκινα ΔΔΔΔΙΙΙ. For the number of the vines, cf. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 167.

<sup>88</sup> For regulations of this nature in other parts of the Hellenistic world, cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2492, lines 14-18; 2494, lines 11-16; 2499, 14-18; XII, 5, 568, lines 14-15; XII, 7, 62, lines 8-13 and 17-20; XIV, 645, I, lines 135-138.

<sup>89</sup> The references are *I.G.*, XI, 2; 148, line 67 (298 B.C.); 159, A, line 55 (281 B.C.); 203, A, lines 62-63 (269 B.C.); 287, A, lines 87-88 (250 B.C.); and *Inscr. de Délos*, 290, lines 109-110 (246 B.C.). Significantly, the *epitimetai* are nowhere mentioned in *I.G.*, XI, 2, 161 (279 B.C.), an inscription which is virtually complete; nor do they appear in *Inscr. de Délos*, 442, or, in fact, in any inscription later than 246 B.C.

of inspection, visiting the temple estates. Precisely what it was that they were to inspect or evaluate we are not told. Homolle was of the opinion that the choice lay between officials who evaluated the lands and products of the estates and inspectors who were empowered to inflict fines (ἐπιτιμῆματα) on tenants for infringements of contracts. The latter alternative seemed to him the more probable, since in connection with the *epitimetai* we are informed of a *dikasterion* which seems to have served as a court of appeal for the fines that were assessed.<sup>90</sup> When it is further noted that no other officials are known to us who had the authority to compel the lessees to observe those terms of the lease contracts which applied to the maintenance of buildings, vines, and fruit trees, there seems to be little doubt that Homolle's opinion is correct.<sup>91</sup>

It seems possible, however, to carry this conclusion one stage farther by considering whether the *Epitimetai* held office under the *Hieropoioi* and acted as their deputies or whether they carried out their duties independent of the *Hieropoioi*. What evidence there is appears to favor the second alternative. Not only are the *Epitimetai* mentioned in the accounts of the *Hieropoioi* at irregular intervals, thus indicating that their travelling expenses were not paid every year, but these expenses seem to have been paid only in the years that the *dikasterion* met to hear appeals.<sup>92</sup> It is difficult to believe that the *Epitimetai* functioned only sporadically and that every time they did function they levied fines which were promptly appealed. Nor does it seem likely that they failed to receive any remuneration whatsoever except in years in which appeals were lodged. It seems preferable to assume that they functioned regularly and every year, but that the Temple of Apollo was obligated to pay a fixed sum of 40 dr. to help defray their expenses only on occasions when fines were appealed.<sup>93</sup> In the years from which complete accounts of the *Hieropoioi* have survived and the *Epitimetai* are not mentioned, it may be supposed that no fines were appealed.

It is known from the wage lists of the temple that the *Epitimetai* never received salaries (as opposed to expense money) from the *Hieropoioi*, and since it is unlikely that they received no pay at all for their services, it seems to follow that their salaries

<sup>90</sup> Homolle, *B.C.H.*, XIV, 1890, pp. 490-491. For the references to this court (τῷ δικαστηρίῳ τοῖς ἐπιτιμῆμασι), *I.G.*, XI, 2; 148, lines 65-66; 203, A, line 62; 287, A, line 81; *Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 110.

<sup>91</sup> It may be noted that in 250 B.C., the only year from which estate inventories as well as records of payments to the *epitimetai* and the *dikasterion* have survived, the inventories list two items on the estates which were in a state of disrepair; viz., a house without a roof (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 165; later repaired: cf. *Inscr. de Délos*, 403, line 50) and a collapsed wall (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 163). There surely must have been some agency which was supposed to prevent this sort of thing.

<sup>92</sup> In four of the five inscriptions which mention the *epitimetai* a meeting of the *dikasterion* is also attested. Cf. references given above. In the fifth instance, *I.G.*, XI, 2, 159, A, line 55, the *dikasterion* is not mentioned, but a great deal of the text of this inscription has been obliterated.

<sup>93</sup> This would explain as merely fortuitous the fact that the *epitimetai* do not happen to be mentioned in any of the inscriptions later than 246 B.C.

as well as their power to act came, not from the board of the Hieropoioi, but from some other organization which had authority in the management of the temple estates. This organization can scarcely have been other than the Delian Boule, to which the Hieropoioi were also accountable.<sup>94</sup> It thus appears that the control of the temple estates rested in final analysis with the Boule, which exercised that control through two sets of officials. The Hieropoioi in their capacity of treasurers of the Temple of Apollo handled all matters connected with the revenues from the estates: the Epitimetai saw to it that the estates were properly treated by the tenants and remained in good physical condition. In the fourth century B.C. the Epitimetai appear to have numbered two each year, and the *dikasterion* to have consisted of seventy members, but some time between 298 and 269 B.C. their numbers were increased respectively to three and one hundred and one.<sup>95</sup>

VIII. The *Hiera Syngraphe* included an article requiring each lessee to furnish sponsors who would agree to guarantee that the lessee's rent would be paid. This meant that if lessees did not pay their rents in full, the guarantors (ἐγγυνοὶ; ἐγγυηταί) were obligated to make up the deficit.<sup>96</sup> Not only did a lessee have to furnish guarantors before he could take over his lease, but he was obliged to renew them annually: if he failed to do so, his lease was cancelled and a new lease issued to someone else.<sup>97</sup> The records show that this provision of the law was strictly and rigidly enforced and that no lessee was ever permitted to hold a lease without first having furnished guarantees for his rent. The sole exception to this was made in the case of the death during the year of one of the guarantors: in this event the lessee was given a short time to find a replacement.<sup>98</sup>

The ceremony of naming the guarantors, called in the records the *διεγγνήσεις*, evidently took place annually in Lenaion [= January], and was probably one of the

<sup>94</sup> See below, pp. 279, 281.

<sup>95</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 148, line 67 (298 B.C.) records an ἐφόδιον of only 80 dr.: since this sum is not evenly divisible by three, it is all but certain that on this occasion the sum of 40 dr. was paid to each of two officials. Probably in 281 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 159, A, 55), certainly in 269 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 203, A, lines 62-63), 40 dr. were paid each of three *epitimetai*. Similarly, in *I.G.*, XI, 2, 148, line 66 the pay to the dicasts was 11 dr. 4 ob., but in later accounts the amount was 16 dr. 5 ob. Homolle (*op. cit.*, p. 491, note 3) has shown that in all likelihood the amount paid by the temple treasury to each dicast was one obol: hence the *dikasterion* was increased from 70 to 101 members.

<sup>96</sup> An article in the extant portion of the law makes guarantors equally responsible with the lessees. See below, pp. 279 f.

<sup>97</sup> For examples of men who failed to secure guarantors at the very beginning of a decennium, cf. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 145 and 153. Most new leases issued within the ten-year period were drawn up, not because of the death or the bankruptcy of the first lessee, but because of his failure to renew guarantors. There are many passages to illustrate this fact, the clearest evidence, perhaps, being contained in *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 135-142 and *Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, lines 102-106. These passages show plainly that the renewal of guarantors was required every year. In addition, it is specifically stated that lessees of the Mykonos estates were required to name guarantors καθ' ἐνιαυτόν (*Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, lines 99-100).

<sup>98</sup> See below, pp. 276 f.

first items on the *agenda* of the incoming Hieropoioi.<sup>99</sup> In years in which new decennial lease contracts were drawn up there were evidently additional *διεγγνήσεις*, at which the prospective tenants were obliged to name guarantors before the assignment of their leases was approved.<sup>100</sup> It has already been noted that in the fourth century new leases which were issued for the succeeding leasing period were assigned in July.<sup>101</sup> If this was the case also after the *Hiera Syngraphe* was passed, it is probable that the decennial *διεγγνήσεις* were held sometime in the late summer.

In the vast majority of cases the number of guarantors furnished by each lessee was two.<sup>102</sup> In a few instances, however, we are told that a lessee had only one,<sup>103</sup> and on two occasions at least a lessee had more than two.<sup>104</sup> It is therefore probable that the number of two guarantors was merely the custom and was not obligatory under the terms of the *Hiera Syngraphe*: probably all that the law required was that the guarantees be adequate.<sup>105</sup> This probability is strengthened by the fact that while it was customary for each guarantor to guarantee half the amount of rental,<sup>106</sup> it was not obligatory. It seems likely that, whenever guarantors did not agree each to guarantee half the rental, the amount each was to pay was decided privately. However, what method was used to determine the amounts is not apparent.<sup>107</sup>

Such were probably the articles contained in the first half of the *ἱερὰ συγγραφή*: how many more there may have been is not known, but the length of the stele seems to show that if there were others, they were short. Parts of the text begin to be preserved when the section concerning guarantors is reached: in line 5 of *Inscr. de Délos*, 503 the words [ο]ἱ ἐγγνητα[ί] have been read, and in line 9 there is a reference

<sup>99</sup> When Xenomedes and Polyboulos, two lessees of 251 B.C., were unable to post guarantors for the year 250 B.C. *ὅτε ἦσαν αἱ διεγγνήσεις*, their leases were re-assigned to Autokles and Kallisthenes without change in the amount of rental (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 136-141). This implies that Autokles and Kallisthenes obtained possession of their estates very early in the year 250 B.C. It is worth observing also that the notice boards on which the names of guarantors were required to be posted (cf. note 3) were regularly purchased in Lenaion (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 42; *Inscr. de Délos*, 371, A, line 55; 372, A, line 75).

<sup>100</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 145 and 153.

<sup>101</sup> See note 73.

<sup>102</sup> For example, all twenty estates of Delos and Rheneia in the contracts issued in 250 B.C. had two guarantors of their rentals (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 142-180). It seems unnecessary to cite all other references.

<sup>103</sup> Panormos, 278 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 161, C, lines 114-115); Sosimacheia, 280 B.C. (*ibid.*, 161, A, lines 39-40); Hippodromos, 189 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 403, line 52).

<sup>104</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 27-29, 141. Cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, pp. 239-40.

<sup>105</sup> It is not unlikely that the guarantors' financial status was subject to scrutiny in much the same manner that guarantors of building contracts were investigated by the Delian Boule. Cf. *Inscr. de Délos*, 504, B, line 12: ἐγγνους ἐδοκίμασεν ἡ βουλὴ.

<sup>106</sup> Cf. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 142, line 12; 147, A, lines 15-17; 226, A, lines 29, 31, 32, 35; etc. In the case of the three guarantors of Mnesimachos in 250 B.C. one was held responsible for half the unpaid rent and the other two for the other half (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 139-142). Cf. note 13.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, pp. 239-240.

to the notice boards on which the names of lessees and their guarantors were required to be published.<sup>108</sup>

IX. The section referring to the furnishing of guarantors evidently ended in line 10, for in lines 10 and 11 there seems to be an article to the effect that payments of rent were to be made in the month of Metageitnion. These lines are badly mutilated, but are restored by Ziebarth<sup>109</sup> on the analogy of line 28, where the obligation of lessees to pay rentals in Metageitnion is repeated.

X. Lines 12-16 are concerned with the procedure to be followed in case of the death of a lessee. Molinier<sup>110</sup> has shown that whenever the lessee of a house died his heirs were obliged to carry on the agreement he had made until the lease expired. The procedure in the case of lessees of the estates, however, was evidently not the same, for in the accounts it occasionally appears that a new lease was issued when a lessee died,<sup>111</sup> although in most cases the heirs appear to have continued the lease.<sup>112</sup> Lines 12-15, which unfortunately are poorly preserved, appear to stipulate that on the death of a lessee, the heirs—or in the case of minors the former guarantors acting as trustees for the children—were allowed to continue the lease if they wished to do so and if the Hieropoioi approved. If the heirs did not wish to do so, they might terminate the lease and the Hieropoioi would then issue a new lease for the remainder of the decennium; if this occurred, however, the heirs were obligated to pay any amount that the temple might lose in the transaction (ἐγδεία).<sup>113</sup> Lines 15-16 appear to mean “if any lessee leaves behind male children, they are responsible for the repayment of whatever sum is owing (the god) just as if it had come from the lessee.”<sup>114</sup>

XI. Lines 16-19 are mutilated, and there is some uncertainty in the matter of restorations. However, they appear to have meant approximately as follows: “If one of the guarantors dies [within the year he is serving as a guarantor], the lessee is to pay the rental immediately [or to get it paid?] by the guarantor’s son, allowing the son ten days of grace. If the lessee does not pay the rental, the Hieropoioi are to issue a new lease for the estate: if the new lease is for a smaller rental, they are to collect the sum by which it is less from [the former lessee and ?] the son of the guarantor.

<sup>108</sup> [τοὺς] ἐγγύους [ἐγγραφόντων ——— εἰς λευκ]ώμα[τα καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα καὶ τῶν γεωργῶν τῶν μισθω]σαμένων καὶ τῶν ἡγγ[υμένων].

<sup>109</sup> *Hermes*, LXI, 1926, p. 90.

<sup>110</sup> *Les maisons sacrées*, pp. 52 ff.

<sup>111</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 156, B, lines 7-15; *Inscr. de Délos*, 440, B, line 17 (cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 244) should perhaps be restored ἀνεμ[ισθώσαμεν τάδε τεμένη· τελευτήσαντος ...<sup>ca. 8</sup>...] Πά[γορμο]ν. Cf. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 161, C, lines 109-111.

<sup>112</sup> E. g., *I.G.*, XI, 2, 199, A, line 6; 203, A, lines 22-3; *Inscr. de Délos*; 290, lines 18 and 19; 356, bis, A, line 6; 368, line 24; 372, A, line 15; 399, A, line 75.

<sup>113</sup> Cf. Ziebarth, *op. cit.*, pp. 90 ff.

<sup>114</sup> Cf. A. Wilhelm, *Arch. für Papyrusforsch.*, XI, 1935, p. 215.

If neither lessee nor guarantor's son can pay, the Hieropoioi are to inscribe their names on the stele." It seems clear from this passage that the temple authorities insisted upon an immediate payment of rental whenever the guarantees for its payment ceased to exist. It is difficult, however, to decide to what extent the son of the guarantor was held liable after his father's death, for not only are some vital words missing from the text, but the wording as a whole is somewhat vague. For example, nothing is said about the second guarantor, and it is not made clear whether the amount the lessee was obliged to pay immediately was the full rental for the year or only that part of the rental which the dead guarantor had guaranteed. The reference to the liability of the son of the dead man seems to favor the latter interpretation, for it would seem unduly harsh to hold the son responsible not only for the amount guaranteed by his father but also for any amount the second guarantor failed to pay. Unfortunately, the accounts do not preserve a single example of how this article of the law was applied, and until such an example is found, or until a completely satisfactory restoration of lines 16-19 is discovered, the precise meaning of the passage remains doubtful.

XII. Lines 19-21: "If lessees keep livestock, they are to pay in the month of Artemision (= April) a [sum of money] for each animal [which is to be counted as part] of their rental, for all the animals that they keep. The payment is to be made in coinage guaranteed to be genuine."<sup>115</sup> This regulation is apparently included in the law in order to forestall lessees who might be tempted to squander the money they obtained from the sale of wool, spring lambs, and calves, and have no cash left by the time the rentals became due.

XIII. Lines 21-25. So much is missing of lines 22 and 23 that a continuous translation of the passage is impossible. Lines 21-22 read "the Hieropoioi in the month of Galaxion (= March) are to take a census of the cattle according to custom."<sup>116</sup> If the number left on the estates in the month of Metageitnion (= August). . . ." All that appears certain from these lines is that the Hieropoioi were required to make a census each March of the specially branded cattle which were owned by the temple and were pastured on the estates.<sup>117</sup> The next sentence may perhaps indicate that a second count was made in August and that the figure then found was to be compared to the number of animals in the March census. The original contents of lines 22-23 can only be surmised: possibly their general meaning was to the effect that in no case was the lessee to sell surreptitiously any of the cattle owned by the temple, but the Hieropoioi could either take the new-born animals or turn them over to the tenants to raise.

<sup>115</sup> Cf. E. Weiss, *ΕΠΙΤΥΜΒΙΟΝ Heinrich Swoboda*, p. 333. The expression is ἀκίνδυνον παν[τὸς κιν]δύνου; compare *I.G.*, XII, 7, 67, lines 39-40: ἀργυρίου Ἀττικοῦ τρία τάλαντα ἀκίνδυνομ πα[ντ]ὸς κινδύνου. See also the phrase δοκίμον ἀργυρίον in *I.G.*, VII, 235, lines 23-24 (Buck, *Greek Dialects*, No. 14). Both expressions seem to mean merely that "no bad coin was to be palmed off."

<sup>116</sup> κατὰ τὸν νόμον: cf. Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

<sup>117</sup> See note 177.

From the end of line 22 onward we read: "if a lessee raises (a temple animal), the Hieropoioi are to take their oath that this animal (*αὐτὸν*) will not be included in the record of the one who raises it as far as the rent is concerned. And he who wishes may lodge information and receive half the value of the beasts that were sold." This last sentence plainly refers to a reward to be given to a *delator* for information concerning illegally sold animals: hence the probability that in the lacuna of lines 22-23 the tenant was expressly forbidden to sell temple cattle without the knowledge of the Hieropoioi.

XIV. Lines 25-27: "When any farmer wishes to sell any of the branded cattle which he is obligated by law to replace,<sup>118</sup> he may do so if he furnishes a guarantor for the price for which they will be sold." In other words, it was legal for a lessee to sell temple-owned cattle provided that he secured someone to guarantee that he would not simply pocket the money. Presumably the passage means that whenever any temple cattle were sold, the lessee was obliged to replace them later, for if it were simply a matter of turning over the proceeds of the sale at some later date to the Hieropoioi, a dishonest lessee could, in order to raise a temporary loan, sell the cattle for less than they were worth, and the treasury of the temple would be the loser. To this it might be rejoined, however, that if it were a matter of replacement, there was nothing to prevent a lessee from selling a good animal and replacing it later with a poor one. In either case, therefore, this article of the law contains a loophole: whether this condition was rectified by later legislation we do not know.

XV. Lines 27-30: "(Those who raise livestock) are to pay the remainder of their rent in Lenaion (= January) in the presence of the *ekklesia*, and in the last year (of the leasing period) in Metageitnion (= August). Lessees who do not raise livestock are to pay their whole rental in genuine currency in Metageitnion (= August)." The advance payment required in April of breeders of sheep and cattle has already been noted (Article XII). It is interesting to note that their other payment was made in the following January, for this shows that the accounts of the Hieropoioi did not close on December 31 when their term of office ended, but remained open for at least another month.<sup>119</sup>

<sup>118</sup> The form *καταστατήσαι* (line 26) is a misprint for *καταστήσαι*: the latter was read correctly by Durrbach in his original edition of the stone (*Rev. Et. Gr.*, XXXII, 1919, p. 170). I have translated the word as "replace," but it could also mean "hand over," i. e., either to the hieropoioi or to the succeeding lessee.

<sup>119</sup> That they sometimes remained open even longer is shown by some of the records of transmission of temple money from one board of hieropoioi to another. For example, the hieropoioi of 252 B.C. are recorded to have transmitted 5000 dr. to the board of 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 8): this must mean that their books had remained open for at least a year after their term of office ended. Similarly, the board of 281 B.C. transmitted 600 dr. to the board of 279 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 161, A, line 5). Examples from the second century B.C. are even more numerous (cf. Larsen, *Roman Greece*, p. 341).

XVI. Lines 29-30: "The Hieropoioi must render accounts of everything every month to the Sacred Chest."<sup>120</sup> Hence the Hieropoioi were administrative treasures of the Temple of Apollo, obliged to make monthly reports to the Delian Boule. Temple funds were thus "under the ultimate control of the city."<sup>121</sup>

XVII. Lines 30-33: "If the lessees do not pay, at the times appointed, all the rent that is owing to the god from the sacred estates according to the terms of the contract, or do not turn over their crops to the custody of the Hieropoioi, they are to pay a hemiolion at [the times?] specified, and the Hieropoioi, after selling their crops [ . . . . . ] are to collect from the guarantors a *hemiolion* of the amount of the rental that is owing the god."

The *ἡμιόλιον*, a payment one and a half times the original amount due, is mentioned in several of the accounts of the Hieropoioi.<sup>122</sup> The earliest reference, from *ca.* 306 B.C., which antedates the *ἱερὰ συγγραφή*, shows that this article of the law was an inheritance from earlier times.<sup>123</sup>

XVIII. Lines 33-38: "If any of the rental is left unpaid after the (lessee's) crops have been sold, (the Hieropoioi) are to sell for the unpaid amount his cattle and his sheep and his slaves. And if even after these have been sold there is still some of the rental unpaid, the Hieropoioi are to make up the deficit from the personal property of the lessees and their guarantors. And if the Hieropoioi are not able to, they are to swear by Zeus Agoraios that they are unable, and are to inscribe on the stele as debtors to the god both lessees and guarantors, along with their fathers' names, and are to issue a new lease for the estate. And if there is any deficiency in the rent of the new lease, the Hieropoioi are to record on the stone both the (names of the) men and the amount of the deficiency with a fifty per cent addition."

This is a much stricter regulation than was in effect *ca.* 306 B.C., for on that occasion the sale of the defaulters' goods seems to have been confined to barley and cattle.<sup>124</sup> It is also significant that bankruptcy cases are rare after this law was passed.<sup>125</sup> The wording of the passage translated above is somewhat loose, and certain

<sup>120</sup> For lines 29-31 I have followed the emendations of Wilhelm (*op. cit.*, pp. 216 f.). The words *ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις τοῖς γεγραμμένοις*, which belong in line 31, appear to have been overlooked in Wilhelm's final text which is given at the bottom of p. 217.

<sup>121</sup> Cf. Article XXI, below, p. 281; also page 274; Larsen, *Roman Greece*, p. 340.

<sup>122</sup> The word *ἡμιόλιον* is usually used in the accounts in the strict sense of 1½ times the amount. This is its meaning also in Egyptian loan contracts (cf. N. Lewis, *T.A.P.A.*, 76, 1945, pp. 126-139). There are, however, occasional exceptions in the Delian records. Thus in *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 141-142 the word apparently means "one half extra." (Cf. note 13). In no case, however, is the use of the word such that the meaning is obscured.

<sup>123</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 142, line 8: *ἡμιόλιον αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ ἑγγυοί*. See above, note 67.

<sup>124</sup> See note 67.

<sup>125</sup> There seems to be only one example in the accounts after 250 B.C. where both a lessee and his guarantors failed to pay rental. In 209 B.C. a certain Kallisthenes leased Sosimacheia for 150 dr.

of its provisions are repeated elsewhere in the law. These facts suggest that it was inserted into the text of the law somewhat hastily in order to stiffen the regulations with regard to bankruptcy cases. The same conclusion is indicated by instances in the accounts where there was a "deficiency in the rent of the new lease (*ἐγδεία*).<sup>126</sup> The *ἐγδεία* was the amount by which a second rental was less than the rent called for in the original lease. The above article of the law shows that whenever a new lessee paid less rental than that which was specified in the lease issued at the beginning of the decennium, the original lessee who had gone bankrupt was indebted for whatever reduction in rental the new lease might entail. The accounts of the Hieropoioi show that in this respect failure to renew guarantors was considered tantamount to bankruptcy.<sup>126</sup> However, in the case of the bankruptcy of Hermadas in ca. 306 B.C.<sup>127</sup> no *hemiolion* was imposed on his *ἐγδεία*. Also no *hemiolion* was levied on *ἐγδεία* that occurred in the leasing of houses.<sup>128</sup> It thus appears that before the introduction of the *ἱερὰ συγγραφή* no *hemiolion* was ever imposed on a defaulter who was held responsible for the temple's loss of rental caused by his bankruptcy.

The reference to the confiscation of slaves is of considerable importance, since it shows clearly that the temple estates were largely, if not wholly, worked by slave labor. The previous provision of the law which permitted minors to hold leases also points to the same conclusion, since it shows that the lessees did not necessarily do the manual labor personally.<sup>129</sup> This fully agrees with what can be ascertained by studying the careers of individual lessees, most of whom appear to have belonged to the upper class (i. e., the moneyed class) of Delian society. We should therefore picture the lessees not as peasants but as "gentlemen farmers," to whom an estate and its lease meant not the opportunity to earn a livelihood but an opportunity to invest capital.<sup>130</sup>

XIX. Lines 38-40 are read by Durrbach ἀπ[ο]τινόντων δὲ καὶ οἱ ἱεροποιοὶ τῷ θεῷ τὸ ἥμισυ τοῦ μισθώματος οὐδ' αὖ μὴ εἰσπράξωσιν ΩΝΑΣ τοὺς ἐγγυητὰς αὐτῶν πράξων-

(*Inscr. de Délos*, 362, A, line 16) but in 206 B.C. he went bankrupt. When this occurred, one of his guarantors paid half the rental (75 dr.; *Inscr. de Délos*, 368, lines 32-33) and Kallisthenes was evidently inscribed for the other half. The debt with the *hemiolion* amounted to 112½ dr. and was still unpaid at the end of the year 204 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 369, A, line 41). It would seem that in this case Kallisthenes somehow managed to avoid any confiscations, and it may be questioned whether this provision of the law was always enforced.

<sup>126</sup> For an illustration of this, see the case of Mnesimachos in note 13.

<sup>127</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 142, lines 8-9; cf. note 67.

<sup>128</sup> Molinier, *Les "maisons sacrées,"* p. 68.

<sup>129</sup> As supporting evidence for slave labor on the estates there may be cited the decree from the middle of the third century B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1296, A, 2-8, B, 2-7): ὅστις ἐν Δήλῳ ἀνδράποδον ἐξάγει εἴτε ἄκον εἴτε ἐκὼν ἢ ἐκ τῶν τεμενῶν τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπὶ βλάβει τοῦ δεσπότου, ἐξώλη εἶναι καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ γένος καὶ οἰκησιν τὴν ἐκείνου. For slave estates on other islands during the Hellenistic period, cf. *I.G.*, XII, 2, 76 d, line 5 and commentary on XII, 2, 80 (Lesbos); *I.G.*, XII, 3; 343, lines 16-20; 346 (Thera).

<sup>130</sup> Larsen, *Roman Greece*, p. 404; Rostovtzeff, *Soc. and Ec. Hist. Hellenistic World*, p. 1186.

ται. The general meaning of the lines seems clear: they provide that a penalty amounting to half the rental be exacted from the Hieropoioi if they fail to do their duty in collecting rentals.<sup>181</sup> The precise meaning of the lines, however, is difficult to decide, and it is possible that the letters ΩΝΑΣ have been by some inexplicable error of the letter-cutter engraved instead of ΑΜΜΗ.<sup>182</sup> We may then read: "The Hieropoioi are to pay to the god half the rental which they do not collect, if they do not exact payment from the guarantors of lessees."

XX. Lines 40-42: "It is not permissible for a lessee's guarantors who have been inscribed (for debt) to divide up the sum of money inscribed on the stele, but the whole sum (shall be ascribed) to the guarantors according to the share each guarantor contracted (to guarantee), unless he who appointed them guarantors (i. e., the lessee) pays the amount for them."

This prohibition is apparently aimed at preventing any private settlement between a bankrupt lessee and his guarantors: the passage makes it clear that in cases of non-payment of rental the guarantor and lessee were held equally responsible for the amount of rental each guarantor vouched for and that one guarantor could not transfer his debt to the other. The observance of this regulation is amply illustrated in the records of the Hieropoioi,<sup>183</sup> in which it also appears that not only guarantors of lessees of estates but guarantors of any kind were held equally responsible for payment.<sup>184</sup>

XXI. Lines 42-46: "Whatever amount of rental the Hieropoioi collect from the guarantors, or (whatever amount) the guarantor himself pays in behalf of the [lessee] who appointed him guarantor, the Boule, which has full authority to act in the matter, is to inscribe the lessee as owing to his guarantor one and a half times the amount of money that is paid, in the same manner as it inscribes debtors; and the lessees are to be classified legally as debtors who are overdue with their payments. If the Boule does not so record it, it is to pay the guarantor double the money he paid." The reference to the βουλὴ κυρία οὔσα, to which the Hieropoioi are obliged to report all cases of debt, indicates that it was to this body that the monthly reports of the Hieropoioi (cf. Article XVI) were to be given. The passage also shows that when a guarantor paid in behalf of a lessee it was not necessarily a dead loss on his part, for the lessee was obliged by law to repay one and a half times the amount to the guarantor whenever he could.

<sup>181</sup> Cf. Ziebarth, *Hermes*, LXI, 1926, p. 100. For a similar penalty if the hieropoioi fail in their duty with regard to building contracts, cf. *Inscr. de Délos*, 502, A, lines 16-17.

<sup>182</sup> For similar serious corruption in the text of the inscription, cf. Wilhelm, *op. cit.*, pp. 216 f. The rearranged text would read: οὐδ' ἄμ μὴ εἰσπράξωσιν, ἄμ μὴ τοὺς ἐγγνητὰς αὐτῶν πράξωνται.

<sup>183</sup> E. g., *I.G.*, XI, 2: 153, lines 18-26; 287, A, line 196; 288; lines 12-13; etc.

<sup>184</sup> E. g., *I.G.*, XI, 2: 158, B, lines 39-45; 161, D, lines 57-77; 199, C, lines 108-110; 203, D, lines 67-70; *Inscr. de Délos*; 353, B, lines 1-50; 369, A, lines 19-38; 442, A, lines 240-253. Guarantors were often members of the same family as the person guaranteed: cf. Molinier, *Les "maisons sacrées,"* pp. 38 ff.

XXII. Lines 46-49: "All the possessions of the lessees, their domestic animals, their slaves, their household furniture, and all that is theirs, are to be subject to the god. All the possessions of the guarantors also are to be subject to the god, just as those of lessees. If the Hieropoioi who collect (the rentals) do not collect the entire amount, all the possessions of the Hieropoioi are subject to the god. . . ." This passage, most of whose provisions have been stated previously (Articles XVII, XVIII, and XIX), is apparently added to the text of the law in order that no possible loophole exist with regard to the confiscation of property. If this article of the law had been rigidly enforced, it is difficult to see how it would have been possible for the Temple of Apollo not to have received full payment every year.

XXIII. Lines 50 ff. The few lines which brought the text of the law to a close are now illegible. The lines seem to have contained a further provision concerning defaults in rental.

The articles contained in the *Hiera Syngraphe* continued to be in effect until the end of the Period of Independence (166 B.C.); there has not been preserved, however, any piece of direct evidence that establishes beyond question the precise year in which they were drawn up. This date can therefore be ascertained only by estimating the probabilities. It is clear from the decennial leases that the law could have gone into effect only in a year whose last digit is 0: that is to say, in 310, 300, 290, 280, or 270 B.C. Of these five dates the first is definitely too early<sup>135</sup> and the last is manifestly too late.<sup>136</sup> The choice therefore narrows to either 300, 290, or 280 B.C.

The probabilities are against so late a date as 280 B.C., although it must be admitted that there is nothing in the extant accounts that can prove decisively that 280 B.C. is incorrect, for no full annual account of the temple estate from the years between 297 B.C. and 282 B.C. has been discovered. The fact that several lessees of 282 B.C. renewed their leases for the decennium 279/70 B.C. may perhaps imply that there was no major change in the estates in 280 B.C., but this is very weak evidence at best. The letter forms of the *Hiera Syngraphe* (*Inscr. de Délos*, 503) appear to be earlier than those of *I.G.*, XI, 2, 158 (282 B.C.), *I.G.*, XI, 2, 159 (281 B.C.) and *I.G.*, XI, 2, 160 (280 B.C.), but close dating based solely on letter forms is precarious and can seldom bear much weight. The most telling consideration against 280 B.C. is the fact that there is not a scrap of evidence in favor of it, whereas there *is* evidence

<sup>135</sup> Tréheux (*B.C.H.*, LXVIII-LXIX, 1944-1945, pp. 284-295) has demonstrated conclusively that the date cannot be placed in any year earlier than 301 B.C.

<sup>136</sup> This can be shown by the continuity of renewals of lease with a 10% increase in rental. For example, the rentals of Porthmos were: 1200 dr. in 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, A, line 7), 1320 dr. in both 279 B.C. (*ibid.*, 161, A, lines 6-7) and 274 B.C. (*ibid.*, 199, A, lines 3-4), and 1452 dr. in 269 B.C. (*ibid.*, 203, A, line 19), and in each case the lessee was the same man. It is therefore clear that only one lease was issued for the years 279/70 B.C., and that the lessee twice renewed his lease (in 279 and again in 269 B.C.) with the 10% increase in rental. Hence the ten year lease was in effect as early as 279 B.C.

that points elsewhere. It therefore seems best to rule out the date 280 B.C. on the grounds that, while there is nothing absolutely conclusive to prove it wrong, there is also nothing that even faintly supports it.

This leaves the choice between the years 300 B.C. and 290 B.C. Of these, Durrbach declared for the former, admitting frankly that the only reason for his preference was that the forms of the letters in *Inscr. de Délos*, 503 appeared to him to favor the earlier date.<sup>187</sup> The year 300 B.C. soon received the support of Glotz,<sup>188</sup> who offered as additional evidence the record of the engraving of a "stele of the farmers" in *I.G.*, XI, 2, 147.<sup>189</sup> On the basis of the probable rate of pay to the letter-cutter, from which he arrived at the approximate number of letters engraved, Glotz calculated that the "stele of the farmers" was a stele which contained new leases and inventories of the temple estates, and since he did not question Homolle's dating *I.G.*, XI, 2, 147 in 300 B.C. (a date based solely on letter forms), he concluded that the "stele of the farmers" referred to the first of the series of decennial leases issued under the terms of the *Hiera Syngraphe*. In this way a date of 300 B.C. for the *Hiera Syngraphe* seemed confirmed.

While the letter forms of *Inscr. de Délos*, 503 may be dismissed as inconclusive evidence, it is worth while to examine again the evidence of the "stele of the farmers." When this is done, it soon appears that while Glotz might be correct that the "stele of the farmers" was one which contained new leases and inventories of the temple estates, there are certain flaws in his proof that considerably weaken his position. The principal fault in his argument is that he evidently failed to observe that it can be demonstrated conclusively that the date of the "stele of the farmers" cannot be as early as 300 B.C. In *I.G.*, XI, 2, 147, A, lines 15-17 it is stated that a guarantor paid 330 dr. as his share of the rental arrears of a certain Maisiades, who had leased the estate of Panormos for 1,030 dr. Yet in *I.G.*, XI, 2, 149, which is dated (by the name of the archon, Pyrrhides) 297 B.C., it is stated in line 6 that in that year Maisiades paid his rent of 1,030 dr. in full. Consequently it follows that the bankruptcy of Maisiades, and therefore *I.G.*, XI, 2, 147 must be later than 297 B.C.,

<sup>187</sup> Durrbach, *Rev. Et. Gr.*, XXXII, 1919, pp. 177-78. While this might perhaps strengthen the case against the year 280 B.C., it hardly invalidates 290 B.C., for it may be questioned whether dating on stylistic grounds can be done with such accuracy, even in the Delian inscriptions of the third century B.C., that the date can be determined within ten years. It is noteworthy that some of the letter-cutters at Delos practiced their craft over a considerable period of time, and presumably a man's individual style of letters would alter little during his lifetime. For example, the letter-cutter Deinomenes, who is mentioned in *I.G.*, XI, 2, 147, A, line 20 (to be dated not later than 290 B.C.), also engraved stelai in 281 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 159, A, line 66) and 279 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 161, A, lines 118-119), and apparently was still working as late as 275 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 163, A, lines 54-55). Cf. the remarks of B. D. Meritt (*Epigraphica Attica*, pp. 97-99) and G. Daux (*Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 57).

<sup>188</sup> *B.C.H.*, XLIV, 1920, p. 365, note 1.

<sup>189</sup> Lines 18-19: [Εἰ]ς τὴν ἀ(να)γραφὴν τῶν γεωργῶν στήλη παρ' Ἑρμοδίκου καὶ βατὴρ Δ· γράψαντι Ἑρμοδίκῳ ΔΔΓ.

although there is no way of telling how much later. In this way the earliest date possible for the "stele of the farmers" proves to be 296 B.C. In addition, the soundness of Glotz's calculations with regard to the length of the "stele of the farmers" is seriously undermined by the fact that there is no way of telling the precise rate of pay of the letter-cutter. In 302 B.C. two rates of pay, one for 100 letters per drachma, the other for 130 letters, are recorded,<sup>140</sup> but by 281 B.C. the rate had decreased to 300 letters per drachma.<sup>141</sup> What the rate of pay may have been between 297 B.C. and 281 B.C. is not known, but it would appear probable that the number of letters per drachma was increasing.<sup>142</sup>

While it is still possible to believe with Glotz that the "stele of the farmers" was a stele which contained new leases and inventories, it seems to me more probable that the stele was the *Hiera Syngraphe* itself, for the unusual name given to it seems to imply an unusual kind of inscription, and new leases with inventories had been engraved before this time.<sup>143</sup> It appears certain, however, that the choice lies between the one or the other, for we know of no third type of lengthy farm document to which the term "stele of the farmers" could appropriately be applied.

Without attempting to decide on the exact nature of the "stele of the farmers," it may be observed that its date, *post* 297 B.C., shows that the chances that 300 B.C. is the correct date for the *Hiera Syngraphe* are remote. If the "stele of the farmers" refers to the first decennial leases issued, it is clearly impossible for the *Hiera Syngraphe* to be as early as 300 B.C. If the stele contained new leases that were not decennial, it must have antedated the *Hiera Syngraphe*, and again the *Hiera Syngraphe* cannot be as early as 300 B.C. And if the "stele of the farmers" refers to the *Hiera Syngraphe* itself, as would seem probable from its peculiar name, a date of 300 B.C. is obviously too early. Thus the only way to defend the date 300 B.C. is to interpret the "stele of the farmers" to mean, not the first, but the *second* set of decennial leases that were issued, an interpretation which seems very unlikely. With the date 300 B.C. thus all but eliminated, a very strong probability is established that the *Hiera Syngraphe* became law in 290 B.C.

Still stronger considerations point to 290 B.C. as the most satisfactory date. We know of no particular reason why the *Hiera Syngraphe* should have been passed in

<sup>140</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 145, lines 27 and 43.

<sup>141</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 159, A, lines 66-67; cf. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 161, A, lines 118-119 (279 B.C.). The same rate, 300 letters a drachma, seems to have held good in 250 B.C.: the great stele of that year contains approximately 36,000 letters, and the pay to the letter-cutter Neogenes was 120 dr. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 197).

<sup>142</sup> Glotz calculated that a stele recording new leases and inventories for the fifteen estates that existed in 300 B.C. would require approximately 4,250 letters. Then by taking the rate of pay recorded in *I.G.*, XI, 2, 145, line 43 (130 letters a drachma) and multiplying by the 25 dr. paid the letter-cutter (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 147, line 19), he also obtained the sum of 4,250 letters. But, as already noted, the rate of pay of the letter-cutter of the farmers' stele is uncertain. Furthermore, twenty-five times 130 is not 4,250, but only 3,250.

<sup>143</sup> As early as 313 B.C.; cf. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 138, A, lines 7-9.

300 B.C., for Delos at that time was in the midst of a great boom in land values. The height of the boom came, in fact, after 300 B.C., for the rents of 297 B.C. are the greatest ever recorded. Under such circumstances it is difficult to see why the authorities of the temple should, at a time when rents were rising to unprecedented heights, introduce sweeping new farm legislation, particularly legislation which by lengthening the leases to ten year periods would tend to cut down the temple's revenue by slowing the rise in rents. On the other hand, there is evidence to show that several changes in the administration of the temple estates took place some time between 297 and 282 B.C. It is apparent from the rentals of 282 B.C., most of which are half or less than half what they had been in 297 B.C., that between these two dates the bubble in real estate values had burst.<sup>144</sup> The drop in rentals is so great that there can be little doubt that many lessees were financially ruined, and it is probable that the Temple of Apollo accumulated a considerable number of bad debts. This may perhaps be reflected in the fact that between 297 and 282 B.C. the temple acquired four new properties on the island of Delos, one of which appears to have been obtained as a result of the indebtedness of its former owner:<sup>145</sup> probably they all were. Furthermore, two properties, Epistheneia and Kerameion, which had been owned by the Temple of Apollo since 375 B.C., were within this period included for the first time in the list of temple estates.<sup>146</sup> In addition, the number of estate inspectors (*epitimetai*) was increased from two to three.<sup>147</sup> These facts point to a thorough reorganization of the administration of the temple estates sometime between 297 and 282 B.C., and it is therefore reasonable to suppose *ipso facto* that the new law with regard to the estates was also passed within these years. It has already been noted that while certain articles of the *Hiera Syngraphe* appear to have stated merely what had previously been the custom, the provisions with regard to non-payment of rent seem to have been made more severe.<sup>148</sup> This may well be a reflection of a desire on the part of the temple authorities that there should be no repetition of the number of unpaid debts that resulted from the collapse in farm values. The ten year lease may then be explained as a measure intended to help prevent a recurrence of such a disastrous inflation.

When these considerations are added to the strong probability arising from the internal evidence of the "stele of the farmers" that the law was passed in 290 B.C., the conclusion seems obvious. While we have no absolute proof, all the available evidence points to the one date, 290 B.C., as the year in which the *Hiera Syngraphe* went into effect.

<sup>144</sup> See below, pp. 307 f. The tantalizing fragment *I.G.*, XI, 2, 152, A seems to refer to the plight of certain lessees at this time.

<sup>145</sup> Phytalia. See note 149.

<sup>146</sup> See pp. 257 f.

<sup>147</sup> See note 95. If the restoration at the end of *I.G.*, XI, 2, 159, line 55 be accepted (and it seems probable in view of the space available on the stone) there were three *epitimetai* in 281 B.C. Thus the increase from two to three *epitimetai* probably took place between 298 B.C. and 281 B.C. For the reorganization of building commissions within this same period, cf. *B.C.H.*, LXI, 1937, p. 113.

<sup>148</sup> Pp. 279 f. Cf. Tréheux, *B.C.H.*, LXVIII-LXIX, 1944-1945, p. 295.

## ESTATES ACQUIRED IN THE THIRD CENTURY B.C.

Several new estates were acquired by the Temple of Apollo in the third century B.C.: in the reorganization of ca. 290 B.C. not only were Epistheneia and Kerameion transferred to the list of temple estates on Delos, but four new properties were added. Two of these, Phytalia and Sosimacheia, seem to have been obtained by the temple because of unpaid debts of their former owners;<sup>149</sup> probably Akra Delos and Korakiai passed into temple ownership for the same reason. Korakiai, which seems to have been chiefly grazing land, was for the decennium 289-80 B.C. leased as a separate estate, but was attached to the old estate Soloe in 280 B.C.:<sup>150</sup> from this time until 166 B.C. Soloe-Korakiai was leased as a single property, and the number of estates on the island of Delos remained fixed at ten.

In the latter half of the third century the Hieropoioi assumed the administration of three properties which were situated on Mykonos. In the southwest corner of this island, where it approaches closest to Delos, is a peninsula today called "Diakophti," connected with the rest of Mykonos by a low sandy isthmus.<sup>151</sup> Peninsula and isthmus together form a geographical unit which is called in the Delian inscriptions τὸ Ἀπολλώνιον, and was evidently owned by the Temple of Apollo as early as 269 B.C., when the name first occurs.<sup>152</sup> When *Apollonion* first became temple property is not known, but it is evident that for some time its management was assigned to persons other

<sup>149</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 130: τὸ χωρίον δ' ἦν Φερεκλείδου καὶ ὃ καλεῖται Φυταλία. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287 bis (*Inscr. de Délos*, II, p. 299), line 20 may be restored καὶ [ὃ Φυτ]αλ[ία (καλεῖται)]. Mention of Pherekleides' indebtedness is contained in *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 14-15 and 182. The name Sosimacheia was originally a neuter plural (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 156, B, line 16), indicating that the estate was a combination of two or more properties; if the restoration τὸ κάτω [μέρο]ς τοῦ [Σωσιμαχ]είου in *Inscr. de Délos*, 1417, B, II, lines 122-123 is accepted, the estate had two parts (cf. *ibid.*, lines 118-120). The former owner, Sosimachos, appears to have been in debt for about twenty years before his estate was taken over by the temple (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 135, line 27).

<sup>150</sup> Compare *I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, A, lines 12-13 and *I.G.*, XI, 2, 161, A, lines 12-13. See also above, note 28.

<sup>151</sup> The holkos on Mykonos (τοῦ ὀλκοῦ τοῦ ἐν τῇ ἰσθμῷ τῇ ἐν Μυκόνῳ: *Inscr. de Délos*, 353, A, lines 29-30) crossed this isthmus (cf. note 14), and its southern end probably marked the terminus of the ferry from Delos. The lessee of the ferry and the lessee of the holkos were often the same man (cf. *Inscr. de Délos*; 353, A, lines 28-30; 354, lines 27-30; 399, A, lines 89-90). The revenue from the ferry varied between 55 dr. (269 B.C.; *I.G.*, XI, 2, 203, A, line 29) and 4 dr. (179 B.C.; *Inscr. de Délos*, 442, A, lines 153-154); from the holkos the minimum was 11 dr. (219 B.C.; *Inscr. de Délos*, 353, A, lines 29-30), the maximum 96 dr. (192 B.C., *ibid.*, 399, A, line 89: the revenue may have been greater ca. 205 B.C., as in 204 B.C. a former lessee owed 128 dr.: *Inscr. de Délos*, 369, A, line 39). The ferry service seems to have originated in the Amphictyonic Period (cf. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 138, B, ba, lines 9-10 [314 B.C.]).

<sup>152</sup> The ferry to Mykonos is sometimes called τὸ πορθμεῖον τὸ εἰς Ἀπολλώνιον (*Inscr. de Délos*; 290, line 29; 372, A, line 27; 399, A, line 90; 442, A, 153-154) and at other times τὸ πορθμεῖον τὸ εἰς Μύκονον (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 199, B, 97; 287, A, line 39; *Inscr. de Délos*; 368, line 41): this shows that Apollonion was part of Mykonos (cf. *B.C.H.*, XVII, 1893, pp. 487, 497). The earliest mention of Apollonion is in *I.G.*, XI, 2, 203, A, line 29.

than the Hieropoioi, for in their records the earliest reference to the two estates on the peninsula, Thaleon and Dorion-Chersonesos, dates about 225 B.C., and the isthmus is first listed in 219 B.C.<sup>153</sup> The rentals from these properties were kept separate by the Hieropoioi from the Delian and Rheneian rentals. The revenue from the isthmus, which was pasture land,<sup>154</sup> is regularly recorded in the accounts under the heading τέλη: this shows that the land was not regarded as an ordinary estate, and suggests that the lessee of the isthmus was a τελώνης,<sup>155</sup> to whom grazing fees were paid by Mykoniot animal breeders. For the rents of Thaleon and Dorion-Chersonesos the Hieropoioi acted merely as agents, transferring the funds partly to the Delian Boule and partly to the Delian superintendents of sacrifices and festivals.<sup>156</sup> The estates seem to have been administered, however, in accordance with the terms of the *Hiera Syngraphe*; the lessees were obliged to furnish guarantors and to renew them annually,<sup>157</sup> and an inventory was made with every change of tenant and at the expiration of every lease. The leasing periods seem to have been ten years in length. New leases were not, however, assigned at the same time as the leases for the Rheneian and Delian estates, but were issued in years whose last digit is 7; <sup>158</sup> this suggests that the Hieropoioi began their administration in either 237 B.C. or 227 B.C.

<sup>153</sup> *Inscr. de Délos*, 346, A, line 13; 353, A, lines 33-34.

<sup>154</sup> *Inscr. de Délos*, 354, line 30: ἐνομίον ἐν τῇ ἰσθμῷ (cf. *Klio*, XX, 1925, pp. 61-62). In the Athenian Colonial Period the land was converted into a farm: the passage (*Inscr. de Délos*, 1416, B, II, lines 5-23) is sadly mutilated, but it seems clear from lines 11-14 that the new lessees (of 157-56 B.C.) agreed to build a dwelling at their own expense and to leave it there when their lease was up. Other lines show that in return for this the lessees were granted a ten year lease at a low rental. See the commentary of P. Roussel, *Inscr. de Délos*, III, p. 55, col. I. The revenues that the Temple of Apollo received from the isthmus during the administration of the Hieropoioi were 22 dr. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 353, A, 33-34; 219 B.C.), 40 dr. (*ibid.*, 368, line 42; 206 B.C.), 30 dr. (*ibid.*, 399, A, lines 90-91; 192 B.C.), and 5 dr. (*ibid.*, 442, A, line 154).

<sup>155</sup> On farming of public revenues during the Hellenistic Age, cf. Andreades, *Hist. Gk. Pub. Finance*, I, pp. 159-161.

<sup>156</sup> It is significant that part of the revenue was ear-marked for sacrifices, for this is reminiscent of the purpose of the endowment of Nicias in 417 B.C. (above, p. 256), and suggests that Apollonion was originally privately endowed to help pay for certain sacrifices (cf. note 162; also *B.C.H.*, XXXII, 1908, pp. 130-132).

<sup>157</sup> *Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, lines 99-100; cf. *B.C.H.*, XXXII, 1908, pp. 454-456, Molinier, *Les "maisons sacrées,"* p. 64.

<sup>158</sup> *Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, lines 99-102 (207 B.C.); in this passage old leases terminate and new leases for the ensuing period are issued. The leases of temple-owned houses on Delos terminated in years whose last digits are 7 and 2, and were five year leases (Molinier, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-45 and 64). It does not necessarily follow, however, that since the leases of the Mykonos estates also terminated in years whose last digit is 7 that they too were five year leases. No record is preserved of the Mykonos estates from a year whose last digit is 2, and it is therefore not possible to be entirely certain, but it is significant that in the records of the year 192 B.C., which are unusually full (*Inscr. de Délos*, 399 and 400) there is no mention of new leases for Mykonos estates. If new leases had been issued at this time, we should expect to find them immediately after the section devoted to new house leases (*Inscr. de Délos*, 400, lines 1-31). Furthermore, since the hieropoioi were obliged by the *Hiera Syngraphe* to issue only ten year leases, five year leases for Mykonos estates would have required an amendment of the law.

The name of the estate Thaleon is associated with the words *θάλεα* and *θάλεια*, and means "the luxuriously fertile estate." This name is fully justified by Thaleon's extant inventory, in which the following items are preserved: a courtyard gate, a farmhouse, a building for men, another building, a cattle shelter, 1140 vines, 143 fig trees, 147 cultivated olive trees, 87 wild olive trees that had been grafted, 200 wild olive trees, and 101 apple trees.<sup>159</sup> The presence of the olive trees on the estate is interesting, since Thaleon is the only temple estate for which cultivated olive trees are recorded. The large number of wild olive trees that were being converted by grafting into bearers of good fruit indicates that olive trees at this time were a profitable investment. In order to grow well, fruit trees need protection from strong winds, and we may therefore locate Thaleon in the sheltered valley in the northern half of the Mykonos peninsula that slopes between steep hills in a southeast direction to the isthmus. This valley is used today for the cultivation of vines and fig trees, and is the only spot in western Mykonos where olive trees are now found (cf. Pl. 90, Nos. 2 and 3). Only two rental figures for the estate are preserved, and these are from successive years; in 207 B.C. the rent was 356 dr. and in 206 B.C. 381 dr.<sup>160</sup>

The name Dorion-Chersonesos indicates a double estate whose two parts were probably once leased separately. Chersonesos ("peninsula") is sufficient to locate the second of the original estates: it consisted of the long promontory at the south of the Mykonos peninsula called today "Aleomandhra,"<sup>161</sup> whose many ancient terraces indicate cultivation in antiquity. The name Dorion ("little gift"), which suggests that the Mykonos estates were originally acquired by the Temple of Apollo as endowments,<sup>162</sup> was probably given to the west coast of the Mykonos peninsula, where there is a small theatre-shaped valley facing Delos. Three mutilated inventories of Dorion-Chersonesos have survived, and since they were all made within thirteen years, they give an approximate picture of the estate as it was in the first quarter of the second century. The estate at that time contained a courtyard gate, a cattle

<sup>159</sup> *Inscr. de Délos*, 366, B, lines 8-23 (207 B.C.). The number 16 is preserved of an item whose name is lost: it was probably another variety of fruit tree.

<sup>160</sup> *Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, lines 99-101.

<sup>161</sup> *Ἀλεόμανδρα* is a word peculiar to the modern Mykoniot dialect, in which *ἄλεος* is used for the more common *φορβάς* or *ἄλογος* ("horse"). *Ἀλεόμανδρα* on Mykonos supplants *φορβασία*, and means "a corral for horses."

<sup>162</sup> Durrbach (commentary on *Inscr. de Délos*, 346, A, line 13) and Roussel (commentary on *Inscr. de Délos*, 1408, A, line 36) were inclined to believe that the revenue from Chersonesos was applied to the festival *Chersonesia*. This may be correct, even though the festival was instituted by traders from South Russia (*B.C.H.*, XXXII, 1908, pp. 126-127; Rostovtzeff, *Soc. Econ. Hist. Hellenistic World*, p. 1484, note 89). On the other hand, the similarity of names may be merely a coincidence. If, however, Durrbach and Roussel are right, the hypothesis that Mykonos revenues were kept separate because the estates were endowed to support certain festivals (cf. note 156) receives strong support. It may be significant that the lessee of Chersonesos in 207 B.C. was in the same year *epistates* of the festival of the Chersonesia (*Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, lines 100, 101, and 132).

shelter, a storehouse for chaff, an upper storey, a building for men, a bake-house, 2750 vines, 47 fig trees, more than 25 wild olive trees, two myrtle trees, and a palm tree. There are also recorded two walnut trees and 50 apple trees in 182 B.C.; by 169 B.C. these numbers had changed to three and six respectively.<sup>163</sup> From this combined inventory it is evident that the estate supported some cattle and produced some grain, but the fruit trees seem less important than in Thaleon. The tremendous number of vines suggests that the largest part of the estate's revenue came at one time from viticulture, but this can scarcely be true in the second century, for the rentals at that time were small. The sums preserved are 300 dr. (207 B.C.), 331½ dr. (206 B.C.), 310 dr. (ca. 182 B.C.), and 210 dr. (169 B.C.: Chersonesos only).<sup>164</sup>

#### FARM PRODUCTS AND FARM BUILDINGS

To return to the estates on Rheneia and Delos, the inventories of fourteen of the twenty estates on these islands in 250 B.C. are recorded in *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 142-174, and scattered inventories from other years raise the number of estates for which some description has survived to seventeen.<sup>165</sup> Only for Akra Delos, Sosimacheia, and Phytalia have we no information. In some instances more than one inventory for the same estate has been preserved: in the majority of these cases there is a remarkable continuity that illustrates the purpose for which inventories were made. For Hippodromos the only change between 250 B.C. and 189 B.C. was the disappearance of a cattle shelter;<sup>166</sup> for Charoneia the vines numbered 2187 in 250 B.C. and 2186 in 189 B.C., the fig trees 43 in 278 B.C., 47 in 250 B.C., and 46 in 189 B.C.<sup>167</sup> The inventories of Panormos from the years 200 B.C. and 182 B.C. show that, apart from the addition of a second *ὑπερῶδιον* between 200 and 182 B.C., the estate remained completely unchanged in seventy years: the number of vines and fruit trees recorded in 182 B.C. is precisely the number given in 250 B.C.<sup>168</sup> The number

<sup>163</sup> *Inscr. de Délos*; 440, B, lines 22-27 (cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 244; *Class. Phil.*, XXXVI, 1941, p. 165, note 21); 452, lines 26-29; 461, Bb, lines 55-57.

<sup>164</sup> *Inscr. de Délos*; 366, A, lines 99-100; 440, B, lines 22-23; 461, Bb, lines 54-55. Cf. Larsen, *Roman Greece*, p. 406.

<sup>165</sup> The references are: *I.G.*, XI, 2: 138, A, lines 6-7 (314 B.C.); 161, C, lines 120-131 (280 B.C.); 163, Bg, line 19 (276 B.C.); 183, line 8 (for the text, see *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 236; the date is either 270 B.C. or 260 B.C., as is shown by the rental of Hippodromos in line 15, which reads on the stone ΠΗΗΔΔΔΗ); *Inscr. de Délos*: 308 (230 B.C.; cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, pp. 240-241); 351, lines 6-21 (220 B.C.); 356 *bis* (210 B.C.; for the correct text, *B.C.H.*, LVI, 1932, pp. 378-384); 374 (200 B.C.); 403, lines 47-53 (189 B.C.); 406, B, lines 80-86 (ca. 188 B.C.); 440, lines 17-21 (ca. 182 B.C.; for the correct text, *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 244); 373 (180 B.C.; cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, pp. 241-243); 445, lines 16-24 (178 B.C.); 452, lines 16-32 (ca. 175 B.C.); and 467 (170 B.C.; cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 245).

<sup>166</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 143-145; *Inscr. de Délos*, 403, lines 51-53.

<sup>167</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2: 163, Bg, line 19 (cf. note 87); 287, A, line 167; *Inscr. de Délos*, 403, line 51.

<sup>168</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 167-169; *Inscr. de Délos*: 374, Ab, lines 1-6; 440, lines 17-21 (*B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 244).

of vines on Chareteia also seems to have been the same in 250 B.C. and 180 B.C.<sup>169</sup> These examples go a long way to prove that there was never any general destruction of vines in the temple estates, and that the decreased vineyards of Rhamnoi and Nikou Choros during the second century were the exception rather than the rule.<sup>170</sup>

<sup>169</sup> In *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 171 the number of vines given on the stone is Π[. .]; in 210 B.C. the figures are ΠΠΔ (Lacroix, *B.C.H.*, LVI, 1932, p. 384, note 3); and in 180 B.C. ΠΠΔ (*Inscr. de Délos*, 373, B, line 15; for the date, *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, pp. 241-42). These sums, which were first read by Lacroix, and which on inspecting the stones proved absolutely correct, are so similar in appearance that it is clear that the same digits were intended in all three cases. The letter-cutter of 250 B.C. has failed to complete his first digit, a particularly unfortunate omission, since the other two inventories leave us with a choice of either 560 vines or 5060 (560? is the usual choice; cf. Jardé, *Les céréales*, p. 153). The first number is incredibly small for the largest of the temple estates, and yet 5060 vines is more than twice the number for any other estate on Rheneia (the closest approach is 2750 vines for Dorion-Chersonesos; see above, page 289). Nevertheless, in view of the tremendous rentals of Chareteia near the end of the fourth century, the larger figure, 5060 vines, seems preferable. It may be noted also that the district called "Ambela" was part of the estate of Chareteia (see note 172).

<sup>170</sup> In 250 B.C. the vines on Rhamnoi numbered 1978 (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 155); the number listed in *Inscr. de Délos*, 374, Aa, line 27 (200 B.C.) is 1350. The beginning of line 28 is lost, so that the maximum possible was 1399. Nevertheless, 1350 seems to be the correct number, for Durrbach's restoration of lines 27-28 is incorrect. Not only does [θαλάμους || τεθυρωμένο] vs in line 27 not correspond with the θαλάμους ἀθύρους of *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 155, but his restoration requires fifty letters to the line, whereas other lines of *Inscr. de Délos*, 374, Aa vary between 36 and 44 letters. It seems better, therefore, to restore lines 27 and 28 thus:

27. [βούσασιν ἄθρον, θαλάμους ἀθύρο] vs, ἀμπέλους ΧΗ[Η]ΗΠ,

28. [συκᾶς ΠΔΔΔΔΙ, ῥοήν. Λυκόνειο] ν Ὀρθοκλ[ῆς] Ἀρισ[τεῖ]δ[ου]

The number of vines on Nikou Choros in 250 B.C. was 700 (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 157). An inventory of an estate whose name is lost gives the number of vines as 100 (210 B.C.; *Inscr. de Délos*, 356 bis, B, lines 27-29; for the correct text, Lacroix, *B.C.H.*, LVI, 1932, p. 382), but although the names of Nikomachos and Xenokrates (lessees of Nikou Choros and Rhamnoi in 206 B.C.; *Inscr. de Délos*, 368, line 25) are preserved, it is unlikely that the estate referred to is Nikou Choros, since in 209 B.C. the lessee of Nikou Choros was Xenokrates only (*Inscr. de Délos*, 362, A, line 17). The association of the two men in 210 B.C. was therefore the role of co-guarantors, not of co-lessees (cf. Lacroix, *op. cit.*, p. 383). In the year 180 B.C., however, the number of 700 vines had fallen to 600 (*Inscr. de Délos*, 373, B, 8), and between 180 B.C. and 178 B.C. the number again dropped from 600 to a mere 2 (*Inscr. de Délos*, 445, line 24). This reduction is so drastic that Jardé could not persuade himself that it was possible and preferred in place of || to read H, but Durrbach later reiterated his reading (cf. Larsen, *Roman Greece*, p. 405) and my own reading of the stone showed that a horizontal stroke had never been engraved. It is even more surprising, however, to find that the virtually complete disappearance of the vineyards did not affect the rental of Nikou Choros, though it may have caused lessees to change. In 180 B.C. the new lease called for 96 dr. 4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> ob. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 373, B, lines 2-8) while a second lease in 178 B.C. was issued for exactly the same amount (*Inscr. de Délos*, 445, line 19).

While discussion of the rentals is reserved for pages 302-313, it should be noted that the vineyards of Rhamnoi and Nikou Choros, two adjacent estates on the slopes of Khoulakas, do not seem to have been reduced systematically or to have been deliberately destroyed. Indeed, the survival of two vines in 178 B.C. argues against it. So does the preservation of vineyards in other Rheneian estates. It seems more probable that the losses in Rhamnoi and Nikou Choros were due to some natural disaster, such as a landslide. It may have been that lessees were not obligated under the *Hiera*

It should be emphasized that the inventories of the Hieropoioi do not give a complete picture of any estate, but record only those items which happened to be the property of the Temple of Apollo. The personal property of the lessee, such as furniture, agricultural implements, slaves, livestock, produce, and so on, are not included: an inventory contains merely a list of buildings erected on the estate, which the lessee was expected to leave in good repair, and the number of vines and fruit trees for whose preservation he was responsible: <sup>171</sup> the inventory therefore gives a picture only of what the estate contained after the lessee had departed.

One of the most notable features of the temple estates is the large number of vines that many of them possessed. This seems to be the chief difference between the modern farms on Delos and Rheneia and the ancient estates, for these two islands today have no vineyards, and present day vineyards in western Mykonos are few and very small. In 250 B.C. nine of the ten Rheneian estates contained a total of 16,772 vines, and if the numbers listed elsewhere for other estates are added, the total is greater than twenty thousand. It is thus clear that many of the ancient terraces must have been occupied with vineyards, <sup>172</sup> especially if one assumes—and it seems very likely—that the type of vine in the temple estates was that which is found today in the Cyclades, where the plants, instead of being trained upright and supported by sticks, are trained to grow close to the ground in order to avoid as much as possible the strong summer winds. However, it should not be assumed that most of the arable land was filled with vineyards, for while some vineyards were extensive, it does not appear that they ever occupied more than a fraction of the soil available for cultivation. <sup>173</sup> The fruit orchards of Delos and Rheneia seem to have been smaller and less important than the orchards of the Mykonos estates.

*Syngraphe* to replace vines or fruit trees that were destroyed through no fault of the lessees: in modern times whenever a contract's fulfilment is prevented by "an act of God," the contract becomes null and void.

<sup>171</sup> See note 88.

<sup>172</sup> Vine planters on Mykonos informed me that vines must be planted at least half a meter deep and that care should be exercised to find a place sheltered from the north wind. This must mean that on Delos and Rheneia the vineyards were to be found only in valleys and on terraces on the south slopes of hills. The most fertile valley in Rheneia today is called "Ambela," although no vines have grown there within the memory of the oldest inhabitants (cf. above, note 169).

<sup>173</sup> A comparison of modern vineyards on the mainland and on the islands showed that the island vines require considerably more space. At Stiris in Boeotia and at Corinth vines are planted one meter apart in rows that are also one meter apart. Each vine therefore occupies one square meter. At Mykonos, on the other hand, where vines grow horizontally rather than vertically, one small vineyard 10 m. by 12 m. contained only eleven vines which were planted at irregular intervals, and in another vineyard 20 m. square there were 41. A vineyard on Syros 40 m. by 25 m. contained 106 vines. Thus the average area need for an island vine is approximately ten square meters. The total number of vines listed in 250 B.C. for the estates that were located in southern Rheneia (including half of the Chareteia vines) is 11,892 (for the figures, see page 299), which presumably occupied approximately 120,000 sq. m. The area of the whole of southern Rheneia is given by Stavropoulos as 6.261 sq. km. (*Πρακτικά*, 1900, p. 67, note 1), so that if the estimated area of the

It is only by the inclusion in the inventories of storehouses for chaff, mill-houses, and in one case a granary that we know that many of the estates produced grain. No figures are given of the amount of grain grown, and there seems no way of arriving at even approximate estimates. Nor are we told what types of grain were produced, though it seems probable that most of it, if not all, was barley.<sup>174</sup> Neither do the inscriptions preserve any set of regulations according to which lessees were expected to cultivate their estates, and it is not known whether any were ever codified. It may be assumed, however, that agricultural methods followed those that were prevalent in most parts of Greece, and were probably very similar to the standards set in nearby Amorgos.<sup>175</sup> In general, it would appear that the farming methods employed today in Delos and Rheneia differ little from those of ancient times. It is noteworthy that in the case of the plow there has been practically no change, and farmers still use the forked stick of their forefathers.<sup>176</sup> Alternation of plowed and fallow fields still follows the pattern described in the Amorgos inscriptions, and the names of several types of farm buildings are the same today as in the Delian accounts. This remarkable continuity in farming tradition seems due partly to the nature of the terrain, on which modern farm machinery would be useless; one might also add that the farmers in the vicinity of Delos have seldom enjoyed sufficient prosperity to afford the luxury of experimentation.

All but one of the fourteen estates inventoried in 250 B.C. had either a cattle shelter or a sheep pen, and ten estates had both. It thus appears that nearly all the estates supported some cattle and sheep, though here once again there seems no way of arriving at even approximate numbers. While some cattle were privately owned,

Rheneian vineyards is even remotely close to the mark, only a small fraction (less than  $\frac{1}{500}$ ) of southern Rheneia contained vineyards. Even after a maximum deduction is made for the cemetery area, the barren hillsides, and other useless ground, a considerable amount of arable land seems to have been available for orchards and grain fields.

<sup>174</sup> It has been shown by N. Jasny (*Am. Hist. Review*, XLVII, 1941-42, pp. 751-57) that in ancient times in the Aegean area not only was barley easier to grow, but when marketing costs were low, it yielded greater profit. The only two references in the Delian inscriptions to grain possessed by lessees are to barley (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 142, lines 7 and 11).

<sup>175</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 7, 62, lines 7-13. The inscription is edited together with translation and full commentary by J. Delamarre (*Revue de Phil.*, XXV, 1901, pp. 165-188). Vines were cultivated twice during the spring and fig trees once, while the two field system of sowing grain each year in only half the area available and leaving the other half fallow was strictly observed. This was the usual Greek practice (cf. Rostovtzeff, *Soc. Ec. Hist. Hellenistic World*, pp. 1186-89; Jardé, *Les céréales*, pp. 81 ff.).

<sup>176</sup> A. S. F. Gow (*J.H.S.*, XXXIV, 1914, pp. 249-75) distinguishes four forms of the ancient plow. The common type today in use in mainland Greece is essentially the same as the ancient, but somewhat different in detail. In the Cyclades, however, where farms are poorer, implements are often more primitive, and I noted in use near the cemetery area of Rheneia a plow that consisted merely of a forked branch with a handle fastened to it (Gow's "Form II," which seems to have been the most common in ancient Greece; *loc. cit.*, p. 250). Even cruder plows (Gow's "Form I") have been noted in use on Amorgos (J. T. Bent, *The Cyclades* [London, 1885], p. 97).

others belonged to the Temple of Apollo, and were doubtless kept in preparation for various sacrifices. The lessees were probably allowed to use these animals for draught purposes and for milk in return for their maintenance.<sup>177</sup> On the other hand, all sheep seem to have been privately owned. The inventories have no direct evidence for the presence of any other farm animals, but it seems probable that many lessees kept swine,<sup>178</sup> for which there was a ready market on Delos, and there was doubtless the usual complement of goats and dogs. A chance reference in Aelian makes it unlikely that there was any bee-keeping.<sup>179</sup>

The inventories of the Hieropoioi list several kinds of farm buildings, and for each one it is carefully noted whether it is a building "with a door" (τεθρωμένος) or "without a door" (ἄθυρος). It was evidently the custom in ancient Greece to regard all wooden architectural parts of a farmhouse as part of the household furniture, and an Attic lease of 306/5 B.C. shows that in the case of rented farms the woodwork was usually the property of the tenant.<sup>180</sup> The words τεθρωμένος and ἄθυρος in the Delian inventories indicate that while farm tenants in other parts of Greece may have had to bring their own doors, the Hieropoioi supplied many of the doors needed on the temple estates, and it was only for buildings "without a door" that the lessee, if he wished any, had to supply doors of his own.<sup>181</sup> Some buildings

<sup>177</sup> The provisions in the *Hiera Syngraphe* concerning lessees who cared for cattle owned by the temple have already been noticed (page 277). These animals were specially branded to distinguish them from others (*Inscr. de Délos*, 503, lines 25-26; cf. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 58). Since they were temple property, it is somewhat surprising to find that they were not included in the inventories. For privately owned cattle, cf. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 142, line 11; *Inscr. de Délos*, 503, lines 19-21 and 27-30. For the importance of cattle breeding in Greek economy, Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, pp. 1190-91 and bibliography on p. 1619, note 147; H. Michell, *The Economics of Ancient Greece*, pp. 59 ff.

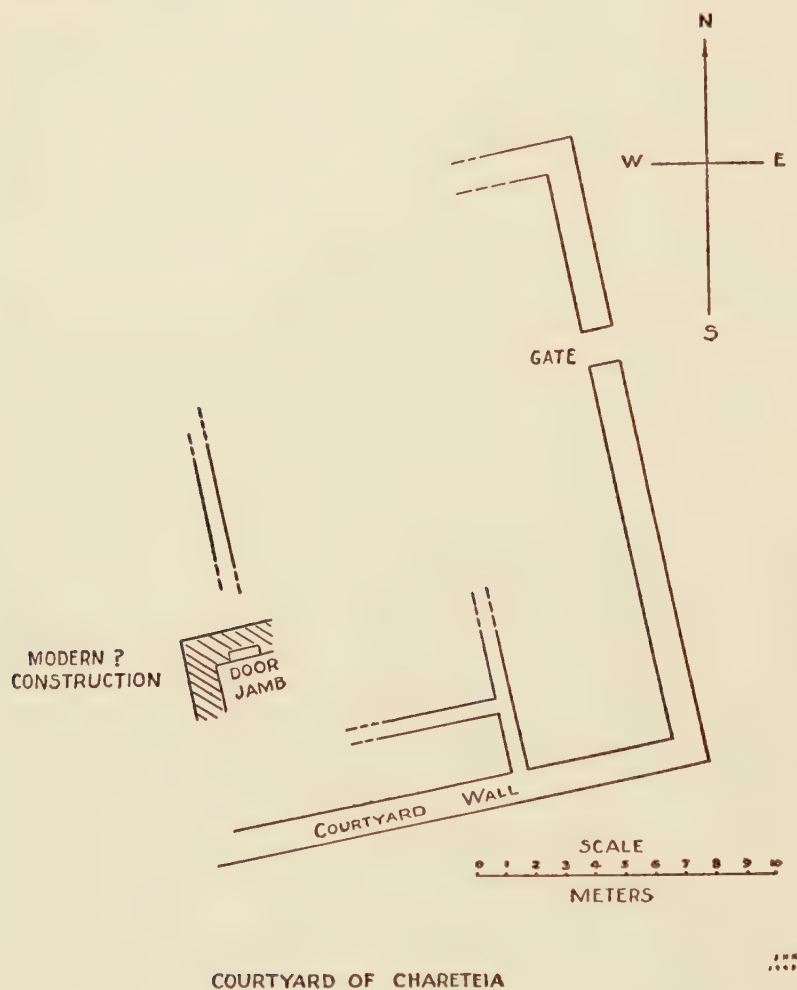
<sup>178</sup> In 269 B.C. two pigs were sold to the hieropoioi by Timesidemus and Aristocrates (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 203, A, lines 52 and 53), who in the same year were lessees of Charoneia (*ibid.*, line 20). For prices of swine at Delos, cf. Larsen, *Roman Greece*, pp. 386-87. Heichelheim's table (*Wirtschaftliche Schwankungen*, Tab. XIV, pp. 128-29) contains errors, and must be used with caution.

<sup>179</sup> Aelian (Περὶ Ζωῶν, v, 42) states that bees could not live on Mykonos.

<sup>180</sup> *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2499, lines 11-14 and 30-37. Cf. E. Ziebarth, *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, XIX, 1906, p. 281; D. M. Robinson, *Olynthus* XII, pp. 449-50, 461. Thucydides (ii, 14, 1) relates that when the inhabitants of Attica moved into Athens in 431 B.C. they brought from the farms (ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν) all their household equipment (τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευὴν ἣ κατ' οἶκον ἐχρῶντο) and the woodwork of the houses (τῶν οἰκιῶν τὴν ξύλῳσιν). Cf. also *I.G.*, XII, 5, 872, line 44 (Tenos, ca. 300 B.C.): ἐπρί[ατο τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν] ἐ[ν] ἄστει πᾶσαν καὶ θύρας τὰς ἐπούσας καὶ τὸ οἰκόπεδο μ' ἅπαν [τὸ πρ]ὸς τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἃ ἦμ Φιλοθέου (see also line 63 of the same inscription): this shows clearly that house, doors, and lot were regarded as three separate entities.

<sup>181</sup> Even today the lessees of Rheneian farms, which are owned and leased by the municipality of Mykonos, are obliged to furnish their own doors. These doors are roughly rectangular and have attached to one vertical edge a pole which projects beyond the top and bottom of the door proper and acts as a pivot. To fit the door in place, the top of the pole is thrust upward into a slot hollowed in the lintel—or more usually into a crack in the stonework—and the bottom of the pole is pushed into a hole dug in the threshold. While such doors usually fit very badly into their doorways, they have the advantage of being easily removed.

were also furnished with interior wooden props and beams.<sup>182</sup> An item supplied to all estates was a *θύρα αὐλεία*; a door which implies that a courtyard containing farm buildings and surrounded by a wall was a feature of all the temple estates, for the *θύρα αὐλεία* surely refers to a door set in the gateway of a courtyard wall, through which access was gained into the farm compound from the world outside.<sup>183</sup> This is



COURTYARD OF CHARETEIA

Fig. 6

<sup>182</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 166, 170, 171; *Inscr. de Délos*, 445, lines 22-23. For a ladder (*κλίμαξ*) of date palm wood, *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 146.

<sup>183</sup> In the case of Greek city houses the *θύρα αὐλεία* was the main door of the house (cf. Plato, *Symp.*, 212, C; Lysias, i, 17; Theophrastos, *Char.*, 18, 4), which was so-called because it opened into an *αὐλή* within the house (D. M. Robinson and J. W. Graham, *Olynthus* VIII, p. 152). In the case of the temple estates, however, *θύρα αὐλεία* cannot mean "farmhouse door," for the only building common to all estates (the equivalent of a farm-house) was the *κλείσιον*, which is always described separately as *τεθυρωμένον*.

partially corroborated by the discovery of the remains of four farm courtyards, three on Rheneia and one on Delos: at each site there are remains of stone walls enclosing rectangular areas which contain vestiges of ancient buildings.<sup>184</sup>

The farm buildings in the inventories that were not used for human habitation may be passed over briefly. Ten estates had an *ἱπνών* ("bake-house"), which was probably a small building containing an oven:<sup>185</sup> *βούστασις* means "a standing place for cattle" and probably, as today, indicated any kind of cattle shelter. *Προβατῶν* (mod. *provatona*) was a shelter for sheep: it is invariably described in the inventories as *ἄθυρος*, which may indicate that the structure was not walled on all sides. Four estates on Rheneia had a *μυλῶν*, "mill-house," whose mill was presumably the rotary type common in the Hellenistic Age.<sup>186</sup> An *ἀχυρῶν* (mod. *achyrona*) was a structure used as a storehouse for chaff. Since chaff is stored for winter fodder, the presence of this building on an estate indicates both animal husbandry and grain fields, while estates without one probably produced little or no grain. A *σιτοβολῶν* (granary) is listed for Chareteia, and a *πιθῶν* for Panormos; in the latter structure, which was possibly a cellar, large storage jars (*πίθοι*) were buried up to the neck.<sup>187</sup> Two estates, Charoneia and Rhamnoi, had a farm tower (*πύργος*; *πύργιον*); the first has been located on the top of Palia Vardhia, the second was probably on the summit of Khoulakas.<sup>188</sup>

<sup>184</sup> In northern Rheneia, in the district called "Ambela," 50 m. northwest of the French surveyors' marker (Marker TN in Fig. 1 of Bellot, *Explor. archéol. de Délos*, I) are remains of a courtyard wall 1 m. thick preserved to a height of 0.30 m. A gateway approximately a meter wide appears in the east wall, and the ground plan leaves little doubt that the site contains the remains of a farm compound (cf. Fig. 6). On Delos, at the northwestern corner of the "Region of the Terraces" (the site is marked in red on Bellot's map, and lies directly east of a hill whose altitude is 55.9 m.) are remains of a courtyard *ca.* 30 m. square, within which are wall foundations and one door jamb still standing to a height of 1.4 m. These two sites probably mark the farm compounds of the estates Chareteia and Phoinikes. The double courtyard of Charoneia has already been mentioned (page 251).

<sup>185</sup> Liddell-Scott-Jones (followed by D. M. Robinson, *Olynthus* XII, p. 480) gives the meaning of *ἱπνών* as "kitchen," a word that usually indicates a room *in a house* where food is cooked. The inventories, however, list *ἱπνών* as a separate item, which seems to imply that it was not entered through another structure, but had an outside entrance of its own. Accordingly, I have preferred the translation "bake-house." At least one *ἱπνών* seems to have been a free standing building (cf. *Class. Phil.*, XLII, 1947, p. 201); another is described as having a beam supported by pillars (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 166). Hellenistic bake-houses, containing four or five ovens, have been found in Egypt (A. R. Schütz, *Der Typus des hellenistisch-ägyptischen Hauses* [diss. Giessen, 1936], pp. 35-36).

<sup>186</sup> *A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, pp. 86-90; Robinson and Graham, *Olynthus* VIII, pp. 326 ff. For the meaning of *μυλῶν*, cf. W. Petersen, *Class. Phil.*, XXXII, 1937, p. 326.

<sup>187</sup> D. M. Robinson; *T.A.P.A.*, LXV, 1934, p. 128; *Olynthus* XII, pp. 204-5, 258, 468; W. Petersen, *loc. cit.*

<sup>188</sup> In city houses the *πύργος* was often part of the house used as quarters for women (cf. Robinson, *Olynthus* XII, p. 469), but this was scarcely a tower's function on a farm. Buondelmonte describes the tower of Charoneia thus: *non longe a meditate dicte insule turris erigitur, que olim*

The evidence concerning farm buildings used for living quarters, and thus presumably located within the circuit of the courtyard walls, is more difficult to interpret. The word *ὑπερώδιον*, a diminutive of *ὑπερώον*, "upper storey," is peculiar to the Delian inventories. Strangely enough, the inventories do not indicate on which farm buildings the upper storeys were erected, but list each upper storey as a separate item. This is enough to show that other structures listed separately were not necessarily separate buildings, but may have been part of a larger building and had a separate entrance, or else may have stood wall to wall with other structures. In Olynthus<sup>189</sup> sleeping quarters for both men and women seem to have been located almost without exception in the second storey, but in Athens and Delos the upper storey appears to have been intended primarily for women.<sup>190</sup> It is therefore probable that on the temple estates the upper storeys were intended more for the use of women than of men, though they could, of course, have been used for anything the tenant saw fit. Possibly the upper storeys had exterior entrances independent of the ground floor and exterior steps leading up to them: this is the common method of access to upper storeys in the houses of the Cyclades today.

That the upper storeys were intended primarily for women is also suggested by the *ἀνδρώνια* on the estates, which were almost certainly sleeping quarters for men. This diminutive of *ἀνδρών* would ordinarily mean a small men's banqueting room, but in the Delian inscriptions *ἀνδρῶνες* and *ἀνδρωνίτιδες* appear to mean parts of a

*habitabatur tempore suspicionis atque timoris* (L. Gallois, *Explor. archéol. de Délos*, III, pp. 10-11): there is little doubt that this explanation of the purpose of farm towers, especially in the Aegean islands, is substantially correct. Most of the towers have a wide view of surrounding territory and of the sea, and were thus intended primarily as places where watch could be kept for the approach of pirates (cf. H. A. Ormerod, *Piracy in the Ancient World*, pp. 41-49) and as places of refuge in emergencies. When not so used, the towers were probably employed as places for storage (cf. *I.G.*, XII, 5, 872, line 53: τοῦ πύργου καὶ τοῦ πιθῶνος τοῦ ἐν τῷ πύργῳ). For the significance of farm towers, see Rostovtzeff, *Soc. Ec. Hist. Hellenistic World*, pp. 202 and 1460; for a catalogue of towers in the Aegean, R. M. Dawkins and A. J. B. Wace, *Ann. Br. Sch. Athens*, XII, 1905-06, pp. 151-174. To their bibliography may be added I. Dragatses, *Πρακτικά*, 1920, pp. 147-172; J. P. Droop, *Ann. Arch. Anthropol.*, X, 1925, pp. 41-45; H. Möbius, *Ath. Mitt.*, XLVI, 1925, pp. 37-44. None of these mention the towers on Rheneia.

The tower of Charoneia has already been mentioned (cf. notes 17 and 18). Although special effort was made to locate the "little tower" of Rhamnoi, especially on the ridge of Khoulakas, no traces of it were found.

<sup>189</sup> Robinson and Graham, *Olynthus* VIII, pp. 207, 214-219; G. Mylonas in Robinson, *Olynthus* XII, pp. 280-82.

<sup>190</sup> Lysias (i, 9) shows that upper storeys in Athens were normally for the use of women, though the same passage shows that they might be used by others. For the Delian houses, J. Chamonard, *Explor. archéol. de Délos*, VIII, pp. 196-200 (cf. Robinson and Graham, *Olynthus* VIII, pp. 167-69). It therefore seems plausible that upper storeys on the temple estates were intended for women's quarters. The distinction between *ὑπερώον* and *ὑπερώδιον* is not clear: possibly the former was a second storey with an area equal to the ground floor, while the latter was smaller. One *ὑπερώον* contained a separate sleeping compartment (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 152).

house complex that were used only by men: <sup>191</sup> the *ἀνδρώνια* of the estates were therefore men's dormitories. They may have been either free-standing buildings or have been attached to other structures, but it is evident that they had outside entrances, as we are told of one *andronion* whose door opened into a garden.<sup>192</sup> That *hyperodia* and *andronia* were quarters for farm workers seems assured by the fact that the two estates, Phoinikes and Skitoneia, that had a large upper storey (*ὑπερφῶν*) had no building for men (*ἀνδρόνιον*).<sup>193</sup>

The word *θάλαμος* means "an inner room" or "chamber," and is the usual Greek word for a bedroom. That this is the meaning of the word in three of the inventories is shown by the fact that the *thalamos* is described as an inner room that was part of a larger structure.<sup>194</sup> In other cases, however, the *thalamos* is listed separately, which probably means that it was either a free-standing building or else that it was a room that opened, not into another room, but directly into the courtyard. Moreover, since all estates did not have a *thalamos*, it was evidently not a building or room intended for the use of the lessee. Since it is clear that the upper storeys were intended for women and the *andronia* for men, and since it is difficult to imagine either that no provision was made on estates for housing married workers or that all farm workers were unmarried, the most plausible hypothesis seems to be that the *thalamoi* were structures that were intended for the use of married couples. That they were sometimes apartments of considerable size is shown by the fact that one of them is recorded to have had a roof beam supported by pillars.<sup>195</sup>

Other buildings listed in the inventories are *οἰκία*, *οἶκημα*, and *κλείσιον*. The first is found on only one estate, and the second only on three, so that it is evident that neither was important for an estate to have.<sup>196</sup> The *kleision*, however, seems to have been the principal building on the estates, since it is the only building that is listed for every estate, and the Hieropoioi invariably supplied it with a door. In most in-

<sup>191</sup> S. Molinier (*Les "maisons sacrées,"* p. 18 and Tab. II) shows clearly how in *ἡ οἰκία Χαρήτεια* (not to be confused with the estate of the same name) the men's and women's quarters were leased separately (cf. *I.G.*, XI, 2: 158, A, line 17; 161, A, lines 16-17; 162, A, lines 14-15; 199, A, lines 8-9; 203, A, lines 25-28; 204, lines 29, 32-33).

<sup>192</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 147. Another *andronion* consisted of two rooms, an outer and inner chamber (*ibid.*, line 171).

<sup>193</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 152 and 163.

<sup>194</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 145-146, 152, 171.

<sup>195</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 170.

<sup>196</sup> *Οἰκία* in the Delian inscriptions is the word used for houses in the city of Delos. Only one estate, Charoneia, had an *οἰκία* (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 165), and its remains indicate that it was a house of the city type (see p. 251). An *οἶκημα* is also listed for Charoneia, which seems to have been a second house (cf. *ἄλλην οἰκίαν*, *loc. cit.*; Fig. 4, p. 251). However, the three *οἰκήματα* of Skitoneia (*ibid.*, line 163) seem to have buildings in the broadest sense of the word, though they may have had some special function of which we are ignorant (see p. 300). The *οἶκημα* of Leimon seems to have housed farm workers, as this estate had no *thalamos*, *andronion*, or upper storey (*ibid.*, lines 148-149).

ventories it is listed second to the courtyard gate, which was also supplied for every estate. The *kleision* was, therefore, what we should call the "farmhouse."<sup>197</sup> In one instance a *kleision* is described as having separate sleeping quarters, from which it may be inferred that the "farmhouse" usually consisted of only one room.<sup>198</sup> The only literary passage describing the *kleision* of a farm comes from Homeric times (*Odyssey* xxiv, lines 208-210):

ἐνθα οἱ οἶκος ἔην, περὶ δὲ κλίσιον θέε πάντα  
ἐν τῷ σιτέσκοντο καὶ ἔζανον ἥδὲ ἱανον  
δμῶες ἀναγκαῖοι:

"There was his [Laertes'] house, and all around it ran the *kleision*, in which ate, and sat, and slept the slaves who were forced to serve him." It is not clear from the passage whether the *kleision* was built wall to wall with Laertes' house and opened away from it, or whether it formed a courtyard around the house and opened inward towards it: if the latter was the case—and this might seem more probable—the *kleision* on the temple estates may have been set back to back with the courtyard wall, or may have been built into it. More important than the architecture, however, is the function that Homer ascribes to his *kleision*: it was the place that "slaves ate, and sat, and slept." The sleeping quarters on the temple estates are already accounted for, but it may well be that the *kleision* of the estates retained its Homeric role as the place where farm workers "ate and sat." If we think of it as a sort of living room for farm workers, and the place where the lessee normally had his headquarters, we are able to explain satisfactorily why the *kleision* was an essential feature of each estate.

Apart from the *οἰκία* and possibly the *kleision*, the general appearance of the farm buildings listed in the inventories may best be pictured by describing the farm buildings today on Rheneia and Delos, some of which appear to be partly of ancient construction. These all conform to one pattern, being rectangular structures from

<sup>197</sup> The references to the *κλείσιον* are collected in the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, IV, *s. v.* *κλίσιον*; see also the important discussion by A. Grenier in Daremberg-Saglio, *Dict. Ant.*, V, 871. The word is usually taken to mean an outhouse, a shed, or a lean-to (so Liddell-Scott-Jones, *s. v.* *κλείσιον*; Robinson, *Olynthus* XII, p. 462), but there is much disagreement among ancient sources as to the precise meaning of the word, from which it would seem that the use of it varied with place and time. In Homer the *kleision* was a building for slaves that was built around the farmhouse (see above); in Lysias (xii, 18) it was a cheap house or hut; in Plutarch (*Publicola* 20) it was part of a house, probably the vestibule. This may be the meaning also in *I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, A, lines 55-56 (282 B.C.): τῆς οἰκίας τῆς Ἐπισθενείας τῆς ἐν Κολωνῶι ἐξέδομεν τὸν τοῖχον τὸμ πρὸς νότον τοῦ κλεισίου οἰκοδομήσαι. The scholiasts and lexicographers in later times declare almost unanimously that a *kleision* was a shed or outhouse used to shelter animals, but this cannot be the meaning in the estate inventories, where cattle shelters and sheep pens are listed. It may be that on the temple estates *kleision* was the ancient equivalent of the American "shack" or "shanty," words that denote a small, mean dwelling whose architecture is too humble to merit the name "house."

<sup>198</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 146.

five to ten meters long with a length two to three times their width, oriented east and west. They have only one door, which is always found in the long south side: the doorway varies from a meter and a half to two meters in height. The walls are built of rough stones laid carefully one on the other and are usually half a meter thick and from two to three meters in height: crevices between stones are filled by stacks of smaller stones or, occasionally, by mud. The interior usually consists of one bare rectangular room, but if the building happens to be used as a dwelling, it often has an interior wall and doorway. The roof is flat and consists of two layers of reeds, the lower laid crosswise from the side walls and supporting a second layer placed lengthwise above it, on top of which is a thick covering of mud or turf. Outlets for smoke are made by cutting a hole in the roof near a wall. There are seldom any windows, and never any flooring. In outward appearance all these buildings are similar, and from their construction alone it is impossible to guess the purpose that each serves; nevertheless, they are given different names by the natives according to the particular use of each (cf. Pl. 90, nos. 4, 5, and 6). It therefore seems probable that in ancient times also the name of a farm building depended on its function more than its architecture.

The inventories of the temple estates show that the four principal sources of revenue were livestock, grain, grapes, and figs. It is clear, however, that few estates were engaged in producing all four: of the estates whose inventories are complete, some had no vineyards, some no orchards, some no buildings for animals. The following tables show the items listed by the Hieropoioi for each estate.

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
Courtyard Gate	—	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	1
<i>Kleision</i>	—	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	1
<i>Thalamos</i>	—	2	2	1	2	1	4	2	2	1
<i>Andronion</i>	—	2	2	1	0	2	1	1	1	1
Upper Storey	—	1	2	1	1	1	0	1	0	1
Cattle Shelter	1	1	1	1	1	0	2	1	1	1
Sheep Shelter	—	1	1	1	0	1	2	0	1	1
<i>Achyron</i>	—	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1
Mill-house	—	0	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1
Bake-house	—	1	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	1
Vines	1538	2250	5060	1298	629	1056	2187	1514	1978	700
Fig Trees	—	73	72	29	1	36	47	32	91	15
Other trees	—	2	0	1	0	0	0	3	1	0

	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XXI	XXII
Courtyard Gate	1	1	2	1	1	1	—	1	1
<i>Kleision</i>	1	1	1	1	1	1	—	1	—
<i>Thalamos</i>	1	0	1	3	1	—	2	—	—
Andronion	0	0	0	0	2	—	—	1	1
Upper Storey	0	0	1	1	1	—	—	—	1
Cattle Shelter	1	1	1	1	0	—	—	—	1
Sheep Shelter	1	1	1	1	0	—	—	—	—
<i>Achyron</i>	0	1	1	0	0	—	—	—	1
Mill-house	0	0	0	0	1	—	—	—	—
Bake-house	1	0	1	0	1	—	—	—	1
Vines	0	0	596	0	0	487	—	1140	2750
Fig Trees	0	0	40	0	4	—	—	143	47
Other trees	0	0	5	0	1	—	—	551	79

I. Porthmos. An incomplete inventory of 230 B.C. is preserved in *Inscr. de Délos*, 308, lines 3-5 (cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, pp. 240-241): the number of vines reads on the stone ΧΠΔΔΔΓΙΙΙ.

II. Pyrgoi. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 172-174. The absence of a mill-house suggests that the grain fields were not extensive, the number of vines that viticulture was the chief activity.

III. Chareteia. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 169-172; *Inscr. de Délos*: 356 bis (correct text in *B.C.H.*, LVI, 1932, p. 384); 373, B, lines 8-15. For the number of vines, see note 169. Chareteia was the only estate to possess a granary (cf. note 187), and its cattle shelter and sheep shelter seem to have been larger than the average (ἐστυλωμένον). The estate therefore produced grapes, grain, and livestock on a large scale.

IV. Panormos. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 167-169; *Inscr. de Délos*: 374, Ab, lines 1-6; 440, lines 17-21 (cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 244); 452, lines 22-24. A second upper storey was added to the estate between 200 B.C. and 180 B.C. Here again the absence of a mill-house suggests subordination of grain growing to animal husbandry and viticulture. Panormos was the only estate to possess a *πιθών* (see note 187).

V. Skitoneia. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 162-163; *Inscr. de Délos*, 374, Ab, lines 7-11. The

omissions in the inventory of this estate are peculiar: no *andronion*, no storehouse for chaff, no mill-house, no bake-house, no sheep shelter, and after 200 B.C., no cattle shelter. The estate therefore produced no grain, and had few cattle and no sheep. Yet the number of vines is much too small to account for the rentals recorded for the estate (cf. Jardé, *Les céréales*, p. 153, note 1 [cont. on p. 154]). The highly irregular item of three οἰκήματα in the inventories confirms the impression that Skitoneia was not an ordinary estate and that its revenue came chiefly from some unusual and unknown source.

VI. Dionysion. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 159-161. The absence of a cattle shelter shows that stock raising on this estate was not as important as grain and vines.

VII. Charoneia. *I.G.*, XI, 2: 161, C, lines 120-131; 163, Bg, line 19; 287, A, lines 164-169; *Inscr. de Délos*: 374, Aa, lines 1-10; 403, lines 47-52. See also page 251 and notes 17, 18, and 188. Two of the estate's four *thalamoi* had disappeared by 189 B.C. The listing of only one storehouse for chaff indicates that only one of the two parts of the estate produced grain, and the absence of a mill-house suggests that the amount of this grain was not great. Evidently most of the arable land of Charoneia (notably the many ancient terraces on the south slope

of Kato Vardhia) was occupied by the vineyards. Cattle and sheep were a second source of revenue.

VIII. Limnai. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 157-159; *Inscr. de Délos*, 374, Aa, lines 10-15. A third inventory, partially preserved, appears in *Inscr. de Délos*, 406, B, lines 80-83; Limnai is the only temple estate that had the combination of *θύρας αὐλείας δύο* (line 82) and *ἀνδρώνιον ἄθυρον* (line 83). Since 199-90 B.C. the estate was leased to Melesippos and Philonikos (cf. *Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, line 81), the lessee Δημ[---] (line 80) belongs to the decennium 189-80 B.C., from which no other lessee for Limnai is known. Accordingly, the date of *Inscr. de Délos*, 406 is later than 188 B.C., and line 80 may be restored [*Ἀνεμισθώσαμεν δὲ καὶ Δίμνας, οὐ καθίστα*]ντος τοῦ ἐγγύου Δημ[---]. The absence of a sheep shelter indicates that grapes and grain were the principal products of the estate.

IX. Rhamnoi. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 153-155; *Inscr. de Délos*, 374, Aa, lines 20-29. For the reduction of the number of vines to 1350 in 200 B.C., see note 170. The estate produced no grain (see note 21). The size of the hill Khoulakas is so great that it is probable that the number of sheep and cattle the estate supported was unusually large.

X. Nikou Choros. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 155-157; *Inscr. de Délos*, 373, B, lines 2-8; 445, lines 16-24. For the disappearance of the vineyards in the second century, see note 170. The number of fig trees had by 180 B.C. fallen from 15 to 8 (*Inscr. de Délos*, 373, B, line 8). In the third century the estate produced vines, grain, and livestock. In 178 B.C. the storehouse for chaff is described as *ἐστυλωμένον*, whereas in 250 B.C. it had been simply *ἄθυρον*. The building had thus been enlarged, and the change suggests that the area once occupied by the vineyards was at this time converted to grain fields.

XI. Hippodromos. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 143-145; *Inscr. de Délos*, 403, lines 51-53. The absence of vineyards, orchards, storehouse for chaff, and mill-house shows that the estate was almost entirely devoted to livestock. In 189 B.C.

there was no cattle shelter (cf. note 166); therefore, the estate was primarily a sheep ranch.

XII. Leimon. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 148-149. The estate is unique in that it had no *thalamos*, *andronion*, or upper storey; evidently the small number of farm workers were housed in the *οἶκημα* (cf. note 196). The estate had no vineyards, and its proximity to Hippodromos suggests that livestock rather than grain was its chief source of revenue.

XIII. Phoinikes. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 151-153; *Inscr. de Délos*, 308, line 18 (cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, pp. 240-241). The number of vines shows that viticulture was probably subordinate to grain and livestock. The latter may have been the most important, as Phoinikes had no mill-house and was the only estate with a double sheep shelter (*προβατῶνα διπλοῦν*).

XIV. Soloe-Korakiai. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 149-151. The estate produced neither grain nor grapes, and was therefore a stock ranch.

XV. Kerameion. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 145-146; *Inscr. de Délos*, 374, Ab, line 1. This "estate" was a manufacturing establishment (see note 25) with a tiny garden attached.

XVI. Epistheneia. Incomplete inventories are preserved in *Inscr. de Délos*; 373, A, lines 8-13; 467, lines 1-4; cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, pp. 242, 245. The number of vines given in 180 B.C. is [...]HHΠΔΔΔΠΠ, and the figures preserved for 170 B.C. are HHHHΠΔ[---].

XVII. Lykoneion. An incomplete inventory is contained in *Inscr. de Délos*, 351, lines 18-19. It is possible that *Inscr. de Délos*, 374, Aa, lines 28-30 also refers to Lykoneion: see above, note 170.

XVIII, XIX, and XX. Nothing has been preserved of the inventories of the estates Akra Delos, Sosimacheia, and Phytalia. Possibly the inventory of *Inscr. de Délos*, 356 bis, B, lines 27-29 refers to one of them, or to Lykoneion.

XXI and XXII. Thaleon and Dorion-Chersonesos. See above, pages 288 f.

## RENTALS

Economic historians of the Hellenistic Age have been interested in the temple estates chiefly because of the fluctuations in the rentals.<sup>199</sup> Seen from this point of view the accounts of the estates during the Period of Independence divide themselves into three distinct groups, the first containing the rentals for approximately twenty years, the last two for fifty years each. The first group of farm records consist of those which date from the years 314–*ca.* 294 B.C. and antedate the *Hiera Syngraphe*: this group is separated from the next by an interval of approximately ten years from which only one mutilated fragment survives.<sup>200</sup> The second group dates between the years 284 B.C. and 246 B.C. Records from these years are preserved in sufficient quantity to enable us to recover all the rental prices of the fifty year period between 289–80 B.C. and 249–40 B.C. Following the year 246 B.C. there is another gap, this time for twenty-six years, so that the rentals of the decennia 239–30 and 229–20 B.C. are unknown.<sup>201</sup> The rentals from 219 B.C. to 170 B.C. constitute the third group; these are not as fully preserved as the records of Group II, for the decennial rentals of a few estates are lacking. Group I is featured by steadily rising rents which reached their highest point in 297 B.C.; between this year and 290 B.C. rents evidently fell rapidly, for in Group II the rents, while on the whole steady,<sup>202</sup> are much lower than the peak levels of Group I. Group III is very similar to Group II in that the rental totals are steady, but the rentals of most estates fell between the years 246 B.C. and 220 B.C. Rentals of the estates on Rheneia and Delos during the Period of Independence are as follows:<sup>203</sup>

<sup>199</sup> Attention for the most part has centered on the annual rental totals. Cf. G. Glotz; *Journal des Savants*, XI, 1913, pp. 19–20; *Ancient Greece at Work*, pp. 347–348; W. W. Tarn in Bury, Barbour, Bevan, and Tarn, *The Hellenistic Age*, pp. 116–117; F. Heichelheim, *Wirtschaftliche Schwankungen*, pp. 82–83. The exception is J. A. O. Larsen (*Roman Greece*, pp. 404–407; *Class. Phil.*, XXXVI, 1941, p. 165, note 1), who was the first to point out the danger of focusing attention exclusively on totals. For full bibliography, see Rostovtzeff (*Soc. Ec. Hist. Hellenistic World*, p. 1357, note 2), who repeatedly warns that Delian statistics must be treated with extreme caution (*op. cit.*, pp. 190–191, 235–236, and 1488, note 110).

<sup>200</sup> *I.G.*, XI, 2, 152, A, lines 7–11.

<sup>201</sup> A fragmentary record from *ca.* 233 B.C. is contained in *Inscr. de Délos*, 314, A, lines 36–41 (cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 241). The accounts of 231 B.C. seem to have been recorded in *Inscr. de Délos*, 316, lines 50–57.

<sup>202</sup> This steadiness was first noted by Jardé (*Les céréales*, p. 155, note 4).

<sup>203</sup> Obols and fractions of obols have been reduced to decimal fractions of drachmas (cf. page 271). Brackets enclose a rental that seems probable but which is not fully attested; frequently these rentals are for ten-elevenths of the rental of the following leasing period, the inference being that the lessee renewed his lease with an increase of ten per cent in rental. The complete list of passages that contain information on estate rentals is as follows: GROUP I. 313 B.C.: *I.G.*, XI, 2, 135, lines 23–26. 312–309 B.C.: *I.G.*, XI, 2; 135, lines 1–16; 142, lines 1–12; 143, B, lines 3–4. 303–302 B.C.: *I.G.*, XI, 2, 144; A, lines 9–17 (cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, pp. 234–35), B, lines 78–81. 301–298 B.C.: *I.G.*, XI, 2, 146, lines 9–12. 297–? B.C.: *I.G.*, XI, 2; 149, lines 1–10; 147, A, lines 15–17. GROUP II. 289–80 B.C.: *I.G.*, XI, 2; 156, B, lines 7–20; 157, A, lines 1–6; 158, A, lines 7–14; 160, lines 15–16.

B.C.	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X
313	1000	....	....	....	[460]	....	....	[700]	....	[400]
312-09	1200	890	1750	750	506	750	1050	770	800	440
308-04	....	[1180]	2250	....	[704]	[1201.5]	....	600	....	420
303-02	1653	1298	2475	925	774.4	1321.65	1050	660	601	551.1
301-298	....	1650	....	....	....	1000	....	....	[650]	435 +
297-?	1622	1650	3111	1030	900	1372	1450	612	715	600
289-80	1200	1110	1800	660	560	602	800	361	375	348
279-70	1320	1221	1800	704	530	662.2	800	397.1	429	271
269-60	1432	1343.1	1800	830	560	7[05]	1100	573	471.9	351
259-50	931	1012.1	1400.5	731	483	560	872	{[580] 480}	580	321
249-40	1024.1	1000	1113	611	473	804	1100	343	553	260
219-10	550	602.5	832	384	201	402	421	175	301	191.25
209-00	{812 691}	[495]	915.2	390	311	390	....	212	290	171
199-90	680	521	661	285	225	290	400	208	319	80
189-80	539.04	....	727.1	....	....	[310]	300	....	350.9	88
179-70	592.94	472	799.81	332	332	341	{451 440}	280	351	96.8

B.C.	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX
313	....	[710]	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....
312-09	720	781	810	240	....	....	120	....	....	....
308-04	920	....	[1000]	330	....	....	[190]	....	....	....
303-02	1012	600	1100	....	....	....	209	....	....	....
301-298	[910]	650	1101	....	....	....	200	....	....	....
297-?	1001	661	1101	321	....	....	220	....	....	....

279-70 B.C.: *I.G.*, XI, 2; 161, A, lines 6-15 and C, lines 109-131; 162, A, lines 5-13; 199, A, lines 3-7; 200, lines 1-5; 201, lines 4-8. 269-60 B.C.: *I.G.*, XI, 2; 183, line 15; 203, A, lines 18-25; 204, lines 6-20. 259-50 B.C.: *I.G.*, XI, 2; 223, A, lines 33-39; 224, A, lines 12-17; 225, lines 8-16; 226, A, lines 28-37; 275, A, lines 12-17; 287, A, lines 25-34; 136-142. 249-40 B.C.: *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 142-180; *Inscr. de Délos*, 290, lines 14-21. GROUP III. 219-210 B.C.: *Inscr. de Délos*, 351, lines 6-21; 353, A, lines 3-15 (half the rent only is given in this passage, except for Limnai); 354, lines 35-39; 356, lines 12-15; 356 bis, A, lines 1-13. 209-200 B.C.: *Inscr. de Délos*, 356 bis, B (for correct text, *B.C.H.*, LIV, 1932, pp. 381 ff.); 362, A, lines 15-21; 366, A, lines 102-107; 368, lines 23-33; 369, A, lines 40-41; 371, A, line 26; 372, A, lines 10-18. 199-90 B.C.: *Inscr. de Délos*, 374; 384, A, lines 2-5; 399, A, lines 74-82. 189-80 B.C.: *Inscr. de Délos*, 397, B, lines 1-3; 403, lines 48-53; 404, lines 15-18; 406, B, lines 80-86; 418, lines 2-3; 440, B, lines 17-21. 179-170 B.C.: *Inscr. de Délos*, 373, A, lines 1-44, B, lines 1-19 (*B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, pp. 241-43); 442, A, lines 145-152; 445, lines 16-24; 452, lines 16-32; 456, A, lines 18-19; 459, lines 39-43; 460, u, lines 24-26; 467, lines 1-11 (*B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 245).

B.C.	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	XX
289-80	550	300	720	300	120	500	80	300	201	60
279-70	605	330	710	410	140	590	150	501	340	60
269-60	732.1	350	723	372	166	612	153	512	150	72
259-50	510	{ 302 } 300	600	400	171	660	111	400	250	44
249-40	661	221	651	{ 420 } 421	250	726	122.1	440	275	48.4
219-10	579	204	474.1	201	262	422	153	340.25	200.25	50
209-00	622	[210]	....	354	....	....	....	[431]	150	51
199-90	572	231	580.8	{ 286 } 300	[250]?	345	130	[430]	210	52
189-80	629.2	....	554	....	275	[379.5]	156	....	....	....
179-70	665.5	284	491	248	302.5	411	171.6	150	178	30

I. Porthmos. The payment by a guarantor of 500 dr. in 312 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 135, lines 23-26) was presumably for half the rent. The fact that there was no *hemiolion* (500 is not evenly divisible by 3) suggests that the payment was made promptly, and that the default occurred in the preceding year (313 B.C.). For the sum 1622 dr. in 297 B.C., cf. *B.C.H.*; XXIX, 1905, p. 440; LXIII, 1939, p. 236. For the sum 812 dr. in 208 B.C., see *Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, lines 102-103, where it is stated that Lampron's rental was 121 dr. less than his predecessor's. The digit Π is restored both in this passage and in *Inscr. de Délos*, 368, line 29, but no other figure seems appropriate.

The inclusion of  $\frac{1}{4}$  obol in the rental of 189-80 B.C. (*B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 243) is puzzling, since the rental (539 dr.  $\frac{1}{4}$  obol) cannot have resulted from a ten per cent increase. It may be explained, however, if one supposes that the amounts paid in 192 B.C. by Tlepolemos, son of Amnos, and Tlepolemos, son of Krittis, were 190 dr. and 490 dr. respectively (cf. *Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, line 78), and that when the time for renewals of leases arrived, the second Tlepolemos wished to renew with the ten per cent increase but his partner did not. This would have put the Hieropoioi in a dilemma, which they may have solved by granting to Tlepolemos, son of Krittis, a renewal with a ten per cent increase of *his* share of

Porthmos (490 dr. + 49 dr. = 539 dr.), and when they were unable to lease the remaining part of the estate, they permitted Tlepolemos to use it for the token payment of  $\frac{1}{4}$  obol. This explanation, while it is based entirely on speculation, is the only one that seems to be mathematically plausible.

II. Pyrgoi. In 279 B.C. the amount of rental paid was 1222.1 dr. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 161, A, line 7), which is the figure that results from a ten per cent increase, not of 1110 dr. (the rental of 282 B.C.: *I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, A, line 8), but of 1111 dr. The Hieropoioi were evidently guilty of an error in calculating the ten per cent increase for Dorkon in 279 B.C., but Dorkon's heir, Kleinias, detected and rectified the error when he took over the lease in 278 B.C. (cf. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 162, A, line 6 [the erasure indicates the correction] and *I.G.*, XI, 2, 199, A, line 4). For a similar error in calculation that remained undetected, see below (Phytalia). The sum of 1012.1 dr. paid by Kleinias in the decennium 259-50 B.C. is one of the few certain examples of a fractional sum that was not caused by a ten per cent increase. It would appear that in this case Kleinias was permitted to bid in even drachmas with reference to his former rental. The sum read in *Inscr. de Délos*, 368, line 24 is 247 $\frac{1}{2}$  dr.; this can scarcely be the full rental for 206 B.C., but may be half of it (cf. *ibid.*, lines 26-27).

III. Chareteia. For the rentals of the decennium 259-50 B.C., see note 13. For the rentals from 219 B.C. to 170 B.C., *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 243, note 1.

IV. Panormos. The amount of the rental in the contract of 250 B.C. which went into force in 249 B.C. reads 606 dr. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 167) but the amount paid in 246 B.C. was 611 dr. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 20). The rental total given in the latter inscription adds up correctly, so the sum of 611 dr. must be right. It seems probable that the letter-cutter of *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 167, who had just previously made an error in engraving the word δραχμ{ν}ῶν, also made an error in his numerals, cutting Π for Δ.

V. Skitoneia.

VI. Dionysion. For the rental in 303 B.C., see *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, pp. 234-35. For the decennium 279-70 B.C., *ibid.*, pp. 236-37. There is one digit missing in the rental preserved in *I.G.*, XI, 2, 203, A, line 24 (cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 237): the amount therefore may have been 705 dr., 710 dr., 750 dr., or 800 dr. (701 dr. or 700 dr. 1 ob. are also possible).

VII. Charoneia. The sum read on the lost Oxford stone (*Inscr. de Délos*, 368, line 28) by J. Selden (*Marmora Arundelliana* [London, 1629], p. 45) for the rent of Charoneia was [.]Ϟ[.], but there seems to be an error in the line, either on the part of Selden or the letter-cutter. Durrbach's restoration [H]Ϟ[.] must surely be for half the amount of rental (less than 180 dr.), yet the restoration [Ϟ]Ϟ[.] (at

least 550 dr.) is too large a sum. The name of the estate was erroneously engraved (or read) τοῦ ἐμ Πανόρμωι.

VIII. Limnai. In *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 196 an ἐγδεία of 100 dr. is charged against Moiragenes, a former lessee of Limnai. This means that Moiragenes' successor (presumably Kynthiades, the lessee of 250 B.C.: cf. *ibid.*, line 26) paid less than Moiragenes had contracted to pay, and Moiragenes' contract had called for a higher rental than 480 dr. The two passages could mean that his contract had called for 580 dr. (nothing is mentioned about a *hemiolion*), but Moiragenes is not listed among the defaulters of 251 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 136-142), so that his ἐγδεία was of more than a year's standing by 250 B.C. and he had had time to pay some of it off. The amount of his original ἐγδεία is therefore uncertain. The minimum his contract could have called for, assuming that the 100 dr. ἐγδεία includes a *hemiolion*, was 546 dr. 4 ob. (480 dr. +  $\frac{2}{3}$  of 100 dr.).

Limnai is the only estate of *Inscr. de Délos*, 353, A, whose rental was paid in full (cf. Durrbach's commentary). This phenomenon is still unexplained, but it may possibly be significant that Hegias, the lessee who paid in full, had in the previous year been one of the Hieropoioi who had issued the new contracts (*Inscr. de Délos*, 354, lines 5 and 20).

IX. Rhamnoi. For the rental payment of 303 B.C., see *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, pp. 234-35. I now believe that the payment of 601 dr. was made for this estate, and that *I.G.*, XI, 2, 144, B, lines 79-82 may be restored:

79. [καὶ ἐγλίποντος Χιόνος ἀνεμισθώσαμεν τὴν γῆν] τὴν ἐν  
80. [Ῥάμν]οις· ἐμισθώσα[το ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δείνος κατὰ τ]ὴν [συν]  
81. [γραφ]ὴν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τεμέν[η· ἐγγυηταὶ] Ἐπικύ[δης Δ]υκόφρ[ο]  
82. νος, Ἐπικύδης Ἀριστέου· δραχμῶν ϞΗΓ.

The restoration of line 79 is suggested by *I.G.*, XI, 2, 144, A, line 13 and by the formulae of *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 136-142. The phrase κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τεμένη, "in conformity with the contract and with the rest of

the estates" is far from satisfactory, but nothing better suggests itself, and the expression κατὰ τὴν συγγραφὴν appears a few lines previously. With the rent of Rhamnoi determined at 601 dr., the rent paid for Soloe was 109 dr. (*I.G.*,

XI, 2, 144, A, line 10 may thus be restored [Σο]λός[ης] Καλλι[ας ἩΓΗΗ]†: cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 234), which makes it evident that the lessee of Soloe defaulted some of his rental. This inference is corroborated by the plural words οἷδε and οὔτοι in *I.G.*, XI, 2, 144, B, lines 71 and 73, and by the two lines below line 71 that have been deliberately effaced, lines which evidently once contained a record of a default. The erasure suggests that the debt was subsequently paid.

X. Nikou Choros. For the rental of 301 B.C., see *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 236; for the rentals of 269 B.C. and 268 B.C., *ibid.*, p. 237; for the rental of 180 B.C., *ibid.*, p. 242.

XI. Hippodromos. The half-rental of *Inscr. de Délos*, 353, A, line 12 (219 B.C.) is given as 289 dr. 2 ob., whereas in *Inscr. de Délos* 354, line 38 (218 B.C.) the full amount is 579 dr. For the latter figure Durrbach preferred ΗΗ rather than ΗΗΙ, but did not question the reading of 219 B.C. The simplest solution of the difficulty seems to be to assume that in *Inscr. de Délos*, 353, A, line 12 the letter-cutter failed to engrave one of the obols—an easy error to make when four drachmas and three obols are required—and that the reading should be ΗΗΠΔΔΔΓΗΗΗΙ(Ι).

XII. Leimon. The sum read by Selden in *Inscr. de Délos*, 368, line 29 was 250 dr., 2 ob., but his readings were often so inaccurate that it is preferable to believe that the rent paid in 192 B.C. (231 dr.; *Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, line 74) was the result of a ten per cent increase, and that in 209-200 B.C. the rent was 210 dr. After I had arrived at this conclusion independently, I observed that the same opinion had been expressed by Lacroix and Durrbach (*Inscr. de Délos*, II, Addenda, p. 341, comment on no. 362).

XIII. Phoinikes.

XIV. Soloe-Korakiai. Rentals in Group I are for Soloe alone. For the rent of Soloe in 303 B.C., see above under Rhamnoi. In 282 B.C. the

rent of Soloe was 200 dr. and Korakiai 100 dr. The sum of 300 dr. rental for 192 B.C. is called doubtful by Durrbach (*Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, line 75), but further examination of the stone showed that the reading is correct.

XV. Kerameion. The amount of rental in *Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, line 76 (192 B.C.) reads ΗΗ[...], and the sum thus cannot have been 250 dr. if all the letter spaces were filled. On the other hand, the rental 275 dr. for 189-80 B.C. (cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 244) suggests a ten per cent increase of 250 dr.

XVI. Epistheneia.

XVII. Lykoneion. For the rental 153 dr. in 269 B.C., see *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 237. The amount of rental preserved at the beginning of *Inscr. de Délos*, 362, line 16 does not belong to Lykoneion (cf. *B.C.H.*, XXXV, 1911, p. 51): no rentals for this estate from the decennium 209-200 B.C. are known.

XVIII. Akra Delos. In *Inscr. de Délos*, 374, B, line 19 (a contract for the decennium 199-90 B.C.) a sum of 430 dr. is preserved, but the name of the estate is lost. However, all rentals in this decennium for all other estates are known (except Kerameion, which may have been 250 dr. [see above] and certainly was not 430 dr.) and the sum does not belong to any of them. It would thus seem that it must belong to Akra Delos, but the figures preserved for this estate in 192 B.C. are [...]† (*Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, line 75). Nevertheless, if we accept the figure 430 dr. for Akra Delos in 199-90 B.C., we can assign another sum, 431 dr., from the decennium 209-200 B.C. to Akra Delos. The restored name of the estate, Epistheneia (*Inscr. de Délos*, 372, A, lines 11-12) does not tally well with the rental of Epistheneia in 199 B.C. (345 dr.; *Inscr. de Délos*, 374, B, lines 15-16). On the other hand, rentals of 431 dr. in 209-00 B.C. and 430 dr. in 199-90 B.C. for Akra Delos do not correspond well with the rental of 218 B.C. (340.2 dr.; *Inscr. de Délos*; 353, A, line 13; 354, line 38) or of 179 B.C. (150 dr.;

*Inscr. de Délos*, 442, A, line 146). Rentals of 431 dr. and 430 dr. for Akra Delos are thus very doubtful.

XIX. Sosimacheia.

XX. Phytalia. There is an interesting error in arithmetic in the rentals of 249-240 B.C. A ten per cent increase of 44 dr. is not 48 dr.  $2\frac{8}{12}$  ob.

(cf. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 177-178), but only 48 dr.  $2\frac{5}{12}$  ob. Either the temple accountant calculated the amount  $\frac{1}{4}$  obol too much, or else he carelessly wrote in his books II C // for III // . The repetition of the error in 246 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 290, lines 15) shows that the fault lies with the accountants and not with the letter-cutters.

The generally steady rentals in Groups II and III tell heavily against anyone who might try to explain rental fluctuations in terms of contemporary political events. In the fifty years between 290 B.C. and 240 B.C. the Aegean area was the scene of naval campaigns of far-reaching importance, yet neither these campaigns nor their results seem to be reflected in the rentals of the temple estates. For example, in 280 B.C., a year in which we might expect to find a considerable amount of hesitancy on the part of investors because of the troubled state of affairs in the Aegean, fourteen of the new decennial leases called for an increase of rental, seven for more than ten per cent, six for exactly ten per cent, and one for less than ten per cent, while of the other six contracts three were for the same amount as in the preceding decennium and three for less. Again in 250 B.C. the struggle between Macedon and Egypt for the control of the Cyclades did not affect the rentals: in the new contracts for 249-40 B.C. twelve leases called for an increase in rental, four for more than ten per cent, six for exactly ten per cent, two for less than ten per cent; while of the eight decreases three were for less than ten per cent and five for more. Other records point to the same conclusion. In 200 B.C., the year in which Rome first enters the Aegean picture, four new leases were for higher rental, eight for lower, and two remained the same; in only two estates, Chareteia (lower) and Lykoneion (higher) was there any marked change. Similarly, in 190 B.C., when Rome's war with Antiochus the Great was at its height and investors might be expected to be unusually cautious, seven new leases called for increases over the previous decennium and four called for decreases. It therefore seems futile to endeavor to connect the high rents of Group I with the career of Demetrius Poliorcetes, or the rents of Group II with the political program of the Ptolemies, or the rents of Group III with the activities and policies of Rome.<sup>204</sup> It appears that the temple estates were affected to a very slight degree, if at all, by the varying fortunes of war during the Period of Independence; consequently, any explanation of rental fluctuations must lie elsewhere, in the field of economics rather than of politics.

The table of rentals shows clearly that before 296 B.C. the rent of every estate was unusually large, and that the inflation of values affected them all. The universal

<sup>204</sup> Cf. F. Heichelheim, *Wirtschaftliche Swankungen*, p. 83; *Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Altertums*, pp. 452-53. See also the remarks of Rostovtzeff, *Soc. Ec. Hist. Hellenistic World*, p. 1469, note 32 and Larsen, *Class. Phil.*, XXXVI, 1941, pp. 164-65.

drop in rentals between 297 B.C. and 290 B.C. is equally marked: there was not a single estate whose rental did not fall. It is important to observe that the inflation of the late fourth century was one of rentals and not of purchase prices of estates. In the matter of land sales a boom may be caused by one of several reasons, but there seems to be only one plausible reason for higher and higher bids on the part of prospective lessees, namely, that the value of farm products was unusually high and, in the opinion of the lessees, was increasing. It is plain, then, that in the late fourth century the demand for the products of the estates had become greater than the supply, and the reason for this is not difficult to find. "The new settlers and the soldiers of the Successors [of Alexander the Great], who constituted the principal market in the new world, were partially hellenized Macedonians, partly Greeks who were used to Greek life and naturally continued to live this life in their new homes. Greek life meant Greek food, Greek dress, Greek houses and furniture, Greek temples, Greek public buildings, Greek plate, Greek jewels, and so forth. For a while all these Greek products were certainly imported from Greece. Some time had to elapse before the new centers of Greek life could begin their own production of Greek goods."<sup>205</sup> At the same time it is well established that there was a considerable rise in prices of all commodities and in wages throughout Greece and the Aegean which seems to have been caused not only by the new demands for Greek products abroad but also to some extent by increased spending power of those who remained in the homeland.<sup>206</sup> The high rentals thus fit perfectly into the general picture of the state of Greek economy in the late fourth century.

The cause of the collapse in rentals between 297 B.C. and 290 B.C. is therefore not as mysterious as it might at first appear. It is clear that in their anxiety to realize the attractive profits that were to be made from farm produce, and possibly moved as well by a false optimism engendered by their newly acquired independence, the Delians were led on to bid for the leases more than they were worth. At the same time the demand for certain commodities in the international market may have eased off to some extent, for by 297 B.C. some Greek settlers in foreign lands would have had time to plant vineyards and orchards and to breed livestock. However this may be, the Delian records show that after the general reorganization of the administration of the estates had been brought into effect with the codification of the *Hiera Syngraphe* the inflation had ended, and henceforth the lessees probably were content with more modest profits.<sup>207</sup>

<sup>205</sup> Rostovtzeff, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-59.

<sup>206</sup> W. W. Tarn in *The Hellenistic Age*, pp. 115 ff.

<sup>207</sup> It is impossible to estimate how much the lessees may have profited from their leases; all that we have to work on is the rentals that they paid. It has already been noted (pp. 269 f.) that, while we know of no instance in which an estate lay idle, leases often changed hands within a decennial leasing period. This might be taken to mean that the margin of profit was comparatively small and that a poor year would find a lessee operating at a loss. It should be remembered,

The rental tables also show that compared to the general collapse of 296-90 B.C. the corresponding decrease in rentals between 245 B.C. and 220 B.C. was not nearly as severe or as generally felt. Indeed, in the case of three estates, Kerameion, Lykoneion, and Phytalia, the rentals of 219 B.C. were slightly higher than they had been in 249-40 B.C. and in the case of Leimon the rent was only slightly less. It is thus clear that the depressions were fundamentally different; in the first decline the rentals of all estates were reduced, but in the second decline some rentals remained unaffected and even increased. Furthermore, after 219 B.C. some rentals began to climb and eventually approached or surpassed the levels of 246 B.C., while others remained low until the end of the Period of Independence.

The explanation of the second decline must therefore lie, not in a general change which affected all estates, but in a change which affected some sources of farm revenue and not others. Accordingly, I have endeavored in the table that follows to group the temple estates as far as possible according to their products. This, of course, can be done only in a general way, since the products themselves have to be inferred from the inventories, and when there is more than one source of revenue for an estate, there is no certain indication which was the most important.<sup>208</sup> In order to facilitate comparisons of fluctuations, I have reduced the rentals of each estate to percentages of the rental paid in 282 B.C.: in this way fluctuations are reduced to the same proportions for each estate and it becomes easier to observe the general trend of the prices for leases.<sup>209</sup> The first eight estates listed in the table are those that are

however, that profit and loss depend to some extent on the individual: for example, the owner of a great many sheep might make a profit from a lease whose rental would have been ruinous to the owner of only a few animals. Furthermore, the leases were a form of capitalistic venture and were in the same general category as investments in banking, shipping, manufacturing, and other business activities. This must mean that there was some profit to be made from the estates at all times; otherwise, the money would have been invested elsewhere.

<sup>208</sup> For the products of each estate, see above, pp. 299-301. Eight estates on Rheneia (the terrain suggests that Porthmos was an estate similar to Pyrgoi) produced grapes, grain, and livestock: the proportions or amounts are not known. Of the two other Rheneian estates, Skitoneia had some unknown source of revenue and Rhamnoi is a special case in that it produced no grain. Thus, while Rhamnoi had more vines than some of the Rheneian estates whose rentals were higher, the higher rentals were probably due to grain production. For example, in 249 B.C. Rhamnoi with 1978 vines rented for 553 dr., whereas Panormos with 1298 vines rented for 611 dr. Since grain prices in the third century were high (Larsen, *Roman Greece*, pp. 383-86), it is understandable how the rent of Rhamnoi was lower. On the other hand, in the estates on Delos the chief source of revenue seems to have been livestock. Hippodromos and Soloe-Korakiai were stock ranches, and Leimon and Phoinikes seem to have depended more on livestock than grain. Only two Delian estates, Phoinikes and Epistheneia, are known to have had vines.

<sup>209</sup> The choice of the rentals of 282 B.C. is arbitrary, but the same general picture results (though not, of course, the same percentages) if the rents of any other year be taken as the yardstick. A table of this kind does not show the relative size of rentals of one estate with another, but merely the variations in the rents of each estate in proportion to the size of the rents of that estate. In the table the figures for Soloe-Korakiai prior to 289-80 B.C. are percentages of the rental paid in 282 B.C. for Soloe alone.

known to have had vineyards, grain fields, and livestock; the next three seem to have been devoted primarily to livestock, though they possessed vines; in the third group are the estates which are known not to have had vineyards, while the chief source of revenue of the last five estates is unknown.

Estate	312 -09 B.C.	303 -02 B.C.	297 -? B.C.	289 -80 B.C.	279 -70 B.C.	269 -60 B.C.	259 -50 B.C.	249 -40 B.C.	219 -10 B.C.	209 -00 B.C.	199 -90 B.C.	189 -80 B.C.	179 -70 B.C.
Porthmos	100	104	135	100	110	121	78	85	46	{68} 58}	57	45	49
Pyrgoi	80	117	149	100	110	121	90	89	54	...	47	...	43
Chareteia	97	137	173	100	100	100	78	62	46	51	37	40	45
Panormos	113	137	156	100	107	126	111	93	58	59	43	...	50
Dionysion	125	220	228	100	110	117	93	134	67	65	65	51	57
Charoneia	131	131	181	100	100	137	109	137	54	...	50	37	55
Limnai	213	183	169	100	110	159	{161} 133}	90	48	59	55	...	78
Nikou Choros	127	158	172	100	77	101	92	74	55	49	23	25	28
Rhamnoi	213	160	191	100	114	126	155	147	80	77	85	94	94
Phoinikes	113	153	153	100	99	100	83	90	66	...	80	77	70
Epistheneia	...	...	...	100	118	{122} 120}	132	145	84	...	69	76	82
Hippodromos	131	184	182	100	110	133	93	120	105	113	104	114	121
Leimon	260	200	220	100	110	117	100	74	68	70	77	...	95
Soloe-Korakiai	120	165	160	100	137	124	133	140	67	118	{95} 100}	...	83
Kerameion	...	...	...	100	117	138	142	209	219	...	...	230	253
Skitoneia	90	139	161	100	95	100	86	84	36	56	40	...	60
Lykoneion	150	252	275	100	188	191	138	151	191	...	163	195	215
Akra Delos	...	...	...	100	167	171	133	147	114	[144]	[144]	...	50
Sosimacheia	...	...	...	100	169	75	125	137	100	75	105	...	89
Phytalia	...	...	...	100	100	120	74	81	83	83	84	...	50

The table demonstrates conclusively that the value of vineyards decreased sharply between 246 B.C. and 220 B.C. The rentals of all eight estates which were dependent largely on vineyards are distinctly smaller in 219 B.C. than in 249-40 B.C., being in nearly every case approximately half of their former amount. Not only this, but once down, the rentals of these estates, with the exception of Limnai in 179 B.C., stayed down. This great decline in rentals and failure to make a recovery later is paralleled in the case of other estates only by the rentals of Skitoneia, which is known to have had vines, and to a lesser extent by Epistheneia and Phoinikes, the two estates on Delos that possessed vineyards. Only in the case of Rhamnoi are there any signs of

recovery, and this recovery came after 200 B.C. when the number of vines on the estate had been considerably reduced.<sup>210</sup> On the other hand, of the four estates which had no vines, Kerameion's rental increased steadily, and Hippodromos and Leimon slowly recovered from slightly reduced rentals in 219-10 B.C. until in 179-70 B.C. their rents were greater than those of 249-40 B.C. Only Soloe-Korakiai failed to make a recovery back to the level of 246 B.C., and even in this case the proportional lowering of the rentals was considerably less than for the eight vineyard estates.

The conclusion seems clear. The pronounced and prolonged drop in the rentals of the vineyard estates shows that after 220 B.C. the vines yielded little or no profit, but were able to bring in merely enough revenue to pay for the expense of maintaining them. This is confirmed by the case of Nikou Choros, whose vines were reduced between 180 B.C. and 178 B.C. from 600 to 2, but whose rental in a new lease of 178 B.C. was for exactly the same amount as the lease of 180 B.C.<sup>211</sup> This is as clear evidence as we could hope to find that the vineyards after 220 B.C. were no longer of great value; yet there is evidence to show that there was no deliberate destruction of vines,<sup>212</sup> and it is probable that the Hieropoioi, perhaps hoping for better days to come, insisted that the vineyards be maintained according to the law long after they had ceased to be profitable. The rentals of the vineyard estates after 220 B.C. may thus be taken to indicate the amount of revenue obtained from livestock and grain. It has already been observed that the estate of Chareteia probably produced more grain and livestock than any other, and it is noteworthy that even in the second century its rental was still the greatest of all the temple estates.<sup>213</sup>

Since loss of revenue by the vineyard estates was not due to loss of vines, we are obliged to conclude that the decrease was caused by a sharp drop in the value of wine. Scattered statistics for wine prices in the Hellenistic Age show that in the second century wine prices were low, and since wine, oil, and grain were the foundation of Greek economy, it has been pointed out that in the early second century the economic situation in Greece was in a decline.<sup>214</sup> The rentals of the temple estates show, however, that at Delos the price of wine had fallen to an absolute minimum by 219 B.C. and that it remained at this low level until the end of the Period of Independence. Furthermore, there are clear indications that the decline had already begun by the middle of the third century. In the case of three vineyard estates, namely, Porthmos, Pyrgoi, and Chareteia, the rentals of 259-50 B.C. show a decided decrease from the rents of 269-60 B.C., and in the years between 259 and 249 B.C. the rent of Limnai plunged rapidly. In the leases that were issued in 250 B.C. the rentals of only two vineyard estates, Dionysion

<sup>210</sup> See above, notes 170 and 208.

<sup>211</sup> See above, note 170.

<sup>212</sup> See pages 289-90.

<sup>213</sup> Except in 199-90 B.C., when it was second in size to the rent of Porthmos (cf. p. 303).

<sup>214</sup> The available evidence is collected by Larsen (*Roman Greece*, pp. 391-94), and his conclusions have been accepted by Rostovtzeff (*Soc. Ec. Hist. Hellenistic World*, p. 628).

and Charoneia, were as high as they had been twenty years before, and the rentals of the other six were decidedly lower. The vineyards of Phoinikes and Skitoneia also seem to have become less valuable. It thus appears that while the great collapse of wine prices came in the third quarter of the third century, prices had already begun to decline to some extent in the second quarter. If we were to draw a curve for wine prices, we should show a slight decline between 260 and 250 B.C., a noticeably steeper decline from 250 to 240 B.C., and between 240 and 220 B.C. a sharply angled line which before 219 B.C. reached the bottom of the chart. From 220 to 170 B.C. the line would be horizontal along the bottom.

In the second century B.C. the accounts of the Hieropoioi record purchases of Cnidian and Coan wines for the festival of the Posidea, and stamped amphora handles show that wine was imported also from the city of Rhodes.<sup>215</sup> Possibly these imported wines were of better quality than the local product.<sup>216</sup> It is important to note, however, that the decline in wine prices at Delos began at a time prior to the imports from Rhodes and her dependencies. This must mean that prices had declined at Rhodes also,<sup>217</sup> for it is unthinkable that the Rhodians exported wine to a place where prices were lower than at home. The prices of wine at Delos cannot have been very much different from prices in other parts of the Aegean. If prices had been much lower, no merchants would have sent wine to Delos: had they been much higher, wine would have been sent nowhere else. Consequently, the decline of wine prices at Delos which

<sup>215</sup> For Cnidian and Coan purchases at Delos, see Larsen, *Roman Greece*, p. 393. The amphora handles found at Delos (as yet unpublished) are 70% from Cnidus, 25% from Rhodes, and only 5% from elsewhere (Roussel, *Dél. col. athénienne*, p. 29, note 4). Curiously enough, the stamped amphora handles that I found while searching for remains of farm buildings on Delos and Rheneia show virtually the same ratios: of the fifteen that were found, ten are Cnidian, four Rhodian, and one, a double handle, probably Coan (cf. A. Maiuri, *Nuova Silloge Epigrafica di Rodi e Cos* [Firenze, 1925], pp. 245-49).

<sup>216</sup> There is little evidence by which we can judge the quality of the local wines of Delos and Rheneia. The fact that the lessees of the vineyard estates seem to have had no especial difficulty in marketing their product before 260 B.C. seems to indicate that the quality was good. On the other hand, the fact that Cnidian and Coan wines were preferred for Delian festivals shows that imported varieties were better. Possibly local wine was sold in Delos principally to the poorer classes: this is the situation today on Mykonos, where local grapes are devoted to the plebeian *retsina*, and better wines are imported from Samos and Thera. Delian wine is never mentioned in Greek literature in the lists of the choicest varieties.

<sup>217</sup> Low wine prices at Rhodes in 220 B.C. are suggested by the passage in Polybius (iv, 56, 2-3) that records a shipment to Sinope, at a total cost of 140,000 dr., of 300 talents of hair, 100 talents of bowstrings, 1,000 suits of armor, 3,000 gold badges (?), and 10,000 kerameia of wine (cf. *A.J.A.*, IX, 1905, p. 297), as well as four pieces of artillery along with their artillerymen. The cost of each item is not recorded, but the total cost of 140,000 dr. for such a large amount of equipment is surprisingly low, and it is clear that only a fraction of the total amount can have been spent on the wine. It does not seem improbable that the price of the wine was as low as the price of Coan wine at Delos in the second century (3 dr. a kerameion on the average: cf. Larsen, *Roman Greece*, p. 393), if not lower. The earliest Rhodian stamped amphora handles that have been found date about 300 B.C., but the great majority are later than 225 B.C. (cf. *Hesperia*, III, pp. 214-220).

is indicated in the rentals of the temple estates cannot have been something peculiar to Delos, but must have been symptomatic of conditions in the whole Aegean world. Thus the situation of Greek vine-growers had completely changed in less than a hundred years, and their product, which at the beginning of the third century was in great demand, had by the middle of the century begun to be unprofitable, and by 220 B.C. was a drug on the market.<sup>218</sup>

It should be pointed out, however, that the fluctuations in the rentals of the temple estates cannot be taken, as was once hoped, to be indicative of the general agricultural situation in the Hellenistic Age throughout all of Greece. The high rentals of the late fourth century reflect, it is true, a favorable condition in the marketing of farm products at Delos, but they should certainly be taken, not as a proof, but as an example of the effects of Alexander's conquest of the East. Not many farmers in Greece were as favorably situated geographically to take advantage of a demand for farm products in the export market. Nor can it be assumed that, because there was a great fall in estate rentals at Delos between 297 and 290 B.C., a similar deflation of land values occurred in other parts of the Greek homeland. Above all, the fall of wine prices in the latter half of the third century cannot indicate a decline in agriculture in general.<sup>219</sup> It was at this very time, as Tarn<sup>220</sup> has pointed out, that there was great agitation in many parts of the Greek mainland for redistribution of land, and this is ample proof that agriculture still played the leading role in the economic life of Greece. Delos was unique in that agriculture was a distinctly secondary consideration in her economy. Under these circumstances we are obliged to conclude, however we may have wished it otherwise, that apart from evidence for the collapse of wine prices, the temple estates furnish us with a picture of local agricultural conditions that cannot be regarded as typical of Greece in the Hellenistic Age.

<sup>218</sup> The rentals show other, though less important, trends in prices of certain farm produce. The rents of Hippodromos, a sheep ranch, show remarkably little fluctuation after 290 B.C., and the rents of other ranching estates, though varying considerably from time to time, show on the whole only a slight decline. This probably means that there was little change at Delos in the price of such commodities as wool, milk, cheese, and hides, items for which there is little evidence elsewhere in the Delian inscriptions. The steady rise in the rent of Kerameion, a manufacturing establishment, suggests, though it scarcely proves, that local manufacturing in Delos during the Period of Independence was not unprofitable and that investments in manufacturing tended to increase slowly in value as time went on. The behavior of the rents of Lykoneion makes it probable that it too derived its income from manufacturing. The evidence for the prices of figs and other fruit is inconclusive. If Phytalia was an orchard, there may have been no decline in fruit prices before the end of the third century. The evidence of the Mykonos estates confirms the low wine prices of the second century, but otherwise is not helpful, except to show that olive trees were still profitable in 207 B.C. (cf. page 288).

<sup>219</sup> As was thought by Homolle (*B.C.H.*, VI, 1882, p. 66). Tarn has stated that the records show that agriculture declined at Delos only (*Hellenistic Civilisation*, p. 110); Larsen was the first to point out that the decline affected only certain kinds of agriculture (*Roman Greece*, p. 407).

<sup>220</sup> *The Hellenistic Age*, pp. 127 ff. Cf. Rostovtzeff, *Soc. Ec. Hist. Hellenistic World*, pp. 1180 ff.

## THE ATHENIAN COLONIAL PERIOD

In the year 166 B.C. the Roman Senate presented the island of Delos to the people of Athens as one of several rewards of territory granted in return for Athenian support in the Third Macedonian War. Athens was given complete control of the island, the native Delians were expelled from their homes, and in their place came not only colonists from Attica but many settlers and traders from other parts of the Hellenistic world. Henceforth, Delos was inhabited, not by a native population whose interests centered chiefly in the sanctuary of Apollo and in a modestly prosperous trade, but by a motley throng of foreigners whose chief purpose of residence in the island was to make as much profit as possible from the commercial advantages of a free port.<sup>221</sup>

At the beginning of the new regime the Athenians entrusted the supervision of the property of the Temple of Apollo to a commission chosen from the Areopagus. The commission made an enumeration of the sacred objects in the various temples at Delos, and seems to have been in charge of the lots assigned to new settlers from Attica and to have redistributed the real estate owned by the Temple of Apollo.<sup>222</sup> The commissioners also seem to have promulgated a general law according to which temple properties were to be administered. The terms are difficult to ascertain, since none of the text of the law has been identified,<sup>223</sup> and the law is mentioned only once in the extant accounts of the temple administrators,<sup>224</sup> but presumably it contained regulations concerning things that are not touched upon by the rulings of 157/6 B.C. (see below). These regulations would be concerned with the time, place, and manner of assigning leases, the necessity of furnishing guarantors, the obligations of guarantors, penalties for non-payment of rent, and so forth. A few details of the law may

<sup>221</sup> The chief sources for the expulsion of the Delians are two passages in Polybius (xxx, 31, 10; xxxii, 7, 1-5). For the circumstances, cf. W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, pp. 321 ff., P. Roussel, *Délos colonie athénienne*, pp. 1-13, 33 ff.; J. Day, *An Economic History of Athens under Roman Domination*, pp. 51 ff.; W. A. Laidlaw, *A History of Delos*, p. 169. There can be little doubt that this brutal ejection caused great hardship as well as the bitterest resentment among the Delians. Polybius states that the exiles were permitted to take with them only τὰ ὑπάρχοντα: in *Inscr. de Délos*, 503, lines 34-35 this expression does not include cattle, sheep, or slaves. Thus it may be doubted whether the Delians were able to salvage much more than their clothing, household furnishings, and whatever cash they might have had on hand. It may be significant that ten years after the expulsion the new settlers were still in the process of repairing various buildings (cf. *Inscr. de Délos*, 1416, B: I, lines 61-62, II, lines 39-40; 1417, B, II, line 92; 1417, C, lines 30-98). It is not improbable that some of the Delians had deliberately damaged or destroyed property that they could not take with them.

<sup>222</sup> *Inscr. de Délos*, 1403, Bb, I, lines 23-28. Cf. Roussel, *Dél. col. ath.*, pp. 121; 127; 160, note 5.

<sup>223</sup> A fragment of a law dating from the earliest years of the Athenian colony is preserved in *Inscr. de Délos*, 1480, but not enough of the text has survived to identify the subject with which the law is concerned. The mention of an architect in A, line 13 and the severe 1000 dr. fines suggest that it may be part of a law concerning property.

<sup>224</sup> *Inscr. de Délos*, 1416, B, II, line 15: κατὰ τὴν ἱερὰν συγγραφὴν τὴν κοινήν.

be inferred from the practices in operation later. Leases seem to have been assigned at auction, but the privilege of renewing the lease with an increase of ten per cent in rental was abolished.<sup>225</sup> The customary length of leases was five years, but for properties where repairs or improvements were needed a lease of ten years was issued;<sup>226</sup> this probably means that the commissioners' law left it in the power of the temple administrators to decide the length of leases. It is certain, however, that the law provided that leases were to run concurrently with the Athenian calendar year,<sup>227</sup> and that it applied not only to the temple estates but to all real estate that the temple possessed:<sup>228</sup> it was thus of much broader scope than the *Hiera Syngraphe* of the Period of Independence.

After the work of the commissioners was finished, the government of Delos was turned over to annual officials who were elected by the Athenian demos,<sup>229</sup> and the administration of temple properties was undertaken by two officials whose title is uncertain.<sup>230</sup> Only six inscriptions of these officials are extant which refer to temple

<sup>225</sup> Bidding at auction is indicated by such sums as 51 dr. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 1417, B, II, lines 83-86), 161 dr. (*ibid.*, lines 107-110), and 1009½ dr. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 1416, B, I, lines 57-63). Not a single rental from the Athenian Colonial Period is for a sum divisible by eleven, and in the case of one renewal (*Inscr. de Délos*, 1416, B, II, lines 60-63) the first lease called for 50 dr. and the second for 71 dr. In another renewal, the second amount was [.]ΔΔΔ††, which shows that the original sum was indivisible by eleven (*Inscr. de Délos*, 1417, B, II, lines 131-134).

<sup>226</sup> For leases of five and ten years, see Roussel, *Dél. col. ath.*, pp. 149-156. In the earliest years of the colony some leases seem to have been shorter, a situation analogous to the early years of the Period of Independence (cf. Roussel, *op. cit.*, p. 161). A lease issued for two years is recorded in *Inscr. de Délos*, 1482, line 9. There is this difference, however, that in the Period of Independence all leases were assigned at one time, whereas under the Athenians leases for different properties terminated in different years. This probably means that in the first year or two of the colony there were more properties available than there were prospective lessees.

<sup>227</sup> Leases were normally assigned in Skirophorion, the last month of the Athenian calendar year (cf. *Inscr. de Délos*; 1416, B, II, line 28; 1417, B, II, 78). That leases were concurrent with the calendar year is also shown by the phrasing in *Inscr. de Délos*, 1416, B, I, lines 59-60 ([εἰς τοὺς] ὑπολοίπους [μ]ῆ[νας] δέκα καὶ εἰς ἔτη τε πέντε τὰ μετ[ὰ] ἄρχοντα Ἀνθεσ[τήριον]) and by the expression εἰς τε τὸν ἐπίλοιπον χρόνον τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ καὶ εἰς ἄλλα ἔτη πέντε (*ibid.*, lines 67-68, 77-78, 82-83, etc.).

<sup>228</sup> This is implied by the expression ἱερὰν συγγραφὴν τὴν κοινὴν (cf. note 224) and by the fact that the supplemental regulations of 157/6 B.C. applied to all types of temple-owned real estate: cf. *Inscr. de Délos*, 1416, B, I, lines 7, 12, 14-15, 53-54.

<sup>229</sup> Cf. Roussel, *Dél. col. ath.*, pp. 97-125.

<sup>230</sup> Cf. Roussel, *op. cit.*, pp. 126-144. Down to the year 161/60 B.C. the title "Hieropoioi" seems to have been retained (Roussel, p. 128), but after that year the title of the officials is not known. In 157/6 B.C. the two officials are called οἱ καθεσταμένοι ἐπὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων καὶ τὰς ἄλλας προσόδους (*Inscr. de Délos*, 1416, B, I, lines 1-2), but elsewhere in the same inscription (B, I, lines 42, 52) they are simply "the men" (τῶν ἀνδρῶν, οἱ ἄνδρες). In the following year they are described as οἱ κεχειροτονημένοι ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν ἱερῶν χρημάτων καὶ τὰς ἄλλας προσόδους (*Inscr. de Délos*, 1417, B, II, lines 78-80). In spite of the latter passage, Roussel (p. 135) prefers to believe on the basis of other documents that there were two boards of two officials each, one pair of officials in charge of the business administration of revenues (ἐπὶ τὴν φυλακὴν κ.τ.λ.), the other of the votive offerings and other sacred treasures and possibly of sacrifices (ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερά). Ferguson suggests (*Hellenistic Athens*, p. 347) that the two boards may have occasionally worked

estates, and of these only two are sufficiently well preserved to yield much information.<sup>231</sup> The most important passage is contained in the first fifty-six lines of *Inscr. de Délos*, 1416, B, I (157/56 B.C.), which record a series of supplementary regulations for the administration of temple properties.<sup>232</sup> In lines 5-34 the lessees of all properties, estates or otherwise, are made responsible for all necessary repairs.<sup>233</sup>

as one body; this may well have been so, but it does not account for the fact that in *Inscr. de Délos*, 1417, B, II, lines 78-81 there are only two officials named, not four. The alternative, favored by Day (*Econ. Hist. Athens*, p. 53, note 24), is to have one two-man board with two distinct functions. In any case, it appears that the title "Hieropoioi" was restricted shortly after 161/60 B.C. to minor officials (perhaps the sponsors) of certain festivals. In 144/3 B.C. the hieropoioi connected with the Apollonia numbered more than twenty (*Inscr. de Délos*, 2593, lines 2-15) and in 127/6 B.C. the hieropoioi of the Romaia numbered twenty-two (*Inscr. de Délos*, 2596). The hieropoioi of the Apollonia in 119/8 B.C. numbered twenty-two (*Inscr. de Délos*, 2598, lines 35-58) and on that occasion their responsibility consisted in supplying oil (*ibid.*, lines 4-5).

<sup>231</sup> The two important inscriptions are *Inscr. de Délos*, 1416 (B, I, lines 1-115; B, II, lines 1-68) and 1417 (B, II, lines 78-167; C, lines 1-98). The other four are *Inscr. de Délos* 1408 (which seems to have a reference to the estate Chersonesos in A, line 36) and three mutilated fragments, *Inscr. de Délos*, 1481, 1482, and 1483.

<sup>232</sup> These fifty-six lines have sometimes been called a *Hiera Syngraphe* (e. g.: *Ἱερὰ Συγγραφή* II, Ziebarth, *Hermes*, LXI, 1926, pp. 87-109; *Ἱερὰ συγγραφή*, Rostovtzeff, *Soc. Ec. Hist. Hellenistic World*, p. 1373, note 66. Roussel [*Dél. col. ath.*, pp. 145, 157, 160, etc.] and Tréheux [*B.C.H.*, LXVIII-LXIX, 1944-45, p. 293] are more careful). That the lines do not contain a law of this sort is shown by *Inscr. de Délos*, 1416, B, line 15 (cf. note 224) and by the first five lines of the passage, which indicate that the provisions are subject to revision by the will of the Athenian demos. The fifty-six lines are thus not a law but contain interpretations and extensions of the law on specific points, and may be compared to high court decisions of modern times. Roussel was inclined to believe on the basis of *Inscr. de Délos*, 1416, B, II, lines 63-66 that the regulations were drawn up by a second commission of the Areopagus (*Dél. col. ath.*, p. 160, note 5), but there is nothing in the inscription elsewhere to support this, and the passage he cites unfortunately makes little sense as it now stands; the words *διὰ τὸ ἐποχὴν καὶ ΕΠΑΙΓΑΩΝ* (or perhaps better *ΕΠΑΚΑΩΝ*) *γεγονέναι ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀ[ρε]ίου πάγου* are especially tantalizing. It seems more likely that the reference to the Areopagus is concerned with the commission of 166 B.C. (cf. *Inscr. de Délos*, 1403, Bb, I, lines 23-28).

<sup>233</sup> In the Period of Independence repairs of houses were the responsibility of the hieropoioi (cf. Molinier, *Les "maisons sacrées,"* pp. 56 ff.), and, as Roussel points out (*Dél. col. ath.*, p. 163), the change was probably due to the fact that houses were in demand in the early years of the colony and the temple authorities could afford to be less generous. In the case of estates, however, the lessees had always been responsible for repairs (cf. pp. 272-74). Lines 5-19 read: "The lessees are to make repairs, substituting the same (type of) wood in place of worn out woodwork, whatever it was that was furnished, wood either for houses or buildings, or for beams, crossbeams, or planks; and such houses or buildings that have ceiling coffers or pointed roof timbers or a crossbeam or floor planking either broken down or [---], they are to repair according to what has been damaged. Similarly (they are to make repairs) according to what has been damaged if a wall be crumbling or [---] or fallen, whether it be a wall built of uncut stones or one of brick. Similarly also in the case of houses or workshops which have tiled roofs they are to replace tiles that have crumbled, and whatever houses or buildings or workshops or shipsheds or warehouses, or farm buildings either in *choria* or belonging to *kepoi*, contain plastering, they will furnish the (new) plaster [---] and let them dig [---] of earth. And whatever walls are [---] the sacred [---] they are to put them up, and whatever doors are worn out (the lessees) are to repair them. If there are no doors, the lessees are to put doors on whatever houses or buildings there are that have none."

Lines 40-42 state that lessees "owe instalments every three months to those who have been appointed by the [demos] to guard the sacred monies: the instalments are to be paid into the public bank."<sup>234</sup> Lines 42-45 read "the lessees are to receive the *kepoi* from the men (in charge of sacred properties), and also the vines and fig trees and olive trees, and are to hand over precisely the same number (when their leases terminate). If they do not hand over some of them, the one who fails to hand them over is to pay [---] drachmas for each vine and fig tree and wild fig tree and olive tree."<sup>235</sup> Lines 45-46: "it is not permitted to allow sheep in the vineyards: if this is not observed, (the lessee) is to pay two hundred drachmas each year." Lines 46-50: "it is not permitted lessees of houses or *choria* or *kepoi* to lease a second or *chorion* or *kepos*, or to sublease to someone else, but lessees are to dwell in (their leased properties)<sup>236</sup> themselves. If anyone is caught doing any of these things, he is to pay a fine of five hundred drachmas."<sup>237</sup> Lines 50-54 read "if anyone goes bankrupt or

<sup>234</sup> This regulation is more stringent than the annual payment required in the Period of Independence, and doubtless reflects the change in the nature of the population: the new comers to Delos seem to have been less stable and sudden departures from the island frequent. Instalment payments were evidently designed to keep bad debts to the minimum (cf. Roussel, *Dél. col. ath.*, p. 162). Instalments were due in the first, fourth, seventh, and tenth months of the year. This can be ascertained from new leases issued because of non-payment of rent in different months of the year 157/6 B.C. The first group of such leases were issued in the second month (*Inscr. de Délos*, 1416, B, I, lines 57-74) and the next in the fifth month (*ibid.*, lines 74-96), thus showing that instalments fell due in the first and fourth months. In line 97 of the same inscription the restoration seems to be [Ἀνθεστηριῶν]s and in B, II, line 1 [Θαργηλιῶ]νος (the space on the stone is exactly what is required). The lease issued in the intercalary month Posideon II (B, I, lines 111-115) was not caused by a default in rental, and therefore was irregular in cause as well as time. For the public bank, cf. Roussel, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-177; Larsen, *Roman Greece*, p. 358; Day, *Econ. Hist. Athens*, p. 59.

<sup>235</sup> The passage merely indicates the penalty for failure to maintain the number of vines and fruit trees: nothing is said about replacements. Either replacements were not required, or, more probably, they had been made obligatory in the law of the commissioners.

<sup>236</sup> Day (*Econ. Hist. Athens*, pp. 59-60) understands ἐνοικεῖν to mean "dwell on the island," i. e., on Delos. This does not make allowance for lessees of Rheneian estates, or for P. Aemilius and G. Annus, who were specifically instructed to build an adequate dwelling (ἐποίκιον ἱκανόν) for themselves on the isthmus of Mykonos (*Inscr. de Délos*, 1416, B, II, line 12).

<sup>237</sup> In line 50, restore τ[μὴν] ("fine"). The regulation was intended to forestall speculation in real estate at the expense of the Temple of Apollo (cf. Roussel, *Dél. col. ath.*, p. 162). A provision to this effect seems not to have existed in the Period of Independence, for there are occasional examples in the records of the hieropoioi of a lessee of an estate leasing other property also. In 279 and 278 B.C. Aristeides, son of Aristeas, was lessee of both Hippodromos and Lykoneion (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 161, A, lines 11 and 14-15; 162, A, lines 10-11 and 13). Amnos, son of Hierombrotos, leased both an estate and a house in 191 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, line 76; 400, line 15; for other possible instances, cf. *I.G.*, XI, 2: 158, lines 14 and 18-19; 287, A, lines 31 and 37; 287, A, lines 38 and 138; *Inscr. de Délos*, 353, A, lines 5-6, 12, and 22). Under the Athenians it was evidently not illegal to lease two pieces of temple property at one time, but only two properties that both afforded places of domicile. In 157/6 B.C. Serambos, son of Heraippos, leased an estate and a workshop (*Inscr. de Délos*, 1416, B; I, lines 98-99; II, lines 50-51. An *ergasterion* presumably included no living quarters, except perhaps for slaves (cf. *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 2747 and 2748).

dies within the time (his lease is in effect), the men (in charge of temple properties) are to collect (the rentals) from what he leaves behind and from his guarantors, and are to issue new leases for the houses and workshops and *choria* and shipsheds and apartment buildings (?) for the remaining years of the five-year leasing period.”<sup>238</sup>

After 166 B.C. the former names of most of the estates fell into disuse and a new nomenclature was introduced; hence few of the old estates are recognizable in the Athenian Colonial Period.<sup>239</sup> The new regime also listed temple estates in two categories, *choria* and *kepoi*; <sup>240</sup> the records of 157/6 and 156/5 B.C. contain leases issued for nine *kepoi* and five *choria* as well as leases for four other estates whose classification is not clear and for a new estate on the isthmus of Mykonos. If it may be inferred that all estates that are not stated to have been elsewhere were situated on Delos, there are preserved records of sixteen estates on Delos, two on Rheneia, and one on Mykonos. The increase in the number of Delian estates from ten to at least sixteen may be accounted for partly by the acquisition of new properties by the temple and partly by the subdivision of some of the old estates.<sup>241</sup> That the nineteen estates of which we have knowledge was not the total number that existed under the Athenians is virtually certain. The lessees and rentals of the nineteen have been conveniently

<sup>238</sup> The phrase ἐκ τῶν καταλει[φ]θέντων (lines 51-52) may be taken to refer either to a dead lessee's property or to his heirs, or to both.

<sup>239</sup> Larsen, *Roman Greece*, pp. 404-5. To the three estates he mentions, add Hippodromos, which was subdivided (*Inscr. de Délos*, 1417, B, II, lines 114-117), the new estate on the isthmus of Mykonos (*Inscr. de Délos*, 1416, B, II, lines 5-13), and possibly Chersonesos (see note 231) and Sosimacheia (see note 149).

<sup>240</sup> The distinction between χωρία and κῆποι is uncertain. The distinction can scarcely have been one of size, since the greatest and smallest rentals recorded are both for *choria*. Nor does it appear that the *kepoi* were Delian and the *choria* Rheneian, for Panormos and Dionysion are specifically described as situated on Rheneia, thus implying that other *choria* were on Delos. Roussel suggests (*Dél. col. ath.*, p. 157, note 1) on the basis of *Inscr. de Délos*, 1416, B, I, line 14 that the only walls on the *kepoi* were enclosure walls, whereas *choria* had other walls (presumably of farm buildings); he thus infers that a *kepos* was an enclosed field that contained no buildings. This, however, seems contradicted by *Inscr. de Délos*, 1416, B, I, lines 47-49, where lessees of *kepoi* as well as of *choria* are instructed to dwell on the properties they lease. It seems more probable that *kepoi* were estates whose revenues were derived entirely from arable land (vines, grain, fruit trees), whereas *choria* in addition to arable land contained grazing areas. The distinction in the Period of Independence between breeders of livestock and other lessees (pp. 277, 278) shows that categories based on this criterion might have been a convenience, and the word κῆπος nearly always refers to a plot of land under cultivation, whereas χωρίον means merely a section of the countryside (Liddell-Scott-Jones, *s. v.* κῆπος, χωρίον, and χώρος).

<sup>241</sup> For subdivided estates, see notes 239 and 149. As to new properties, an apartment house of the Mapsichidai (an old Delian trittys, *I.G.*, XI, 2, 199, A, line 12) was certainly one (*Inscr. de Délos*, 1416, B, I, lines 74-79) and the two *kepoi* of the Theandridai (*Inscr. de Délos*, 1417, B, II, lines 103-107 and 138-141) were probably two more. The *chorion* of the Pyrrhakidai (*Inscr. de Délos*, 1416, B, I, lines 57-63) may also have been new. Cf. Roussel, *Dél. col. ath.*, pp. 158-59.

tabulated by Roussel. Most of the lessees were Athenians, but a few were citizens of other states; two of the earliest lessees were slaves,<sup>242</sup> and one a native Delian who had somehow escaped expulsion.<sup>243</sup>

How the temple estates fared after the year 152/1 B.C., in which the leases issued in 156/5 B.C. expired, is not known, but we may presume that all the estates did not cease to be temple property for a considerable time. There is a record of a sale of one of the temple-owned houses that dates as early as 162/1 B.C.,<sup>244</sup> and it seems probable that as the demand for new building lots increased with the expansion of the city, the Temple of Apollo later sold some of its estates. Indeed, this appears to be verified by the case of the "*kepos* near the Letoön," for the area in the vicinity of the Letoön is now filled with remains of late second century buildings.<sup>245</sup> On the other hand, there is no indication of any real estate development on the Rheneian estates. The discovery on the estates of stamped amphora handles,<sup>246</sup> some of which date as late as the early first century B.C., shows that some estates continued to be used as late as the sack of Delos in 88 B.C. There is literary evidence for this also, for Poseidonius records that in that year, on the occasion of the defeat of the Athenians at Delos by sympathizers of Rome, the Roman leader Orbius "observed many fleeing for refuge into farmhouses (*εἰς ἐπαύλεις*) and burned them up, houses and all."<sup>247</sup> Whether any of these farmhouses were temple property at that time is not known. Later in the same year Delos was sacked by Mithradates' general Archelaus, and in 69 B.C. the island was again sacked by pirates.<sup>248</sup> If some of the temple estates had lasted after 88 B.C., it is virtually certain that they were abandoned after 69 B.C., and although Delos continued to be inhabited as a "ghost town" until after the age of the Antonines,<sup>249</sup> it is unlikely that the estates were ever rehabilitated.

<sup>242</sup> *Inscr. de Délos*, 1417, B, II, lines 99-100 and 104. It thus appears that slaves were permitted at this time to invest in real estate as well as to own property and practice some trade or craft. Cf. Larsen, *Roman Greece*, p. 417; Rostovtzeff, *Soc. Ec. Hist. Hellenistic World*, pp. 1465, note 27; 1467, note 30; and especially W. L. Westermann, "Sklaverei" (*P.-W.*, Suppb. VI, 894-1068, at cols. 927-934).

<sup>243</sup> Cf. *Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, lines 100-103; 1417, B, II, line 95; Roussel, *Dél. col. ath.*, p. 18, note 1. He was evidently given Athenian citizenship, for he was enrolled in the deme Acharnai.

<sup>244</sup> *Inscr. de Délos*, 1408, A, II, line 46.

<sup>245</sup> Cf. R. Vallois, *B.C.H.*, LIII, 1929, pp. 205-225.

<sup>246</sup> See above, note 215.

<sup>247</sup> Athenaeus, V, 215, a. For the events at Delos in 88 B.C., cf. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, pp. 445-47; Roussel, *Dél. col. ath.*, pp. 317-327.

<sup>248</sup> Phlegon of Tralles, in F. Jacoby, *Fr. Gr. Hist.*, IIB, p. 1164, no. 12, line 13 (= Müller, *F.H.G.*, III, p. 606, no. 12).

<sup>249</sup> Roussel, *Dél. col. ath.*, pp. 336-40; Laidlaw, *History of Delos*, pp. 268-71; Orlandos, *B.C.H.*, LX, 1936, p. 68.

## THE LESSEES OF THE TEMPLE ESTATES, 314-166 B.C.

The large number of lessees of the temple estates that are known to have had leading roles in public affairs at Delos, and the large number who served as guarantors of contracts and whose credit was good for loans of considerable size, show that for the most part the lessees were men of high social standing and considerable wealth. To such men agriculture was regarded as a field for investment rather than a means of livelihood. The family depicted by M. Lacroix (*Rev. Et. Gr.*, XXIX, 1916, pp. 188-237) consisted chiefly of men who were primarily lumber merchants, and to them the leasing of estates was probably a secondary interest. This family was more active in investing in estates in the first half of the third century than it was later, a fact that suggests that after the middle of the century the temple estates were losing ground to other types of investment.

Whenever the patronymic of a lessee is known but is not contained in a particular reference, that reference has been listed *in italics*. In cases where the lessee's patronymic is unknown, any identification is, of course, uncertain, but the number of men at Delos wealthy enough to afford investments in temple estates was probably never large, so that even when no patronymic is known, identification is often plausible. For example, it is probable that the Dionysios who leased Nikou Choros in 279 B.C. was the same Dionysios who leased a house from 274 to 258 B.C. (cf. number 78), but he is almost certainly not identical with the workman Dionysios who was hired to cut down olive trees in 281 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 159, A, line 49). In the following catalogue of lessees, the reference "Lacroix" refers to the list given in *Rev. Et. Gr.*, XXIX, 1916, pp. 222-237; the reference "Molinier" to the lessees of Delian houses listed in *Les "maisons sacrées" de Délos*, pp. 93-104. Square brackets indicate that the passage cited is largely restoration.

1. Ἀγασικλῆς. Lessee of Soloe in 297 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 149, lines 2-3).

2. Αἰσχροῦ Καλοδίκου. Lessee of Porthmos in 208 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, line 102). Guarantor in 207 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, line 103); mover of a decree ca. 200 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 745, line 2). A worshipper of Sarapis, to whom his father was priest (*I.G.*, XI, 4; 1223, line 9; 1124, line 5).

3. Ἀκριδίων Διονυσιοδώρου. Lessee of Lykoneion in 258, 250, and 249 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 224, A, line 16; 287, A, line 33; 287, A, lines 179-180). *Archon* in 240 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 298, line 70; 313, line 59; etc.).

4. Ἀ[λθ]αιμένης [Ἀλθ]αιμένου. Lessee of Dionysion in 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, lines 80-81).

5. Ἀλκίμαχος Ἀντικράτους. Lessee of Phytalia in ca. 175, 173, 171, and 169 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 452, lines 24-26; 456, A, lines 11-12; 460, u, line 24; 467, line 8). *Archon* in 168 B.C. (Roussel, *Dél. col. ath.*, p. 345).

6. Ἀλκίμαχος. Lessee of Hippodromos in 206 and 200 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 368, line 26; 372, A, line 16). Lessee of the Sacred Lake in 206 B.C. (368, line 28). Sitones and donor in 200 B.C. (370, lines 37 and 44).

7. \*Αλκιμος. Lessee of Panormos in 219 and 218 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 353, A, line 8; 354, line 36). An unpublished grave stele from the cemetery of Rheneia (now in the Mykonos Museum, serial number 10) reads \*Αλκιμος Θεοπίμο. The lettering is from the early second century, and since the name Alkimos is rare at Delos, the identity of the dead man with the lessee seems probable.

8. \*Αμνος Τερομβρότου. Lessee of Hippodromos in 192 and 189 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 399, A, lines 75-76; 403, lines 51-53). Guarantor in 200 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 372, A, line 125) and in 194 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 396, A, line 52); lessee of a house in 191 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 400, line 15); trictyarch in 188 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 442, B, lines 152-53). Dedicator of a statue to Anubis (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1232, line 2). Lacroix, Amnos IV; Molinier, no. 6.

9. \*Αμφέας \*Αριστέου. Lessee of Soloe in 312 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 135, lines 4-5). Brother of no. 37, no. 38, and no. 91.

10. \*Αμφίστρατος. Lessee of Sosimacheia in 284, 283, and 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 156, B, lines 16-20; [157, A, line 5]; 158, A, line 14). Probably identical with \*Αμφίστρατος Ύψοκλέους, who was a debtor in 279 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 161, A, lines 39-40), and whose father was archon in 279 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 161, A, lines 1 and 25).

11. \*Αμφοτερός. Lessee of Chareteia in 297 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 149, line 9). He paid the largest annual rental known for any temple estate (3111 dr.). Father of no. 36.

12. \*Ανάξανδρος Νεοκροντίδου. Lessee of Kera-meion in 179 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 442, A, line 150). *Epistates* in 176 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 133, line 35). Brother of no. 163. Possibly great-grandson of no. 164. His son may have been a building contractor (*Inscr. de Délos*, 462, A, line 18).

13. \*Αναψικτίδης. Lessee of Korakiai in 283 and 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 157, A, lines 4-5; 158, A, lines 12-13). Lessee of Akra Delos in 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, A, line 12). Winner

of a lawsuit in 301 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 146, B, lines 28-31); lessee of a house in 279 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 161, A, line 17); listed among business men in 280 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 165, line 46); building contractor in 274 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 199, A, line 109; 199, C, lines 27-40). Molinier, no. 8. A marble funeral urn from Rheneia, now in the Mykonos Museum (unpublished: no serial number) reads \*Ανφικλείδης \*Αναψικτίδου χαίρε. The lettering seems to be late third century B.C.

14. \*Ανεκτος \*Αντιγόνου. Lessee of Rhamnoi in 268 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 204, line 11). Son of no. 16; grandfather of no. 15. Lacroix, Anectos II.

15. \*Ανεκτος \*Αν[τιγόνου]. Lessee of Dionysion in 219, 218, and 210 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 353, A, line 9; 354, line 39; 356 bis, A, line 10). Debtor in 209 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 363, lines 65-66). Lacroix, Anectos III. Grandson of no. 14; father of no. 17.

16. \*Αντίγονος \*Ανέκτου. Lessee of Rhamnoi in 282, 279, 278, and 274 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 158, A, line 10; 161, A, line 8; 162, A, lines 6-7; 199, A, 4). Father of no. 14; great-grandfather of no. 15; great great-grandfather of no. 17. Lacroix, Antigonos IIIC.

17. \*Αντίγονος \*Ανέκτου. Lessee of Panormos in 207 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, lines 105-106). Son of no. 15. Lacroix, Antigonos VC.

18. \*Αντίγονος \*Αντιγόνου τοῦ Τηλεμνήστου. Lessee of Limnai in 179, 173, and 172 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 442, A, line 148; 456, A, line 13; 459, line 41). Great-grandson of no. 22. Lacroix, Antigonos ζ.

19. \*Αντίγονος Διδύμου. Lessee of Phoinikes in 249 and 246 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 151-153; *Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 16). Guarantor in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 131); lumber merchant in 246 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 174). Lacroix, Antigonos IVB.

20. \*Αντίγονος Μενύλλου. Lessee of Dorion-Chersonesos in 180 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 440, B, lines 22-23). Debtor in 194 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 396, A, line 28).

21. Ἀντίγονος Νικ[---]. Lessee of an unknown estate in 180 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 441, line 13).
22. Ἀντίγονος Τηλεμένηστου. Lessee of Hippodromos in 249 and 246 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 143-45; [*Inscr. de Délos*, 290, lines 16-17]). Debtor in 219 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 353, B, line 43). Great-grandfather of no. 18. Lacroix, Antigonos γB.
23. Ἀντίγονος Χαριστίου. Lessee of Sosimacheia in 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, line 77). Epistates in 207 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, line 132); guarantor in 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 400, lines 22 and 29) and ca. 185 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 407, line 35); borrower ca. 185 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 407, line 26); tax-collector and debtor in 179 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos* 442; A, line 155; D, line 20); banker in 173 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 455, Ab, line 18). Mover of two decrees (*I.G.*, XI, 4; 813, lines 1-2; 815, lines 1-2). He erected a statue in honor of his father (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1180, line 1). His grandfather, Ἀντίγονος Χαριστίου, was archon in 255 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 116, line 1). Father of 247.
24. Ἀντίγονος. Lessee of Pyrgoi in 219 and 218 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 353, A, line 4; [354, line 39]).
25. Ἀντικράτης Ξενομήδους. Lessee of Porthmos in 303 and 297 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 144, A, line 11; 149, lines 8-9). President of the assembly early in the third century (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 732, line 6). Brother of no. 168 and no. 188.
26. Ἀντικράτης Τιμησιδήμου. Lessee of Hippodromos in 269 and 268 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 203, A, line 24; 204, line 8). Debtor in 279 B.C. (*I.G.*, 161, A, line 42); choregos in 279 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 108, line 14); logistes in 269 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 203, A, line 63). Son of no. 223; brother of no. 245. His son, Ἀντικράτης Ἀντικράτους, was choregos in 265 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 111, line 14).
27. Ἀντίρρητος [Ἀντιγόνου]. Lessee of Nikou Choros in 246 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 18). Guarantor in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 154).
28. Ἀπατούριος Φέλ[υος]. Lessee of Soloe-Korakiai ca. 175 and 173 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; [452, lines 31-32]; 456, A, lines 20-21). Brother of no. 41 and of no. 233.
29. Ἀπολλόδωρος Ε[-----]. Lessee of an unknown estate in 258 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 224, A, line 13).
30. Ἀπολλόδωρος Ξενομήδους. Lessee of Porthmos in 282, 279, 278, 274, 269, and 268 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 158, A, line 7; 161, A, line 6; [162, A, line 5]; [199, A, lines 3-4]; 203, A, line 19; 204, lines 6-7). Possibly the son of no. 176.
31. Ἀπολλόδωρος [Φωκαίεως]. Lessee of Lykoneion ca. 214 B.C. and 210 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; [356, line 13]; 356 bis, A, line 9). Treasurer (?) of the city in 208 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 365, line 9); councillor in 206 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 368, lines 12-13). Brother of no. 201.
32. Ἀπολλώνιος Κτήσωνος. Lessee of Dionysion in 179 and 173 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 442, A, line 148; [456, A, line 14]).
33. Ἀπολλώνιος. Lessee of Sosimacheia in 258, 250, 249, and 246 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 224, A, 17; 287, A, lines 31 and 176; *Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 15).
34. Ἀρησίμβροτος Νικάνδρου. Lessee of Charoneia in 199, 192, and 189 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 374, Aa, line 1; 399, A, line 80; 403, line 48). Lessee of Leimon in 179, 173, and 172 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 442, A, line 147; [456, A, lines 10-11]; 459, line 40). Brother of no. 141. For the stemma of his family, see *Inscr. de Délos*, II, p. 344.
35. Ἀρησίμβροτος Πολυξένου. Lessee of Panormos in 269 and 268 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 203, A, line 22; 204, line 17). Winner of an athletic contest ca. 270 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1157, line 1). Father of no. 199.
36. Ἀριστέας Ἀμφοτεροῦ. Lessee of Limnai in 282, 279, 278, and 274 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 158, A, line 10; 161, A, line 7; 162, A, line 6; 199, A, line 5). Lessee of a house in 274 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 199, A, line 8). His son, Ἀμφοτερὸς

'Αριστέον, was archon in 228 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 371, A, line 16; etc.); his grandson, 'Αριστέας 'Αμφοτεροῦ, was a choregos in 200 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 128, line 11); his great-grandson, 'Αμφοτερός 'Αριστέον, was a hieropoios in 179 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 442, A, line 1). Molinier, no. 23. Son of no. 11.

37. 'Αριστέας 'Αριστέον. Lessee of Hippodromos in 303 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 144, A, line 11; cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 234). Probably the brother (possibly father) of no. 9, no. 38, no. 91, and of 'Επικύδης 'Αριστέον (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 144, B, line 81).

38. 'Αριστείδης 'Αριστέον. Lessee of Hippodromos in 297, 282, 279, and 278 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 149, line 2; 158, A, line 11; 161, A, line 11; 162, A, lines 9-10). Lessee of Lykoneion in 279 and 278 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 161, A, lines 14-15; 162, A, line 13). Witness of a building contract in 297 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 502, A, line 29); secretary of the boule in 280 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 159, A, line 71). Brother of no. 9, no. 37, and no. 91. Father of no. 39.

39. ['Αριστείδης] 'Αριστείδον. Lessee of Hippodromos in 274 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 199, A, line 5). Son of no. 38.

40. 'Αριστείδης. Lessee of Rhamnoi in 297 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 149, line 8). Lessee of a house in 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, A, line 17). Possibly identical with no. 37, but more probably was 'Αριστείδης Χαρίλα, choregos in 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 106, line 9). Lacroix, Aristeides I; Molinier, no. 24.

41. 'Αριστίων Φέλνος. Lessee of Soloe-Korakiai in 179 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 442, A, line 146). Brother of no. 28 and no. 233.

42. 'Αριστόβουλος. Lessee of Porthmos in 313 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 135, lines 24-26). Father of no. 145.

43. 'Αριστόβουλος. Lessee of Soloe in 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, A, line 13). Probably to be identified with 'Αριστόβουλος Λυσιζέγον, son of no. 145 and grandson of no. 42, who was priest

of Asklepios in 279 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 161, D, lines 3-6). Another possibility is 'Αριστόβουλος Μενεκράτους, choregos in 255 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 116, lines 9-10) and guarantor in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 162). Molinier (no. 25) lists an Aristoboulos who was lessee of a house from 272 to 242 B.C., but the identity of this man (if it is the same lessee for thirty years) is not known.

44. 'Αριστόδικος 'Αντικράτους. Co-lessee of Charoneia in 274, 269, and 268 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 199, A, line 5; 203, A, line 20; 204, lines 9-10). Debtor in 278 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 162, A, line 36); choregos in 268 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 110, lines 14-15). Brother of no. 223. His son, 'Αντικράτης 'Αριστοδίκου, was a guarantor in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 172).

45. 'Αριστόδικος 'Αρ[ι]στοκράτους. Lessee of Soloe ca. 305 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 142, lines 5-6).

46. 'Αριστόδικος Λυκάδου. Lessee of Dionysion in 207 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, line 104). Went bankrupt before 205 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 369, A, line 40), but the restoration of *Inscr. de Délos*, 368, line 33 is doubtful, since it makes a certain Timostratos pay on behalf of Aristodikos in 206 B.C., whereas the guarantors named in the previous year were Phillis and Elpines (*Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, line 105).

47. 'Αριστόδικος. Lessee of Phoinikes in 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, A, lines 11-12). Possibly identical with no. 44.

48. 'Αριστόπαππος Τέλλιος. Lessee of Dorion-Chersonesos in 207 and 206 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, lines 100-101). Epistates in 207 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, line 132). His father, Τέλλης 'Αριστοπάππου, was the mover of a decree ca. 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 639, lines 1-2).

49. 'Αρχανδρος. Lessee of Hippodromos, ca. 306 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 142, lines 9-12). Father of no. 170.

50. 'Αρχεδάμας 'Αρχεδάμα. Co-lessee of Skitoneia in 246 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 19). Son of no. 51 and brother of no. 155.

**51.** Ἀρχεδάμας Κτησικλείους. Lessee of Skitopeia in 249 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 161-62). Died before 246 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 19). Father of no. 50 and no. 155.

**52.** Ἀστέας. Lessee of Nikou Choros, ca. 306 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 142, line 4; cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 232).

**53.** Αὐτοκλῆς Τελέσωνος. Lessee of Rhamnoi in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 136-37). Lessee of Limnai in 249 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 157). Choregos in 259 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 115, lines 4-5); guarantor in 257 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 226, A, line 31); borrower in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 126); mover of a decree in honor of his father, ca. 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1022, line 1). Died before 246 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 290, lines 12-13, 18, and 33). Lacroix, Autocles II. Son of no. 220; father of no. 130.

**54.** Αὐτοσθένης. Lessee of Nikou Choros in 303 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 144, A, line 15). Lessee of Dionysion in 301 and 297 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 146, A, line 11; 149, lines 6-7).

**55.** Ἀφροδίσιος Σωπάτρου. Lessee of Pyrgoi in 179 and 173 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 442, A, line 149; 456, A, line 15).

**56.** Ἀχαιὺς Ζηλομένου. Lessee of Nikou Choros in 192, 180, and 179 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 399, A, line 79; [441, line 12]; 442, A, line 150; cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 242), but failed to secure guarantors for the year 178 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 445, lines 16-17). Paid interest in behalf of his father in 218 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 354, line 47); debtor in 179 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 442, A, line 172). His father, Ζηλομένης Ἀχαιοῦ, was hieropoios ca. 235 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 316, line 15), and died ca. 210 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 724, bc, line 11). His grandfather, Ἀχαιὺς Ζηλομένου, was choregos in 259 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 115, line 9), and won an athletic contest ca. 260 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1162, line 1).

**57.** Βόηθος Ὀρθοκλέους. Lessee of Kerameion in 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, line 76). Epistates in 207 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A,

lines 89-90); guarantor ca. 190 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 407, line 37); hieropoios in 183 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 442, B, line 134; 443, Bb, line 58), debtor in 179 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 442, A, lines 20 and 57); treasurer in 175 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 449, A, line 12). His grandfather, Βόηθος, was a lessee of the "house of Orthokles" in 269 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 203, A, lines 26-27; Molinier, no. 42).

**58.** Βούλων Τύννωνος. Lessee of Chareteia in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 138-39). Lessee of a house in 268 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 204, line 28); guarantor in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 179); mover of a decree and ambassador to Thessalonika ca. 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4; 664, lines 1-2; 665, lines 1-2 and 26; 1053, lines 2, 12, and 25); archon in 234 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 320, B, lines 19, 26, 27, 30); epistates in 229 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 320, B, lines 63-64). His son, Τύννων Βούλωνος, was secretary of the hieropoioi in 217 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 355, line 3).

**59.** Γέρυλλος Καρυστίου. Lessee of Sosimacheia in 179 and 173 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 442, A, lines 147-148; 456, A, line 12). Treasurer in 197 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 442, B, line 67); guarantor in 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 400, lines 9-10). Husband of Aristagore and father of Xenokleides (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1186, lines 1-3). Lacroix, Géryllos (iv).

**60.** Γέρυλλος Πιστοξένου. Lessee of Sosimacheia in 279 and 278 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 161, A, line 15; 162, A, line 13). Guarantor for the city in 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, B, line 20); debtor in 279 B.C., in 257 B.C., in 253 B.C. and in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 161, A, line 28; 226, A, line 25; 274, line 20; 287, A, line 190). Guarantor in 274 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 199, C, line 113). Lacroix, Géryllos III. Son of no. 193.

**61.** Γλαῦκος Γλαύκου. Lessee of the Sacred Lake in 249 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 147). His father, Γλαῦκος Σκύλακος, was agoranomos in 297 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 500, B, line 18; 502, A, line 28) and mover of two decrees ca. 290 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4; 518, line 3; 519, line 2).

**62.** Γνωσίδικος Ἡρακλείδου. Lessee of Nikou Choros and Rhamnoi in 312 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 135, lines 14-15). Lessee of Limnai in 303 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 144, A, lines 12-13). Brother of no. 147; probably grandfather of no. 63. His father (cf. *I.G.*, XI, 4, 1163, line 2) seems to have been a Phoenician (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 163, A, line 45), and the family to have been grain merchants (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 161, A, line 27). His son, Ἡρακλείδης Γνωσίδικου, was a debtor in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 183), in 247 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 289, line 11), and in 246 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 38).

**63.** Γνω[σίδικος]. Lessee of an unknown estate, ca. 230 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 308, line 8; cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, pp. 240-41). Probably the grandson of no. 62.

**64.** Γοργ[ίας]. Lessee of Dorion-Chersonesos in 188 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 403, line 55).

**65.** Δεξικράτης Ἀχαιοῦ. Co-lessee of Charoneia in 249 and 246 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 164; *Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 20). Brother of no. 102.

**66.** [Δ]ήμαρχος. Lessee of Soloe-Korakiai in 210 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 356 bis, A, line 8; cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 241).

**67.** Δημέ[ας]. Lessee of Pyrgoi in 301 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 146, A, line 10). The name is common at Delos in the early third century; cf. Δ. Αὐτοκλέους (Lacroix, Demeas IIA), Δ. Εὐμήδους (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 224, A, line 21), Δ. Ἰτωνος (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 110, line 16), Δ. Κάτωνος (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 654, line 2), and Δ. Πυθοκλέους (Lacroix, Demeas IIB). Cf. also Demeas I, archon in 286 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 122, line 25; 155, b, line 7; etc.) and Demeas II, archon in 277 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 118, line 13; 164, A, line 1, etc.).

**68.** Δημοκράτης [Θαρσυδίκου]. Lessee of an unknown estate in 232 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 314, A, line 36). Debtor in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 194) and ca. 240 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 303, line 3). Son of no. 113; brother of no. 238.

**69.** Δημόνους Ξωσιδήμου. Lessee of Leimon in 209 and 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 362, A, line 21; 399, A, line 74). Treasurer of the city in 208 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 365, line 12); hieropoios in 199 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 372, A, line 138); debtor in 200, 194, and 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 372, A, line 62; 396, A, line 28; 399, A, line 131). Son of Lacroix's Sosidemos IIB.

**70.** Δημόστρατος Διογένου. Lessee of Skitoneia in 179 and 173 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 442, A, lines 148-49; 456, A, lines 14-15). Treasurer in 190 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 405, line 26; 442, B, line 87); secretary of the city in 182 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 439, A, line 1). Possibly the brother of no. 150.

**71.** Δάιτος Δαίτου. Lessee of Hippodromos in 179 and 173 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 442, A, lines 146-147; 456, A, line 10). Perhaps the great-grandson of no. 72.

**72.** Δάιτος. Lessee of an unknown estate, ca. 290 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 152, A, line 7). Durrbach identifies him with Δάιτος Ἀπολλοδώρου (cf. *I.G.*, XI, 2; 161, A, line 41; 161, D, lines 82-83; 199, C, line 85; 203, D, lines 77-79; 226, A, line 24; *Inscr. de Délos*, 502, A, line 29), but he may also have been Δάιτος the archon of 312 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 135, line 32) or the father of Φίλλης Δαίτου, archon of 275 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 109, line 1; 4, 580, line 2).

**73.** Διάκριτος Καλλισθένου. Lessee of Phytalia in 269 and 268 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 203, A, lines 22-23; 204, line 18). Lacroix, Diacritos II. Son of no. 126.

**74.** Διακτορίδης [Θεωρύλου]. Lessee of Phoinikes in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 31). In 250 B.C. he was also a guarantor (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 41), debtor (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 129 and 188), banker (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, D, line 11), and lessee of a foundry (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 37). Hieropoios in 247 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 142), debtor in 231 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 316, lines 21 and 118). Died before 218 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 354, lines 24 and 40). His son erected a monument ca.

200 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1185, line 1). Lacroix, Diactorides II. Son of no. 118, father of 96.

**75.** Διακοτορίδης Τλ[ηπολέμων?]. Lessee of Epistheneia in 219 and 218 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 351, line 13; 353, A, lines 8-9; 354, line 37).

**76.** Δίδυμος Καλλιδίκου. Lessee of Skitoneia in 279, 278, 274, 269, and 268 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 161, A, line 10; [162, A, line 8]; [199, A, lines 4-5]; 203, A, lines 19-20; 204, lines 11-12). Hieropoios and guarantor for the city in 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 158; A, lines 2-3; B, line 19).

**77.** Διογένης [Τελέσιωνος]. Lessee of Chareteia in 252 and 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 275, A, line 17; 287, A, line 30). Guarantor in 246 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 135), hieropoios in 231 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 316, line 1), guarantor for the city in 218 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 354, line 12). Lacroix, Diogenes I.

**78.** Διονύσιος Αἰτοκλέους. Lessee of Nikou Choros in 279 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 161, A, line 9). Contractor for many various building enterprises, and lessee of a house from 274 to 258 B.C. For the references, cf. Lacroix, Dionysios II; Molinier, no. 59.

**79.** Διονυσόδωρος. Lessee of Leimon in 250, 249, and 246 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 32 and 148; [*Inscr. de Délos*, 290, lines 14-15]). Probably father of no. 133.

**80.** Δόρκων. Lessee of Pyrgoi in 282 and 279 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 158, A, line 8; 161, A, line 7). Died childless in 278 B.C. (162, A, line 6; cf. no. 134).

**81.** Ἐκέφυλος. Co-lessee of Chareteia in 258 B.C. ([*I.G.*, XI, 2, 224, A, line 14]; cf. *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 238), but went bankrupt in 257 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 226, A, lines 30-31). Debtor in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 196).

**82.** Ἐλπίνης. Lessee of Skitoneia in 209 and 206 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 362, A, line 17; 356 *bis*, B, line 34 [cf. *B.C.H.*, LIV, 1932, p. 384]; 368, line 30). Hieropoios in 208 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 363, line 18); died before 200 B.C.

(*Inscr. de Délos*, 372, A, line 15). To be identified either with Ἐλπίνης Κλεοδήμου, who was a guarantor in 207 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, line 105), or with Ἐλπίνης Ἀκριδιῶνος, whose unpublished gravestone in the Mykonos Museum (serial no. 11: late third century lettering) reads Ἐλπίνης Ἀκριδιῶνος χαίρει. For his father, Ἀκριδιῶν Ἐλπίνου, cf. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 223, A, line 52; 2, 287, A, line 194; 4, 633, line 2.

**83.** Ἐμπεδοκλῆς Χαριλέοντος. Lessee of Nikou Choros in 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, A, lines 10-11). Lessee of Chareteia in 279, 278, 272, 269, and 268 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 161, A, line 10; 162, A, line 9; 200, line 1; 203, A, line 19; 204, line 14). Choregos in 268 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 110, line 14). His son, Ἐμπεδοκλῆς Ἐμπεδοκλέους, was lessee of a house and a debtor in 219 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 353; A, line 25; B, lines 46-47; Molinier, no. 69).

**84.** Ἐμπεδος Ἀσβήλου. Lessee of Panormos in 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, line 79). Guarantor in 200 B.C. ([*Inscr. de Délos*, 374, A, lines 2-3]); hieropoios in 187 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 442, B, line 106); archon in 186 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1067, e-f, line 2).

**85.** Ἐμπεδος Ξένωνος. Lessee of Akra Delos in 258, 250, 249, and 246 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 224, A, line 14; 287, A, lines 31 and 175; *Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 14). Lessee of a house ca. 230 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 316, A, line 62). Lacroix, Empedos I; Molinier, no. 71. Son of no. 180 and brother of no. 221.

**86.** Ἐμπεδος. Lessee of Akra Delos in 219, 218, and 210 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 353, A, line 13; 354, lines 37-38; [356 *bis*, A, lines 10-11]). Lessee of Soloe-Korakiai in 206 and 200 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; [368, lines 31-32]; 372, A, line 17). Probably to be identified with Ἐμπεδος Ξένωνος, donor or epistates in 219 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 125, line 15) and thus grandson of no. 85 (so Lacroix, Empedos II); but he may have been Ἐμπεδος Διογένου, lessee of a house in 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 400, lines 16-17; Molinier, no. 72).

87. Ἐπικύδης. Lessee of Limnai in 297 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 149, line 10). In *I.G.*, XI, 2, 144, B, line 81, Ἐπικύδης Ἀριστέου and Ἐπικύ[δης Δ]υκόφρ[ο]νος are associated in 303 B.C. as joint guarantors; there seems no way of telling which Epikydes was lessee of Limnai and which was lessee of Pyrgoi (no. 88).
88. Ἐπικύδης. Lessee of Pyrgoi in 297 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 149, line 5). See above, no. 87.
89. Ἐργοτέλης. Lessee of Kerameion in 258 B.C., but went bankrupt the following year (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 224, A, line 15; 226, A, lines 35-36).
90. Ἐρμάδας. Lessee of Soloe, ca. 306 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 142, lines 5-9).
91. Ἐρμόδοτος Ἀριστέου. Lessee of Charoneia in 303 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 144, A, line 14). Mover of a decree, ca. 290 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 541, line 1). He died in bankruptcy before 257 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 226, A, line 24), and his heirs are listed as debtors down to the end of the Period of Independence (cf. *I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 189; *Inscr. de Délos*; 366, A, line 127; 372, A, line 170; 444, A, line 40; 463, B, line 4). Brother of no. 9, no. 37, and no. 38. His son, Ἀριστέας Ἐρμοδότου, was a debtor in 274 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 199, B, line 97).
92. Ἐρμων Κλεοκρίτου. Lessee of Leimon in 312 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 135, line 3). Lessee of *Phoinikes* in 303 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 144, A, line 10). Payer of interest in 312 B.C. (135, lines 26-27). His son, Κλεόκριτος Ἐρμωνος, was a guarantor in 297 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 149, line 12); cf. also no. 135.
93. Ἐροτίων. Lessee of Skitoneia in 297 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 149, line 6).
94. Ἐτεοκλείδης. Lessee of Kerameion in 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, A, line 13). Seller of a pig, ca. 276 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 163, A, line 22); lessee of a house in 269 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 203, A, lines 25-26). Lacroix, Eteocleides (i); Molinier, no. 78. Father of no. 120.
95. Εὐβίος Θεοδότου. Lessee of Phytalia in 250, 249, and 246 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 34 and 177; *Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 15).
96. Εὐδῆμος [Διακτορίδου]. Lessee of *Leimon* in 219 and 218 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 353, A, line 11; 354, line 37). Lessee of a house in 207 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, line 95); guarantor ca. 190 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 406, B, line 15). Debtor in 219, 218, 207, and 179 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 353, B, line 42; 354, line 45; 366, A, line 121; 442, A, line 175), and died in debt shortly before 174 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 449, B, line 30). Lacroix, Eudemos III; Molinier, no. 81. Son of no. 74.
97. Εὐδίκος Φιλιστίδου. Lessee of Kerameion in 249 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 145).
98. Εὐέλθων Λυσαγόρου. Lessee of Skitoneia in 312 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 135, lines 8-9).
99. Εὐέλθων Νικίου. Lessee of Rhamnoi in 179 and 173 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 442, A, line 148; [456, A, lines 12-13]). Mover of a decree ca. 190 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 839, lines 1-2). His father, Νικίας Εὐέλθωνος, was archon in 185 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1067, e-f, line 3), logistes in 180 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 440, A, line 42), and a guarantor for the city in 179 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 442, A, line 210). He was also a debtor in 179 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 442, A, line 167).
100. Εὐθέας Μ[εν]ύλ[α]ου. Lessee of Pyrgoi in 249 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 172; wrongly restored in *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 240 as Εὐθέας Γ[ερύ]λ[α]ου). Brother of no. 157.
101. Εὐκλείδης. Lessee of Lykoneion in 246 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 17). May have been the son either of no. 204, no. 234, or no. 244.
102. Εὐκτήμων Ἀχαιοῦ. Co-lessee of Charoneia in 249 and 246 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 164; *Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 20). Listed as a debtor in 219, 207, 204, 200, and 177 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 353, B, lines 31-32; 366, A, line 117; 369, A, line 25; 372, A, line 177; 444, A, line 44). Brother of no. 65.

- 103.** Εὐμήδης. Lessee of Lykoneion in 283 and 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 157, A, line 4; 158, A, line 13).
- 104.** Ἐχεκρατίδης [Θυμίου]. Lessee of Nikou Choros in 219 and 218 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 353, A, line 7; 354, line 35). Epistates in 202 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 128, line 60). His father, Θυμίας Ἐχεκρατίδου, was a guarantor in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 154) and hieropoios in 232 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 316, line 2). Father of no. 119.
- 105.** Ζώπυρος Αὐτομέδοντος. Lessee of Akra Delos in 279, 278, 274, and ca. 272 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 161, A, line 13; 162, A, line 11; 199, A, line 6; 200, line 5).
- 106.** Ἡγέας Μένιος. Lessee of Phytalia in 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, line 77). Treasurer in 195 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, lines 14, 39, 42, and 45); sitones in 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, line 72); guarantor in 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, line 112).
- 107.** Ἡγήμων. Lessee of Chareteia in 312 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 135, line 7).
- 108.** Ἡγησαγόρας Ἀναξιμένους. Lessee of Nikou Choros in 278 and 274 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 161, C, lines 116-120; 162, A, lines 7-8; 199, A, line 5). Secretary of the boule in 286 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 155, b, line 8); borrower for the city in 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, B, lines 10-12); mover of a decree ca. 280 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 568, line 2); epimeletes in 274 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 199, A, line 99). His son, Ἀναξαγόρας Ἡγησαγόρου, was the mover of a decree ca. 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 618, lines 3-4). Father of no. 190.
- 109.** Ἡγίας. Lessee of Limnai in 219 and 218 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 353, A, line 6; 354, line 36). Hieropoios in 220 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 354, lines 5 and 20; 460, t, lines 25-26); member of τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἐνατιστῶν (*I.G.*, XI, 4; 1228, line 6; 1229, line 5).
- 110.** Ἡραΐππων. Lessee of Thaleon in 189 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 403, line 55). Possibly the son of Ὠκυνείδης Ἡραΐπ[πωνος], who was epistates in 208 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 369, A, lines 2-3) and president of the assembly ca. 200 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 759, lines 29-30).
- 111.** Ἡρακλείδης ὁ Ῥηναίεύς. Lessee of Dionysion in 249 and 246 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 159-60; *Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 19).
- 112.** Ἡ[ρ]ώδης Θεοδώρου. Lessee of Pyrgoi in 303 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 144, A, line 15; *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 234). Son of no. 116.
- 113.** Θαρσύνδικος. Lessee of Nikou Choros in 268 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 204, line 9). Father of no. 68 and no. 238.
- 114.** Θεοδωρίδης Ἐπικράτ[ο]υς. Lessee of Leimon in 303 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 144, A, line 10).
- 115.** Θεοδωρίδης. Lessee of an unknown estate in 308 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 143, B, line 3). Probably identical with no. 114 (Durrbach so assumes in his restoration), but he may have been the son of Πύθεος Θεοδωρίδου, who was a debtor in 306 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 142, line 16) and epimeletes in 297 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 150, A, line 9).
- 116.** Θεόδωρος Ἀριστάρχου. Lessee of Porthmos in 312 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 135, line 10). Father of no. 112.
- 117.** Θεοστάς. Lessee of Charoneia in 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, A, line 9).
- 118.** Θεωρύλος Διακτορίδου. Lessee of Phoinikes in 279, 278, 274, and ca. 271 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 161, A, line 13; 162, A, lines 11-12; 199, A, line 6; 201, line 7). Choregos in 284 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 105, line 7) and in 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 106, line 9). Lacroix, Theorylos II. Father of no. 74 and no. 237.
- 119.** Θυμίας Ἐχεκρατίδου. Lessee of Thaleon in 207 and 206 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, lines 99-101). Debtor in 208 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 365, line 21). Son of no. 104.
- 120.** Ἱερόμβροτος Ἐτεοκλείδου. Lessee of Kera-meion in 279, 278, 274, 269, and 268 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 161, A, line 12; 162, A, line 10; 199, A, line 7; 203, A, lines 18-19; 204, line 13).

Lessee of Hippodromos in 258 and 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; [224, A, line 17]; 287, A, line 32). *Epimeletes* in 274 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 199, A, line 98). Lacroix, Hierombrotos IIB. Son of no. 94.

**121.** Ἱερός Φανοδίκου. Lessee of Panormos in 312 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 135, lines 7-8).

**122.** Ἱηκλῆς. Lessee of Panormos in 279 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 161, A, line 9).

**123.** Ἱππακος Δηλίκου. Lessee of Lykoneion in 269, 268, and 262 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 203, A, line 23; 204, line 19; 223, A, line 38). His father, Δῆλικος Δρυμάχου, was a metic, and was choregos in 282 and 279 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 106, line 13; 108, line 16).

**124.** [Καλ]λίας Καλλίου. Lessee of Panormos, ca. 175 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 452, line 21). His father was possibly the Καλλίας Ἀντιπάτρου who was the mover of a decree ca. 200 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 750, line 2).

**125.** Καλλί[ας]. Lessee of Soloe in 303 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 144, A, line 10; cf. pp. 305 f.). Probably a brother of Lacroix's Antipatros I and son of Lacroix's Arignotos I.

**126.** Καλλισθένης Διακρίτου. Lessee of Phytalia in 279, 278, and 274 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 161, A, line 14; 162, A, line 12; 199, A, line 7). Lessee of Phoinikes in 269 and 268 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 203, A, line 23; 204, lines 18-19). Lessee of Skitoneia in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 137-38), but went bankrupt (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 26-27). Lacroix, Callisthenes IIA. Father of no. 73.

**127.** Καλλισθένης [Θεωρύλου]. Lessee of Epistheneia, ca. 285 B.C., but died before the end of 284 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 156, B, lines 7-12). *Architect* ca. 306 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 142, line 23); archon in 302 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1067, b, line 7; cf. *Rev. Et. Gr.*, XXIX, 1916, p. 217, note 6); hieropoios in 298 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 148, line 2). Lacroix, Callisthenes I.

**128.** Καλλισθένης. Lessee of Soloe-Korakiai in 246 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 16). Either

identical with no. 126 or, more probably, with Καλλισθένης Θεωρύλου, grandson of no. 127; guarantor in 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, B, lines 14-15), debtor in 269 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 203, A, line 75), and guarantor and debtor in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 41 and 129-131). Lacroix, Callisthenes IIB.

**129.** Καλλισθένης. Lessee of Sosimacheia in 219, 218, 210, 209, and 206 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 353, A, line 10; 354, line 37; [356 bis, A, line 11]; 362, A, line 16; 368, line 32). Bankrupt in 206 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 368, line 32) and debtor in 205 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 369, A, line 41). Probably identical with Lacroix's Callisthenes III.

**130.** Καλλίφαντος [Αὐτοκλέους]. Lessee of Pyrgoi, ca. 207 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 368, line 24). Choregos in 215 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 126, line 5). Died before the end of 206 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 368, line 24). Son of no. 53.

**131.** Κάσσανδρος Κατωνάνδρου. Lessee of Charoneia in 179 and 173 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 442, A, line 149; [456, A, lines 19-20]).

**132.** Κερκίων. Lessee of Dionysion in 252 and 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 275, A, line 13; 287, A, line 26).

**133.** Κινέας Διονυσοδώρου. Lessee of Phytalia in 219 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 351, line 8; 353, A, line 13). Epistates in 232 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 314, B, line 154); hieropoios in 217 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 354, line 16). Died before 206 B.C. (366, A, line 127; 372, A, line 176). Probably the son of no. 79.

**134.** Κλεινίας Ὀρθίου. Lessee of Pyrgoi in 278, 274, 269, 268, 258, and 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 162, A, line 6; 199, A, line 4; 203, A, line 18; 204, line 12; [224, A, line 14]; 287, A, line 30). Heir of no. 80 (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 162, A, lines 5-6).

**135.** Κλεόκριτος Ἰφιάνακτος. Lessee of Limnai in 312 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 135, line 13). Dedicator of a votive offering to Hestia (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1285, lines 1-3). Was probably the archon

of 298 B.C. (cf. *I.G.*, XI, 4, 1067, c, line 1), though the archon may have been Κλεόκριτος Ἐρμωνος (cf. no. 92).

**136.** Κ[λ]εόκρι[τος]. Lessee of an unknown estate in 206 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 368, line 30). Possibly identical with Lacroix's Cleocritos III.

**137.** Κόνων. Lessee of Soloe-Korakiai at the beginning of 219 B.C. but died during the year (*Inscr. de Délos*; 353, A, line 6; 354, line 36). Probably identical with Κόνων Φωκαϊέως, whose heirs are listed as debtors in 219 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 353, B, lines 23, 26, and 27-28), and who was the mover of a decree ca. 230 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 625, line 2).

**138.** Κοσμιάδης [Σήμων]. Lessee of Kerameion in 246 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 17). His son, Σήμος Κοσμιάδου, was epistates ca. 225 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 346, B, line 11), president of the assembly ca. 225 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4; 693, line 20; [696, lines 3-4]), hieropoios in 216 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 396, B, line 21), and was given honorary citizenship in the Carian town of Theangela (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1054). His grandson, Κοσμιάδης Σήμων, was epistates in 207 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 366, B, lines 5-7), hieropoios in 198 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, line 106), and archon in 197 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 396, B, line 54; *I.G.*, XI, 4, 1067, d, line 1).

**139.** Κριτόβουλος. Lessee of Phytalia in 218 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 354, line 38). His son, Μελιχίδης Κριτοβούλου, was choregos in 179 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 130, lines 4-5) and hieropoios in 178 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 442; A, line 74; B, lines 2 and 216).

**140.** Κυνθιάδης [Τελέσωνος]. Lessee of Limnai in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 26). His lease for Rhamnoi for the decennium 249-40 B.C. was cancelled (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 153). President of the assembly some time between 240 and 230 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4; 664, lines 18-19; 665, line 25). Died between 224 and 218 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 338, Aa, line 7;

354, line 55). His son, Κυνθιάδης Κυνθιάδου, was president of the assembly ca. 200 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4; 745, line 32; 746, lines 18-19).

**141.** Λάμπρων Νικάνδρου. Lessee of Porthmos in 207 and 206 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 366, A, lines 102-103; 368, line 29). Lessee of Skitoneia in 199 and 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 374, Ab, line 7; 399, A, line 80). Guarantor in 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 400, lines 3-4). Brother of no. 34. For his family, see *Inscr. de Délos*, II, p. 344.

**142.** Λεώνυμος. Lessee of Lykoneion in 301 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 146, A, line 11).

**143.** Λυκομήδης Κριτ[ίου]. Co-lessee of Nikou Choros in 178 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 445, lines 16-19). Guarantor ca. 190 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 407, line 27). Father-in-law of no. 247. His father, Κριτίας Λυκομήδου, was president of the assembly ca. 210 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 706, line 22). For his family, see *Inscr. de Délos*, II, p. 205.

**144.** Λυσής Σίμιος. His lease for Kerameion for the decennium 249-40 was cancelled in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 145). His father, Σίμις Λύσου, was a guarantor in 297 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 149, line 12).

**145.** Λυσίξενος Ἀριστοβούλου. Lessee of Lykoneion in 303 B.C. ([*I.G.*, XI, 2, 144, A, line 16]). Archon in 301 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 145, line 46). Son of no. 42 and father of no. 43.

**146.** Λυσίξενος. Lessee of Kerameion in 219, 218, and 210 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 353, A, lines 14-15; 354, line 36; 356 bis, A, line 9).

**147.** Μαισιάδης Ἡρακλείδου. Lessee of Panormos in 303 and 297 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 144, A, line 12; 149, lines 5-6). Bankrupt post 297 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 147, A, lines 15-17). Of Phoenician descent (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 163, A, line 45). Brother of no. 62.

**148.** Μάχων Παραξιμένο[υς]. Lessee of Charoneia in 312 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 135, line 9). Brother of no. 153.

**149.** Μελιχίδης Σιλή[νον]. Lessee of Epistheneia in 173 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 456, A, lines 9-10). Brother of no. 209.

**150.** Μελ[ήσιπ]πος [Διογ?]έγον. Lessee of Dorion-Chersonesos ca. 182 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 440, B, line 22; *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 244). Possibly a brother of no. 70.

**151.** Μελήσιππος ὁ Ῥηναίεύς. Lessee of Charoneia in 279 and 278 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 161, A, lines 10-11; 162, A, line 9).

**152.** Μελήσιππος ὁ Ῥηναίεύς. Lessee of Skitoneia in 219 and 218 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 353, A, lines 7-8; 354, line 36). Co-lessee of Limnai in 199 and 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 374, Aa, lines 10-15; 399, A, line 81). Lessee of work buildings in 219 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 353, A, lines 17 and 22) and in 218 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 354, lines 32 and 33). Molinier, no. 107.

**153.** Μένανδρος Πραξιμένους. Lessee of Pyrgoi in 312 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 135, line 11). In 297 B.C. he was one of seven guarantors for three merchants who borrowed 30,300 dr. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 500, B, lines 14-15). Brother of no. 148.

**154.** Μενεθάλης. Lessee of Hippodromos in 188 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 403, lines 51-52).

**155.** Μενεκράτης Ἀρχεδάμα. Co-lessee of Skitoneia in 246 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 19). Creditor in 240 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 298, A, lines 187-190); died before 218 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 353, B, line 8). Son of no. 51 and brother of no. 50.

**156.** Μενέστρατος Τιμοστράτου. Lessee of Epistheneia in 179 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 442, A, line 146).

**157.** Μένυλλος [Μενύλλου]. Lessee of Pyrgoi in 246 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 21). Guarantor in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 177). Brother of no. 100.

**158.** Μετώνυμος. Co-lessee of Phytalia in 209, 206, and 200 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 362, A, line 18; 368, line 26; 372, A, line 18).

**159.** Μίκων. Lessee of Panormos in 208 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, line 105).

**160.** Μνησίμαχος Αὐτοκράτους. Lessee of Charteia in 257 and 251 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 226, A, lines 30-33; 287, A, lines 139-142). For his bankruptcy, see note 13.

**161.** Μοιραγένης Καλλισθένους. Lessee of Limnai ca. 252 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 196). Debtor in 250 B.C., ca. 245 B.C., and 219 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 191 and 196; *Inscr. de Délos*; 291, f, line 12; 353, B, line 30; cf. 323, line 35). Died before 209 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 363, line 62). Lacroix, Moiragenes (i). Probably son of no. 128 (Callisthenes II B).

**162.** Ναξιάδης. Lessee of Lykoneion in 219 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; [351, line 18]; 353, A, line 14). Bankrupt in 218 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 354, line 38).

**163.** Νεοκροντίδης Νεοκροντίδου. Lessee of Kerameion in 173 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 456, A, line 21). Secretary of the hieropoioi in 179 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 442, B, line 181). Brother of no. 12.

**164.** Νεοκροντίδης. Lessee of Kerameion in 252 and 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; [275, A, line 16]; 287, A, line 33). Possibly identical with Νεοκροντίδης Βλεπύρου, who was choregos in 282 and 280 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 106, line 11; 107, line 7).

**165.** Νέων Δημητρίου. Lessee of Lykoneion in 180, 179, and 173 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; [441, line 12]; 442, A, line 150; 456, A, line 19). His father was probably the archon of 184 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1067, e-f, line 4).

**166.** Νησιώτης Δωριέως. Lessee of Lykoneion in 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, line 76). His father was perhaps the archon of 238 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 124, line 52).

**167.** Νίκανδρος [Ἀγοράλλου]. Lessee of Porthmos in 219 and 218 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 353, A, lines 10-11; 354, line 35). Choregos in 236 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 120, line 6); debtor in 207, 204, and 200 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 366, A, line 127; 369, A, line 33; 372, A, line 53).

- 168.** Νίκανδρος [Ξενομήδ]ους. Lessee of Chareteia in 303 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 144, A, lines 11-12; *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 234). Brother of no. 25 and no. 188.
- 169.** Νίκαρχος. Co-lessee of Limnai in 206 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 368, line 31).
- 170.** Νικόμαχος Ἀρχάνδρου. Lessee of Hippodromos ca. 305 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 142, lines 9-12). Son of no. 49.
- 171.** Νικόμαχος Νικομάχου. Lessee of Rhamnoi in 209 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 362, A, line 16). Co-lessee of Rhamnoi in 206, 200, and 199 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 368, line 25; 372, A, lines 10-11; [374, Aa, lines 20-24]). Lessee of Rhamnoi in 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, lines 81-82) and in 189 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 397, B, 1-3). Co-lessee of Nikou Choros in 206 and 200 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 368, line 25; 372, A, line 12). Guarantor in 209 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 363, line 38) and in 194 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 396, A, lines 33 and 42); treasurer in 203 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 399, B, line 18); borrower of large amounts ca. 188 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 407, lines 27, 36-37). Dedicator of a monument ca. 200 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1176, line 4).
- 172.** Ξενοκράτης Ἀντιγόνου. Lessee of Nikou Choros in 209 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 362, A, lines 16-17). Co-lessee with no. 171 of Rhamnoi and Nikou Choros in 206 and 200 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 368, line 25; 372, A, lines 10-13). Co-lessee with no. 171 of Rhamnoi in 199 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 374, Aa, lines 20-24). Gave up lease before 192 B.C. (cf. *Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, lines 81-82). Mover of a decree, ca. 200 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 714, lines 2-3). Lacroix, Xenocrates II. Cf. no. 175.
- 173.** Ξενοκράτης Ἱερομβρότου. Lessee of half of Chareteia for the single year 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 139-140). Hieropoios in 252 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 7-8); logistes in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 88-89); borrower for the city in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 124); mover of a decree ca. 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 598, line 2). Debtor in 278, 269, 250, and ca. 248 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 162, A, line 28; 203, D, lines 47-50; 287, A, line 185; 289, line 13) and died in debt before 219 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 353, B, lines 11-12). Lacroix, Xenocrates I.
- 174.** Ξενοκράτης. Lessee of Phoinikes in 219 and 218 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 353, A, lines 4-5; 354, line 35).
- 175.** Ξενοκράτης. Lessee of Pyrgoi in 210 B.C. and ca. 193 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 356 bis, A, line 7; 399, A, line 78). Died before the end of 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, line 78); he may therefore have been identical with no. 172.
- 176.** Ξενομήδης. Lessee of Charoneia in 297 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 149, lines 7-8). Possibly father of no. 30.
- 177.** Ξενομήδης. Lessee of Rhamnoi in 251 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 136).
- 178.** Ξενομήδης. Lessee of Hippodromos in 219, 218, 210, and 209 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 353, A, line 12; 354, line 38; 356 bis, A, line 11; 362, A, line 15).
- 179.** Ξένων Ξένωνος. Lessee of Chersonesos in 169 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 461, Bb, lines 54-55). Probably son of no. 181.
- 180.** Ξένων Τελέσωνος. Lessee of Epistheneia in 269, 268, and 262 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 203, A, line 21; 204, line 16; 223, A, lines 36-37). Borrower for the city in 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, B, lines 23-24). Lacroix, Xenon a. Brother of no. 249. Father of no. 85 and no. 221.
- 181.** Ξένων Φερεκλείδου. Co-lessee of Charoneia in 206 and 200 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 368, lines 27-28; 372, A, lines 13-14). Guarantor in 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 400, line 17); debtor in 179 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 442, A, line 169) and in 173 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 455, Ab, line 16). Lacroix, Xenon IIIB. Son of no. 235; brother of no. 191 and no. 240.
- 182.** Ὀδοιτέλης. Lessee of Leimon in 269 and 268 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 203, A, lines 20-21; 204, line 15).

**183.** Ὀνομακλείδης Μησιλείω. Lessee of Dionysion in 312 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 135, line 12).

**184.** Ὀρθοκλ[ῆς] Ἀρισ[τεί]δ[ου]. Assigned the lease of an unknown estate, probably Lykoneion (cf. note 170) for the decennium 199-90 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 374, Aa, line 28), but not mentioned in the complete list of lessees of 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, lines 74-82). Possibly the father of no. 57.

**185.** Παρμενίων Χοιρύλου. Lessee of Dionysion in 282, 279, and 278 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 158, A, lines 9-10; 161, A, line 8; 162, A, line 7). Father of no. 219.

**186.** Παρμικὸς Ἐπικύδου. Lessee of Phoinikes in 179, 173, and 172 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 442, A, line 145; 456, A, line 8; [459, line 39]).

**187.** Παρμίσκος Διοδότου. Lessee of Rhamnoi in 249 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 153). Brother of no. 194.

**188.** Πασίτιμος Ξενομήδους. Lessee of Phoinikes in 312 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 135, lines 5-6). Lessee of Dionysion in 303 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 144, A, line 13). Brother of no. 25 and no. 168.

**189.** Πέλοψ. Lessee of Leimon in 301 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 146, A, line 10).

**190.** Περίανδρος Ἡγησαγόρου. Lessee of Epistheneia in 258, 250, 249, and 246 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; [224, A, line 15]; 287, A, lines 31-32 and 178-79; *Inscr. de Délos*, [290, lines 15-16]). Choregos in 261 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 114, line 13); astynomos and dedicator of a monument, ca. 255 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1144, line 2). Son of no. 108.

**191.** Πιστῆς Φερεκλείδου. Lessee of Akra Delos in 179 and 173 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 442, A, line 146; 456, A, line 9). Debtor in 175 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 449, A, line 39). Lacroix, Pistes IV. Brother of no. 181 and no. 240; son of no. 235.

**192.** Πιστῆς. Lessee of the Sacred Lake in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 34). Treasurer in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 8-9 and

34). Probably identical with Lacroix's Pistes II, who was hieropoios in 278 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 161; A, line 124; D, lines 107-108); guarantor for the city in 269 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 203, A, line 74); and debtor in 269, ca. 255, 250, and 248 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 203, A, line 6; 274, line 21; 287, A, line 187; 289, line 18). He was a banker by profession (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 203, A, line 78; *Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 131).

**193.** Π[ιστόξ]ενος. Lessee of Phoinikes in 301 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 146, A, line 9; *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 235). Debtor in 312 B.C. and ca. 306 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 135, lines 19-20; 142, line 14). Father of no. 60.

**194.** Πόλυβος Διοδότου. Lessee of Sosimacheia in 269 and 268 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 203, A, line 24; 204, line 20). Epimeletes in 269 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 203, A, lines 89 and 92); guarantor in 269 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 203, A, line 74); debtor in 282, 279, 278, 274, and 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 158, A, line 29; 161, A, line 35; 162, A, line 25; 199, A, line 11; 287, A, line 184). Brother of no. 187.

**195.** Πολύβουλος [Παρμενίωνος]. Lessee of Skitoneia in 258 and 251 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; [224, A, line 16; *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 238]; 287, A, lines 137-38). Debtor in 278, 250, and ca. 248 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 162, A, line 43; 287, D, 27-28; 288, line 5). His son, Παρμενίων Πολυβούλου, was president of the assembly ca. 230 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 681, line 19) and mover of a decree ca. 230 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1025, line 1); he died before 208 B.C. (*B.C.H.*, XXXIV, 1910, pp. 370, 373). A grandson, Πολύβουλος Παρμενίωνος, was hieropoios in 197 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 385, a, line 1).

**196.** Πολύζηλος. Lessee of Porthmos some time between 297 and 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 199, A, line 14). Debtor in 303 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 144, C, lines 2-3) and in 274 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 199, A, line 14).

**197.** Πολυκράτης. Lessee of Soloe-Korakiai ca. 193 B.C. and died before the end of 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, line 75).

- 198.** Πολύκριτος. Lessee of Epistheneia in 284 and 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 156, B, lines 7-15; 158, A, line 12).
- 199.** Πολύξενος Ἀρησιμβρότου. Lessee of Panormos in 258 and 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 224, A, line 16; 287, A, line 30). Secretary of the city in 258 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 224, A, line 3); guarantor in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 167); borrower for the city in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 124); debtor in 246 and ca. 244 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 290, line 44; 291, m, line 10). Son of no. 35.
- 200.** Πολύξενος [Παρμενίωνος]. Lessee of Akra Delos in 206, 200, and 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 368, line 31; 372, A, lines 11-12; 399, A, line 74). Archon in 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, line 17; *I.G.*, XI, 4, 1067, d, line 6).
- 201.** Πολύξενος Φωκαίως. Lessee of Epistheneia in 199, ca. 197, 192, and 188 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 374, B, lines 15-16; 384, A, line 2; 399, A, line 75; 404, line 15). Choregos in 215 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 126, lines 3-4); president of the assembly ca. 185 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 820, line 13). His father, Φωκαίης Πολυξένου, was a debtor in 200 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 372, A, line 71). His grandfather, Πολύξενος Φωκαίως, was a debtor in 284, 279, 278, 274, 268, and 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 156, A, line 8; 161, D, line 81; 162, A, line 28; 199, A, line 11; 204, line 90; 287, A, line 189). His great-grandfather, Φωκαίης Πολυξένου, was archon in 280 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1067, e-f, line 8) and choregos in 265 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 111, line 6). Brother of no. 31.
- 202.** Πόττος. Lessee of Dionysion in 208 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, line 104).
- 203.** Προκλῆς. Co-lessee of Phytalia in 209 and 200 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; [362, A, line 21]; 372, A, line 12).
- 204.** Πρόξενος Εὐκλείδου. Lessee of Leimon in 297 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 149, line 4). Brother of no. 234 and no. 244.
- 205.** Πυθέας Φερεκ[λεί]δου. Lessee of Porthmos in 258 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 224, A, line 12). Brother of no. 206 and no. 239.
- 206.** Πυθοκλῆς Φερεκλείδου. Lessee of Porthmos in 252, 250, 249, and 246 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 275, A, line 12; 287, A, lines 25 and 174; *Inscr. de Délos*; 290, line 17). Lessee of Nikou Choros in 250 and 249 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 26 and 155). Guarantor ca. 250 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, II, p. 299, 287 bis, line 30); secretary of the city in 231 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 316, lines 9-10). Brother of no. 205 and no. 239. Lacroix, Pythocles II.
- 207.** Σαρπηδὼν Καρνείου. Lessee of Lykoneion and Hippodromos in 312 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 135, lines 3-4 and 6-7). His grandson, Σαρπηδὼν Καρνείου, was astynomos ca. 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1296; A, lines 14-15; B, lines 13-14).
- 208.** Σ[αρπη]δὼν Φιλοκράτου. Lessee of Phoinikes in 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, line 77 [the sixth letter of the name is completely preserved on the stone]). Possibly the father of Ὀλυμπιόδωρος Σαρπηδόνο[s], archon in 193 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1067, d, line 5), and of Σαρπηδὼν Σαρπηδόνος, choregos in 170 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 133, line 10).
- 209.** Σίληνος Σιλήνου. Lessee of Phytalia in 179 and ca. 176 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 373, A, line 31; 442, A, line 147; 452, line 24). Hieropoios in 179 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 442; A, line 1; B, line 151); guarantor in 175 and 170 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 449, A, line 38; 467, line 5). Brother of no. 149.
- 210.** Σκύλαξ Λεοντιάδου. Lessee of an unknown estate in 180 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 441, line 14). Secretary of the hieropoioi in 207 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 368, line 6); guarantor in 194 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 396, A, line 52).
- 211.** Σκύμνος [Φανοδίκου]. Lessee of Lykoneion in 297 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 149, line 3). Hieropoios in 298 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 148, line 2); treasurer ca. 289 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, B, line 101); mover of a decree ca. 290 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1349, line 6).

**212.** Στήσαρχος. Lessee of Panormos in 249 and 246 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 167; *Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 20).

**213.** Στράτων. Lessee of an unknown estate ca. 306 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 142, line 4).

**214.** Στράτων. Lessee of Chareteia in 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, A, line 8). Mover of a decree ca. 270 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 583, line 2).

**215.** Σωσίδημος. Listed among lessees, but probably a guarantor of Nikou Choros in 210 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 356 bis, A, line 12). Debtor in 207 and 204 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 366, A, line 122; 369, A, line 29). Died before 179 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 442, A, line 247).

**216.** Σώσιλος [Μνησάλκου]. Lessee of Nikou Choros in 297 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 149, line 5). Mover of a decree, ca. 280 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 581, line 4); choregos in 275 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 109, line 8).

**217.** Σωσίστρατος Ἀμφίου. Assigned the lease of an unknown estate in 200 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 374, B, line 6). Choregos in 215 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 126, line 9), archon in 200 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 128, line 1). His grandfather, Σωσίστρατος Ἀμφίου, was choregos in 265 and 263 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 111, line 20; [113, line 6]). His son, Ἀμφίας Σωσιστράτου, was a guarantor in 175 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 449, A, line 34).

**218.** Σωτάδας ὁ Κρής. Lessee of Panormos in 278 and 274 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 161, C, line 113; 162, A, line 8; 199, A, line 4). Metec choregos in 279 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 108, line 12).

**219.** Τελέσανδρος Παρμενίωνος. Lessee of Panormos in 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, A, lines 8-9). Lessee of Dionysion in 274, ca. 273, 269 and 268 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 199, A, line 4; 200, lines 2-3; 203, A, lines 23-24; 204, line 7). Choregos in 263 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 113, line 7); debtor ca. 253 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 274, line 19). Son of no. 185. A brother, Πολύξενος Παρμενίωνος, was mover of a decree ca. 270 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 571, line 2), and died before 262 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 223, A, line 59).

**220.** Τελέσων Αὐτοκλέους. Lessee of Soloe-Korakiai in 279, 278, 274, and 269 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 161, A, lines 12-13; 162, A, line 11; 199, A, line 6; 203, A, line 20). Secretary of the boule in 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, A, line 3); epimeletes in 274 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 199, A, line 91); debtor in 284 and 278 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 156, B, line 1; 162, A, lines 26, 31, 34, and 35). Honored by the demos of Chios with a gold crown and a bronze statue about the middle of the third century (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1022). Lacroix, Teleson IIB. Father of no. 53.

**221.** Τελέσων Ξένωνος. Lessee of Chareteia in 258 and 257 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 224, A, line 14; 226, A, lines 30-31; *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 238). Choregos in 261 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 114, line 15); guarantor in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 176). Son of no. 180; brother of no. 85. Lacroix, Teleson IIA.

**222.** Τηλέμνηστος Ἀριστέιδου. Lessee of Dorion-Chersonesos ca. 175 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 452, line 27). Lessee of a house in 192 and 179 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 400, lines 4-5; 442, A, line 140); debtor in 177 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 444, A, line 46). Mover of at least fifty decrees (*I.G.*, XI, 4; 751-798; 1024, 1032), including the famous Anaxibios decree (752) and a decree authorizing the sending of ambassadors to Rome, ca. 197 B.C. (756). Lacroix, Telemnestos IIIB; Molinier, no. 150. For his family, see Roussel's commentary on *I.G.*, XI, 4, 751.

**223.** Τιμησίδημος Ἀντικράτους. Co-lessee of Chareneia in 274, 269, and 268 B.C.; sole lessee in 258, 257, and 251 B.C.; co-lessee in 250 B.C., in which year he went bankrupt (*I.G.*, XI, 2; [199, A, line 5]; 203, A, line 20; 204, line 9; 224, A, lines 13-14; 225, A, line 16; 287, A, lines 27-29 and 138-39). Treasurer in 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, B, lines 6-7); mover of a decree ca. 274 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 538, line 2); epimeletes in 269 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 203, A, lines 6, 70, 83, and 97). Brother of no. 44; father of no. 26 and no. 245.

**224.** Τιμόξενος Τιμοξένου. Lessee of the Sacred Lake in 179 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 442, A, lines

151-152). Secretary of the hieropoioi in 178 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 442, B, line 3); *hieropoios* in 175 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 133, line 42; 134, line 15); archon in 170 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 133, line 1). His father was hieropoios in 221 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 354, lines 8, 20, 21) and archon in 224 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, line 85); his brother, Δημήτριος Τιμοξένου, was archon in 184 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1067, e-f, line 4).

**225.** Τιμοξένος. Lessee of Soloe-Korakiai in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 31). Possibly identical with Τιμοξένος Ἀπολλοδώρου, mover of a decree ca. 260 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 610, lines 4-5).

**226.** Τιμοσθένης. Lessee of Limnai in 209 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 362, A, line 19). Probably identical either with Τιμοσθένης Κλεοκρίτου, debtor and guarantor in 208 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 365, lines 19 and 21), or with Τιμοσθένης Τιμο[—], epistates in 207 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 366, A, line 132).

**227.** Τληπόλεμος Ἄμνον. Co-lessee of Porthmos in 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 399, A, line 78). Choregos in 215 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 126, line 4); honored in a decree of 187 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 768, a, line 2); president of the assembly ca. 185 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4; 789, line 26; 799, line 4; 800, line 11); mover of a decree ca. 180 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 801, line 2). Debtor in 179 and 175 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 442, C, lines 28-29; 449, B, line 35). Son of Lacroix's Amnos III.

**228.** Τληπόλεμος Κρίττιος. Co-lessee of Porthmos in 192 B.C. and sole lessee in 188, 179, and 173 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 399, A, line 78; [404, line 17]; 442, A, line 151; [456, A, line 16]).

**229.** Φανόδικος Χαρχ[ίλ]α. Lessee of Chareteia in 219, 218, 210, 209, and 206 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 353, A, line 3; 354, line 35; [356 bis, A, line 6]; 356 bis, B, lines 40-41, for which see *B.C.H.*, LIV, 1932, p. 384; [*Inscr. de Délos*, 368, line 29]). Son of either Lacroix's Charilas IIA or his Charilas IIB. Father of no. 230.

**230.** Φανόδικος Φανοδίκου. Lessee of Chareteia in 192, 180, 179, 173, and 172 B.C. (*Inscr. de*

*Délos*; 399, A, line 79; 373, B, lines 9-10; 442, A, line 151; 456, A, line 16; [459, lines 42-43]). See also *B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, pp. 242-43. Son of no. 229, father of no. 246.

**231.** Φᾶνος. Lessee of Rhamnoi in 246 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 18). For his family, see commentary on *I.G.*, XI, 4, 1080.

**232.** Φᾶνος. Lessee of Rhamnoi in 219, 218, and ca. 214 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 353, A, line 11; 354, line 37; [356, line 15]). Died before 210 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 356 bis, A, line 6). Identity with no. 231 seems improbable; cf. commentary on *I.G.*, XI, 4, 1080.

**233.** Φέλυσ Φέλυσ. Lessee of Panormos in 179 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 442, A, line 149). Brother of no. 28 and no. 41.

**234.** Φερεκλείδης Εὐκλείδου. Lessee of Leimon in 282, 279, and 278 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 158, A, line 11; 161, A, lines 11-12; 162, A, line 10). Hieropoios in 304 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 144, A, line 3); mover of a decree ca. 285 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 540, lines 2-3). Died between 278 and 274 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 199, A, line 6). Brother of no. 204 and no. 244. His son, Εὐκλείδης Φερεκλείδου, was choregos in 265 and in 261 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 111, line 9; 114, line 4).

**235.** Φερεκλείδης [Φιλονίκου]. Lessee of Charoneia in 219, 218, and 210 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 353, A, line 5; 354, line 35; 356 bis, A, line 10). Choregos in 215 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 126, line 5); lessee of buildings in 207 and 206 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 366, A, line 95; 368, line 36); hieropoios in 203 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 399, B, line 19). Lacroix, Pherecleides IIB; Molinier, no. 155. Son of no. 239; father of no. 181, no. 191, and no. 240.

**236.** [Φί]λαρχος Δεξικράτους. Lessee of Skitoneia in 303 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 144, A, line 14).

**237.** Φίλαρχος Θεωρύλου. Lessee of Soloe-Korakiai in 249 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 149). Son of no. 118, brother of no. 74.

**238.** [Φίλ]ις Θαρσυνδίκου. Lessee of Nikou Choros in 269 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 203, A, line 23;

the stone reads [...]λιος). Debtor *ca.* 250 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, II, p. 299, 287 *bis*, line 24). Son of no. 113; brother of no. 68.

**239.** Φιλόνικος Φερεκλείδου. Lessee of Chareteia in 249 and 246 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 169; *Inscr. de Délos*, 290, line 20). Brother of no. 205 and no. 206; father of no. 235; grandfather of 181, 191, 240. Lacroix, Philonikos I.

**240.** Φιλόνικος Φερεκλείδου. Co-lessee of Charoneia in 206 and 200 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 368, lines 27-28; 372, A, lines 13-14). Debtor in 179 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 442, A, line 166). Brother of 181 and no. 191; son of no. 235; grandson of no. 239.

**241.** Φιλόνικος ὁ Ῥηναίεύς. Co-lessee of Limnai in 199 and 192 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 374, Aa, lines 10-15; 399, A, line 81).

**242.** Φίλτης [Τληπολέμου]. Lessee of Phytalia in 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, A, line 14). Hieropoios in 275 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 199, B, line 1). Lessee of a house in 282, 279, and 269 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 158, A, lines 18-19; 161, A, line 23; 203, A, line 28). Debtor in 282, 279, 278, 274, 257, *ca.* 255, 250, and *ca.* 247 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 158, A, line 28; 161, A, lines 32-33; 226, A, line 25; 274, line 21; 287, A, lines 186 and 190; *Inscr. de Délos*, 291, d, line 24). Molinier, no. 159.

**243.** Φίλων. Lessee of Phoinikes in 210 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 356 *bis*, A, line 7).

**244.** Χάρης Εὐκλείδου. Lessee of Phoinikes in 297 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 149, lines 3-4). Debtor in 284, 282, and 279 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 156, A, line 9; 156, B, lines 1-6; 158, A, lines 27, 29, and 30; 161, A, lines 31-32; 161, D, line 90). Brother of no. 204 and no. 234.

**245.** Χαρίλας Τυμησιδήμων. Lessee of Akra Delos in 269 and 268 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 203, A, line 21; [204, line 16]). Son of no. 223; brother of no. 26; nephew of no. 44.

**246.** [Χαρίλ]ας [Φ]ανοδίκου. Lessee of Panormos in 173 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 456, A, line 18). Son of no. 230 and grandson of no. 229.

**247.** Χαρίστιος Ἀντιγόνου. Co-lessee of Nikou Choros in 178 B.C. and sole lessee in 173 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*; 445, lines 16-19; 456, A, line 17). Guarantor *ca.* 190 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 407, line 35); debtor in 175 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 448, A, line 5). Dedicated a statue to his wife (*I.G.*, XI, 4, 1184, lines 1-3). Son of no. 23; son-in-law of no. 143. For his family, see *Inscr. de Délos*, II, p. 205.

**248.** Χίων Λυκόφρονος. Lessee of Rhamnoi in 303 B.C. but defaulted his contract (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 144; A, line 13; B, line 72). Brother of either no. 87 or no. 88.

**249.** Χοιρύλος Τελέσωνος. Lessee of Epistheneia in 279, 278, and 274 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 161, A, line 14; 162, A, line 12; [199, A, line 6]). Lessee of Limnai in 269 and 268 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2; 203, A, line 22; 204, line 10). Debtor in 250 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, lines 15-16), and in the same year paid interest (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 287, A, line 185) on a debt contracted by his father, Τελέσων Χοιρύλου, in 274 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 199, A, line 12). Brother of no. 180.

**250.** Χοιρύλος. Lessee of Skitoneia in 282 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 158, A, line 9). Possibly identical with no. 249, but more probably Χοιρύλος Θαρσύνοντος, who was the mover of two decrees *ca.* 270 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 4; 613, line 2; 614, line 2). The latter's son, Θαρσύνων Χοιρύλου, was hieropoios in 268 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 203, B, line 92) and archon in 261 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 114, line 1).

**251.** ΑΛ[---]. Lessee of an unknown estate in 206 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 368, line 25).

**252.** ΑΝΤ[---]. Lessee of Panormos, *ca.* 181 B.C. (*B.C.H.*, LXIII, 1939, p. 244).

**253.** ΔΗΜ[---]. Lessee of Limnai, *ca.* 188 B.C. (see page 301).

**254.** Κ[---]. Lessee of an unknown estate in 169 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 467, line 4).

**255.** Λ[---]. Lessee of Phoinikes in 199 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 374, Aa, line 15).

256. Στησι[---]. Co-lessee of an unknown estate in 199 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 373, A, line 32).

257. Τιμη[---]. Lessee of Charoneia in 189 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 403, line 48).

258. [---]δης Πολ[---]. Lessee of Panormos in 199 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 374, Ab, line 2).

259. [---]δωρος. Lessee of Leimon, ca. 272 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 200, line 4).

260. [---]λαρχος. Lessee of an unknown estate in 232 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 314, A, line 39).

261. [---]vos. Co-lessee of Limnai in 206 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 368, line 31).

262. [...]ξιμένης. Lessee of an unknown estate in 257 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 225, line 14).

263. [---]ος. Lessee of an unknown estate in 209 B.C., paying a rental of 231 dr. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 362, A, line 16).

264. [---]ος. Lessee of Phoinikes in 180 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 441, line 16).

265. [---]πίδης. Lessee of an unknown estate, ca. 271 B.C. (*I.G.*, XI, 2, 201, A, line 8).

266. [---]χος. Lessee of an unknown estate in 200 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 372, A, line 16).

267. [---] [Με]νύλλου. Lessee of Chersonesos in 170 B.C. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 461, Bb, line 55).

268. [---] [---]ίσωνος. Lessee of an unknown estate ca. 185 B.C., paying a rental of 229 dr.  $3\frac{1}{12}$  ob. (*Inscr. de Délos*, 418, line 2; the passage is concerned with the rental of an estate, not of a house, for in the following line part of the rental of Rhamnoi is preserved: cf. *Inscr. de Délos*, 401 bis, B).



1. Unpublished Mithraeum (?) in Rheneia



2. Rheneian Acropolis from South Tower



3. Columbarium in Rheneian Cemetery



4. Pyrgoi, Chareteia, and Southern Rheneia



5. Hippodromos from Plakes



1. Ancient terraces, Akra Delos



2. Lower Thaleon Valley, Mykonos



3. Vineyards in Upper Thaleon



4. Rheneian Farmhouse with outside cellar



5. Cattle Shelter on Rheneia



6. Storehouse for Chaff on Delos

# HESPERIA

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